The History of
MEDIEVAL
EUROPE

Lynn Thorndike

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THIRD EDITION

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
BOSTON · NEW YORK · CHICAGO · DALLAS · ATLANTA · SAN FRANCISCO
The Riverside Press Cambridge

COPYRIGHT, 1949, BY LYNN THORNDIKE
COPYRIGHT, 1917, 1928, AND 1945, BY LYNN THORNDIKE
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED INCLUDING THE RIGHT
TO REPRODUCE THIS BOOK OR PARTS THEREOF
IN ANY FORM

The Riverside Press
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

To the Memory of My Father

EDWARD ROBERT THORNDIKE, D.D.

and My Mother

ABBIE BREWSTER LADD THORNDIKE

PREFACE

INCREASING INTEREST in and appreciation of the Middle Ages have been shown in recent years by the founding of additional periodicals and institutes devoted to that period, the publication of many texts and translations, and the appearance of numerous monographs and of larger works of synthesis, like Sarton's four bulky volumes on the science of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. On the other hand, the widespread destruction of medieval monuments in the late World War makes it the more imperative to tell their story to "the generation to come," in a single volume adapted to the needs of the college undergraduate and the general public, and to supplement "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" by the grace that was medieval.

This third edition is marked not only by a rewriting of much of the text and abundant addition of new material, but also by rearrangement, reorganization, and fresh viewpoint and presentation. The primary emphasis is now upon the panorama of civilization, and the thirty-eight chapters are grouped in four parts: on the passing of ancient classical civilization, the rise of Islam and Arabic civilization, the development of medieval Latin civilization, and its passing in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Along with this, an improved chronological sequence has been attained both in general and in several particular chapters.

An increased stress is laid on the classical influence upon the Middle Ages, the transition to medieval culture, Arabic civilization, the economic recovery and social progress of western Europe, the development of power and labor-saving devices, invention and technology, the history of science and education, and the survival of medieval intellectual interests into early modern times. More space than before is given to the affairs of central and eastern Europe and to the voyages and travels that widened the horizons of the medieval world. Altogether about a thousand more historic persons, places and specific topics are touched upon in this than in the previous editions.

In general, the text is altered and amplified to keep pace with the findings of critical historical scholarship during the past twenty years; enriched by quotation from original sources and from writings of contemporaries; illustrated by a large number of pictures that enhance the attention to art which characterized the earlier editions, and supplemented by several new maps and diagrams The chronological table now appears in the extended form of a chart, arranged topically in parallel columns and covering all phases of civilization The reader is urged to use the Index to refresh his memory as to a person or place, or to review a topic

LYNN THORNDIKE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

PART ONE. *The Passing of Classical Civilization*

I. The Roman Empire 9
II. The Early Germans 32
III. Decline of Rome and Growth of Christianity 45
IV. The Barbarian Invasions 65
V. Justinian and the Byzantine Empire 84
VI. Western Europe in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries 108
VII. The Papacy and Monasticism 117
VIII. Transition to Early Medieval Culture 138

PART TWO· *The Rise of Islam and Arabic Civilization*

IX. Mohammed and the Spread of Islam 155
X. Arabic Civilization 170
XI. The Byzantine Empire from Arabic Conquests to Crusades 185
XII. The Frankish Empire 197
XIII. The Northmen and Other New Invaders 217

PART THREE: *The Development of Medieval Latin Civilization*

XIV. Economic Recovery and Social Progress 235
XV. Feudal Organization and States 249

XVI. Church Reform 284
XVII Rise of Communes and Independent Town Governments 301
XVIII The Expansion of Christendom and the Crusades 322
XIX Church and State Under Innocent III 342
XX Failure of the Holy Roman Empire in Italy and Germany 370
XXI. The Growth of National Institutions in England 382
XXII The Growth of Royal Power in France 396
XXIII. A Widening World 414
XXIV. Scholasticism and the Universities 421
XXV. Science from 1200 to 1363 441
XXVI. Language and Literature 466
XXVII. Romanesque and Gothic Art 484
XXVIII. Economic Life. Trade and Industry 507
XXIX Daily Life and Society 521

PART FOUR *The Passing of Medieval Civilization*

XXX The Black Death and Hundred Years War 541
XXXI Religious Cleavage, Discontent, and Efforts at Reform 563
XXXII Italian Politics 580
XXXIII. Germany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries 593
XXXIV. Eastern Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries 606
XXXV. Western Europe After 1453 617
XXXVI. Economic and Social Change 637
XXXVII Learning, Literature, and Art of the Closing Middle Ages 651
XXXVIII. The Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests 678
CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE 690
INDEX 705

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE PAGE
1 Roman Helmet with Mask 19
2. Roman Sword and Scabbard 19
3. Roman Aqueduct, Pont du Gard, near Nîmes 22
4. Section of a Roman Road, Vienne 22
5. Basilica of Constantine, Rome 23
6. Pantheon, Rome 24
7. Roman Chariot and Horses 26
8. Empress Theodora with Her Attendants 28
9. Coiffure of the Early Roman Empire 28
10. Mithraic Sacrifice 61
11. Saint Sophia, Constantinople 99
12. Interior of the Catholic Baptistery, Ravenna 102
13. Interior of San Vitale, Ravenna 102
14. Saint Martin Dividing His Cloak with a Beggar 122
15. Gospel of Saint John, Done at Lindisfarne 122
16. Saint Martin's, near Canterbury 130
17. Baptistery of Saint John, Poitiers 130
18 Arabic Detail in the Cathedral of Tarragona 182
19. Interior of the Alhambra, Granada 182
20. Church Tower, Zaragoza 193
21. Early Ninth-Century Byzantine Church, Athens 193
22. A Viking Ship 218
23. Transporting Men and Horses, Bayeux Tapestry 219
24. Noah Planting a Vineyard, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris 236
25. Shepherds, Chartres Cathedral 236
26 Cloth Hall, Ypres 247
27. Surrender of a Wooden Castle, Bayeux Tapestry 250
28. Ruin of Rudelsburg 255
29. Castle of the Counts of Flanders, Ghent 256
30. Castle of Fougères 257
31. View from a Castle Window in the Tyrol 259
32. Thirteenth-Century Room with Heraldic Emblems 262

33. Funeral Monuments 262
34 Wooden Architecture of Norway 278
35 Shrine of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey 278
36. Feudal Mêlée at the Battle of Hastings, Bayeux Tapestry 280
37 Entrance to the Monastery of Cluny 286
38. Scene of Penance by Henry II, Avranches 298
39. Palazzo della Ragione, Padua 309
40. Cathedral of Albi 349
41. Scene of Saint Francis' Sermon to the Birds 349
42 Saint Francis Renouncing the World, by Giotto 355
43. Jesus and Two Dominicans, by Fra Angelico 357
44. Saint Francis and Saint Dominic, by Andrea della Robbia 358
45 Galley Used for State Ceremonies at Venice 377
46 Scene in Venice 378
47. Edward I and Queen Eleanor 390
48. Chapter House, Lincoln 390
49. Painting of Saint Louis, by Giotto 400
50. Statue of Saint Louis, Sainte-Chapelle, Paris 400
51. Church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, Paris 425
52. Tombs of the Glossators, Bologna 425
53. Tomb of Michael Scot, Melrose Abbey 432
54. Erwin von Steinbach 432
55. Manuscript Page from the *Herbal* of Rufinus 445
56. Hermes Trismegistus 450
57. The Libyan Sibyl 450
58. Saint Matthew Writing His Gospel 464
59. Walter von der Vogelweide 464
60. The Condemned at the Last Judgment, Bourges Cathedral 481
61. Romanesque Nave, Norwich 489
62. Cathedral at Pisa nave, transept, campanile 490
63. Cathedral at Pisa apse, choir, transept, nave, baptistery 490
64. Speyer Cathedral 492
65. Gothic Choir, Tours 493
66. Transept, Chartres Cathedral 494
67. Choir, Beauvais Cathedral 494
68. Flying Buttresses, Amiens 498
69. Chimeras, Laon 498
70. Angel Choir, Lincoln Cathedral 502

71 Tour de Beurre, Rouen 502
72 Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris 505
73 Town Wall, Nurnberg 524
74 Medieval Street, Vitré 524
75 Cooking and Serving a Meal, Bayeux Tapestry 528
76 Medieval Cooking Utensils 529
77 Rathaus, Munster 530
78 House with Projecting Stories, Hildesheim 530
79. Well in Cloister of Saint Cyr, Nevers 532
80 Fountain, Perugia 532
81 Mons Meg, Edinburgh Castle 550
82 Fourteenth-Century Bridge, Cahors 551
83 Statue of Joan of Arc, Rheims 560
84 Execution of Joan of Arc 560
85 Palace of the Popes, Avignon 564
86 The Condottiere Colleoni, by Verrochio 582
87. Funeral Monument of Guidarello Guidarelli, Ravenna 583
88. Statue of René of Anjou, before the Castle of Angers 589
89. Marriage of Frederick III and Eleanor of Portugal, by Pinturicchio 604
90 Aeneas Sylvius, by Pinturicchio 604
91. Louis XI 624
92 Richard III 624
93. Penalty for Cheating at Dice and Cards 644
94. Iron Virgin of Nurnberg 644
95. Flying Buttresses, Milan Cathedral 665
96. Courtyard of Palazzo Bevilacqua, Bologna 665
97. Cathedral, Florence 668
98. Palazzo Riccardi, Florence 668
99. Angelic Musicians, by Donatello 670
100. Angelic Musicians, by Donatello (*another detail*) 670
101. Head of David, by Donatello 671
102. Head of Amorino, by Donatello 671
103. Elisabeth Gonzaga, by Mantegna 672
104. Self-Portrait, by Perugino 672
105. Adoration of the Shepherds, by Ghirlandajo 674
106. Faces from Botticelli's Painting of the Virgin 674
107. Man with a Glass of Wine, French School 675
108. A Princess of the House of Este, by Pisanello 675

MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

Physical Map of Europe (*colored*) *between* xvi *and* 1
Ptolemaic Epicycle 13
The Roman Empire before the Barbarian Invasions (*colored*) *between* 32 *and* 33
Gaul in the Fifth Century 78
The Byzantine Empire under Justinian 90
Ground-Plan of the Church of Saint Sophia 100
The British Isles in the Seventh Century 133
The Mohammedan World about 732 164–165
The Frankish Empire 204
Expansion of the Northmen 224–225
Growth of the City of Cremona 244
Holy Roman Empire and Southern Italy about 1000 (*colored*) *between* 256 *and* 257
The Chief Districts of Feudal France (*colored*) *between* 256 *and* 257
Chief Italian Towns North of Naples 308
German North-Eastward Expansion 326
The Eastern Mediterranean during the Crusades 335
France in the Early Fourteenth Century 412
Medieval Universities 434
Ground-Plan of Rheims Cathedral 487
Towns and Trade in France and Flanders 512
A Town Square 526
Christian Expansion in Spain (*colored*) *between* 576 *and* 577
The Swiss Confederation, 1291–1453 (*colored*) *between* 576 *and* 577
Italy in the Fifteenth Century 584
The Hanseatic League and the Teutonic Knights 602
Eastern Europe about 1453 608
The Mongol Empire and Routes to the Far East (*colored*) *between* 608 *and* 609
Conquests of the Ottoman Turks 614
Charles the Bold and His Neighbors 619
Review of Medieval Civilization (*colored*) *between* 640 *and* 641

❧ *He in whose heart no history is enscrolled*
Cannot discern in life's alloy the gold
But he that keeps the records of the Dead
Adds to his life new lives a hundredfold.

R. A. NICHOLSON

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Middle Ages

THIS book will trace the history of Europe and of the parts of Asia and Africa adjacent to the Mediterranean and thus closely connected with Europe It will trace the history of those lands from a number of starting points. from the decline of the Roman Empire and of classical civilization, from the entrance of new peoples upon the stage of European history, from the calling of the first general council of the Christian Church at Nicaea in 325, and from the foundation of Constantinople in 330 by Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor. It will carry that story to the discovery of the new continents of North and South America and of an all-sea route around South Africa to the Far East, to the eve of the revolt of the Protestants from the Church of Rome, and, in general, to the close of the fifteenth century or approximately the year 1500

This period of more than a thousand years is usually called the Middle Ages, since it lies between ancient and modern times Such a division of the history of the world gives many thousands of years to ancient history and a disproportionately brief duration to the other two periods. It is not our purpose here, however, to quarrel with this familiar convention, which was adopted at a time when ancient history had not yet been traced so far back in time We may simply note that there is almost never a sharp break nor a total dissimilarity between adjoining periods Thus the Middle Ages inherited much from ancient times, and many features of our present civilization may be traced back several centuries into medieval history. One age dovetails into its successor; there is no sharp line between them, since some features of the old life continue for some time after innovations have been made in other respects. In medieval history we have the decline and then the recovery of civilization to note; we have various lands and peoples in different stages of civilization to study, and we shall have to distinguish progress or decline in various departments of human activity

The Middle Ages deserve our attention, partly because they contributed much to modern civilization and because our study of them helps to explain many existing conditions. It was then modern languages, modern literatures, and universities developed; then developed the Roman Catholic Church and the states of France and England, then were discovered the mariner's compass, gunpowder, and printing The Middle Ages also merit our study because they had institutions and ideas which are gone and which are strange to us, but the study of which serves to widen our experience, broaden our outlook, and deepen our sympathies and understanding It is a good thing for one who has been brought up on the western prairie to study not merely the westward movement of the American people or the life of Abraham Lincoln, but to read also of the crusades and the monasteries, of Byzantine and Gothic art, and other matters foreign to his own experience and stretching beyond his personal horizon Moreover, the men of the Middle Ages were our ancestors, and the history of Americans before 1492, or whenever it was that each of our families first migrated to this country, is the history of Europe.

The races of Europe

Because the Celtic, Teutonic, Slavic, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, and Persian tongues seem to belong to a single linguistic system, it used to be assumed that the peoples who spoke them formed the white or Aryan or Caucasian race, and that they had once lived together in a common home whence they had spread through Europe and western Asia But it is now realized that there are marked physical differences between peoples speaking "Aryan" or Indo-European languages, and that some Aryan-speaking peoples are akin in physical type to other peoples who do not speak an Aryan language Language, in short, seems the only common bond between the "Aryans"

Three main European physical types are recognized and are named after their original habitat or the place where the type is at present found in its purest state These are the Northern race, the Mediterranean race, and the Alpine race All are white men, but the Northerners are fair and tall, with long heads or skulls — a type found at its purest in the Scandinavian countries and on the north shore of Germany and the east coast of Great Britain facing those countries. The Mediterranean type is best seen in Spain and southern Italy, and is short and dark, but long-headed like the Northerners. To this Mediterranean race, too, belong the Berbers of North Africa. The Alpine race comes midway between the other two in respect to stature and color, but is broad-skulled, unlike either of them. The Celts and the Slavs are largely of this Alpine type, though its especial home is in the highlands of Europe that stretch east and west between the Mediterranean world and the north. The Slovenes or Alpine Slavs, called by the ancient Greeks and Romans *Veneti* and by the early Germans *Winedi* or Wends, from whom Venice takes its name, now dwell chiefly in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, around Trieste, and in Hungary. In remote times they perhaps extended to the west coast of France and to the Spanish peninsula.

In many countries one sees fusions of these races, but there are today, as there were in the Middle Ages, several peoples whose race, language, and customs defy attempts at classification, such as the Basques of the extreme southwest of France and north of Spain and the Picts of early Scotland Among the peoples of Europe we further find an Asiatic factor and see the effect of immigration and invasion from the Orient. Different authorities divide the Asiatic races somewhat diversely, and vary especially in nomenclature. The main point to note here is that a number of European peoples, such as the Lapps, Finns, Turks, the Magyars of Hungary, and the Bulgarians, represent a considerable infusion of blood from the western Asiatic racial groups

Geography

The scene of medieval history is laid in Europe and in those regions of Asia and Africa adjoining the Mediterranean Sea. To follow the history intelligently it is essential to have some knowledge of the geography of this area The reader should have in mind the main physical features of the continent of Europe, the great mountain ranges, the chief rivers and other bodies of water, and also the modern political map of Europe with its national boundaries and chief cities The continent of Europe has a coast so deeply indented by arms of the sea that many parts are distinctly and definitely marked off from the main trunk The British Isles form such a group The Scandinavian peninsula is another clearly marked unit, although, on the other hand, the Baltic Sea forms a common center and meeting place for all the lands bordering upon it To the south, Greece, Italy, and Spain are peninsulas separated by mountain ranges from the rest of Europe, although here again the Mediterranean forms a channel of communication between them. The plain of Hungary is surrounded on three sides by the Carpathians, and four mountain chains enclose the upper basin of the Elbe River in a sort of parallelogram called Bohemia. The Alps are very abrupt on the Italian side, but slope gradually northward toward Germany, which divides into southern highlands and the North German plain. The latter is subdivided by the Rhine, Elbe, and Oder Rivers. It merges indistinguishably into the Low Countries and northern France, and to the east into the vaster area of Poland and Russia, and is thus the chief feature of the main trunk of Europe

Russia is intersected by a network of rivers, some flowing north to the White and the Baltic Seas, others south to the Black and the Caspian

In ancient times Russia was largely covered with swamps and forests, but there were fertile grass steppes then as now in the south. Between eastern Europe and western Asia there is no abrupt transition in climate, flora and fauna, or topography The plains and mountains of the one fade into those of the other, although the boundary is roughly marked by the Ural Mountains

In France west and northwest of the Alps come other lesser mountain ranges, the Cévennes, Jura, and Vosges; and west of these, the basins of the Garonne, Loire, and Seine Rivers, flowing through plains to the sea. From the Alps four important rivers, the Po, Danube, Rhine, and Rhone, flow in opposite directions into as many different seas, the Adriatic, Black, North, and Mediterranean. As from the Alps the land slopes off to the Baltic and North Seas and the English Channel, so on the farther side of those bodies of water — which once, by the way, were for the most part dry land — rise, after an interval of lowlands, the mountains of Norway, of the Shetlands and Iceland, of Scotland and northwestern England and Wales They face the Continent as the opposite tier of seats rises up in a stadium

It is hardly possible to overestimate the effect of physical environment upon man's life, especially in earlier ages when tunnels and canals, steam and electricity and airplanes, had not yet overcome and harnessed nature. Once natural boundaries and obstacles could not be so easily disregarded; and trade routes, race migrations, and military campaigns alike had to follow certain lines Also man's food, costume, dwelling, industries, and artistic creations were dictated to him largely by the materials available in his immediate neighborhood. Fear and appreciation of the forces in nature long influenced religion. Even today, if we travel, we find different races, languages, customs, governments, and religions in different lands, as well as mines in one region, olive groves in another, and sheep grazing in a third. These differences are in part due to geography. And we still are unable to escape the effects of changes in the barometer upon our spirits Indeed, experimental tests tend to confirm the general notion that physical and mental efficiency are greatest in a climate where the temperature is moderate and variable, and that a tropical climate not only weakens moral character but also decreases the capacity for intellectual and manual labor. Moreover, plants and animals vary in size, number, and distribution at different periods. For example, in the Middle Ages the vine was found in a large part of northeastern Germany; today it occurs there in only a very restricted area

The question "When?" is therefore no less important to the student

Chronology

of history than "Where?" Different peoples have had different calendars and systems of chronology. For instance, in the Middle Ages the Mohammedan lunar year was over eleven days shorter than the Christian solar year, so that thirty-three and a half years elapsed in Arabia and North Africa and southern Spain while thirty-two and a half were passing in France and Germany. Even the Christians in the Middle Ages had leap years a little oftener than we do, so that by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries their reckoning was ten days ahead of time, as we measure it. Another difficulty in dealing with medieval dates is the varying usage as to when the year began. Certain medieval annals say that Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 801, instead of 800, because they reckon Christmas Day as the first of the new year. On the other hand, his death is put in 813 instead of 814 by those who do not begin the new year until Easter. This book will follow the customary Christian chronology introduced by the monk Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, by which events are dated so many years before or after the year set for the birth of Christ. But as we shall learn later, various eras other than the Christian were used here and there in reckoning time during the Middle Ages.

Bibliographical Note

The eighth and last volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History* appeared in 1936. Paetow's *Guide to the Study of Medieval History* appeared in a revised edition in 1931, and another revision is under way. A similar work is J. W. Thompson's *Reference Studies in Medieval History*, 1924. Besides various source-books giving relatively brief selections in English translations, there is the *Records of Civilization* series, published by the Columbia University Press and already comprising some forty volumes, each of which is usually devoted to a complete translation of some past work or author, normally of the medieval period. A full *Bibliography of English Translations from Medieval Sources*, by C. P. Farrar and A. P. Evans, appeared in this series in 1946. Briefer volumes in pamphlet form giving medieval sources in English are the *Translations and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania.* Well-chosen selections from various modern European writers on the Middle Ages are presented in English translation by Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization.* Attention may also be called to the *Publications of the Medieval Academy of America,* which in 1946 had reached forty-six volumes; to the *Berkshire Studies in European History*, a series of handy volumes, and to *Speculum*, the leading periodical on the Middle Ages published in English (by the Medieval Academy of America). More detailed and specific suggestions as to reading will be found at the close of each chapter.

PART ONE

The Passing of Classical Civilization

I

The Roman Empire

CLASSICAL civilization originated in the Mediterranean basin and was in the main confined to the lands bordering upon that sea. Speaking in a general way and allowing for local differences and irregularities, the climate of this basin and the vegetation of its coasts are uniform That is to say, the coastal region north of the Sahara Desert belongs with the southern coasts and peninsulas of Europe rather than with the bulk of the African continent; and the French Mediterranean littoral is more like the coasts of Spain and Italy than it is like the rest of France. It is, indeed, easy to cross from Africa to Spain, or to Italy by way of Sicily, while the islands of Cyprus and Crete form steppingstones from Egypt to Greece and from Syria to the Aegean Sea and the west coast of Asia Minor Owing to the narrowness of the Straits of Gibraltar and to their shallowness as well (since a sunken ridge stretches under water from Spain to Africa), neither tides nor cold ocean currents exert much influence in the Mediterranean. The air is sunny and the water warm, but it is very salt because of rapid evaporation. The tideless sea leaves the mouths of rivers obstructed by silt and thus unfit to serve as ports, and the coast line changes with passing years. In ancient times it was difficult to put out to sea from a harbor without a favoring wind; on the other hand, small vessels could be drawn up on almost any sandy beach and left there without fear of their being carried off by the tide Caesar lost most of his fleet in one of his expeditions to Britain when he imprudently left his ships drawn up in this way on an exposed shore. Even the Mediterranean, however, could be stormy enough in winter, so that the ancients did little navigating at that time of year. Fishing is not a very important industry in the Mediterranean, but in ancient times the dyes obtained from the purple fisheries were highly prized.

Mediterranean basin

The Roman Empire constituted the last stage of the ancient world and of classical civilization, and formed the immediate background and frontier, the gateway and threshold, to the Middle Ages. Let us note some features of classical civilization and of the Roman Empire which were to influence the Middle Ages,

Empire and ancient world

and others which were to disappear and be replaced by new developments. Of the ancient Orient, where civilization had first developed and had flourished for several thousand years, the Roman Empire included only a fraction — Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. The Tigris-Euphrates Valley and Persia, Armenia, and Arabia, to say nothing of the Far-Eastern cultures of India and China, were beyond its bounds.

Hellenic culture

On the whole, the prevailing culture in the Mediterranean basin and the Roman Empire was Greek or classical. Greek or Hellenic civilization — the Greeks called themselves "Hellenes" and occupied more territory than is included in modern Greece — reached its height in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ The Hellenes were great colonizers, and lived on the west coast of Asia Minor, in Sicily and southern Italy, and in coastal settlements scattered about the Black and Mediterranean Seas, as well as in Greece proper and the islands of the Aegean Their culture owed much to the peoples of the Orient, but they were freer politically and intellectually, since no long dynasties of rulers nor ancient hierarchies of priests dominated their life and thought They were "free-born wanderers of thy mountain air" or of the sea They enjoyed the advantage of a better system of writing than those of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians They developed art, especially sculpture, to a higher point, and their simple temples were better proportioned, and their Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns and capitals more graceful, than anything the architecture of the Eastern lands had produced In their Aryan language, which invaders from the north had introduced among them, they expressed themselves with more clarity and beauty than Oriental languages and thought had permitted It is to the Hellenes that we look for the first "classics" in many varieties of literary production; for instance, the epics of Homer, the lyrics of Sappho, the history of Herodotus, the tragedies of Aeschylus, the comedies of Menander, the orations of Demosthenes, the pastorals of Theocritus

The thought of the Hellenes at first took the imaginative form of beautiful mythology, in which various forces of nature were personified and made the subject of innumerable stories of human interest. The Romans, in turn, embellished their cruder and more primitive religion with these myths and identified their gods with those of the Greeks. All classical poetry, drama, and art were full of them. Even in the Christian Middle Ages, writers in Greek or Latin were apt to employ classical mythology for literary allusion and adornment. Indeed, so long as Greek and Latin remained the backbone of a liberal education, such mythological subject-matter and detail continued to be prominent in modern literature and art.

Gradually the thought of the Hellenes progressed to rational speculation concerning the nature of the universe in which man lives and the right conduct of his life in it Such reasoning has ever since been called "philosophy," the name the Greeks themselves gave to it, and is important to note, not only as a prominent feature of their civilization, but because of its great influence upon Christian writers both during the Roman Empire and throughout the Middle Ages The Greek historians themselves narrated little but wars and the doings of generals and statesmen; but the medieval historian, who never had heard of Themistocles or Agesilaus or Philopoemen, could give a brief outline of the views of all the Greek philosophers from Thales of Miletus, who foretold an eclipse of the sun and held that everything is made out of water, down through such names as Pythagoras, who asserted the importance of number and harmony in the universe, Democritus, who first taught that the world is made up of atoms, Socrates, and Plato, to the late schools of thinkers called Stoics, Epicureans, and Neo-Platonists

Aristotle

Of all Greek philosophers Aristotle was to be the most influential in the Middle Ages He had profited by the teaching of Plato, just as Plato had been the disciple of Socrates; but his own teaching was very different from the Platonic philosophy Plato was a poetical idealist; Aristotle was more systematic and scientific His *History of Animals* collected and classified a large amount of zoological data; his *Poetics* discussed various forms of literature and is our first fundamental work of literary criticism and theory, his *Politics* summarized the different forms of government existing in his day More theoretical were his writings on physics, metaphysics, and ethics, but here too he dissented from Plato in many important respects. Several of his treatises were devoted to psychological subjects; and in his works on logic he laid down sound rules which have ever since been observed in the art of reasoning

Aristotle believed that there was only one universe. He accepted the four elements of previous philosophers — earth, water, air, and fire — which were subject to generation and corruption But they were surrounded by an eternal and incorruptible series of celestial spheres and bodies, composed of a fifth essence. These were the spheres of the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars The four elements moved up and down, each seeking its natural place earth at the bottom or center of the universe, water next, then air, and last fire on top next the sky and the sphere of the moon. The heavenly bodies coursed in unending circles, each moved by its Intelligence or Mover. The inferior world was governed by these heavenly bodies and their movements and Intelligences This picture of the universe was to have widespread currency in the Middle Ages

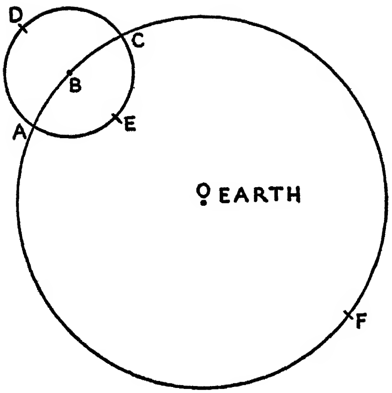
Alexander the Great

Aristotle was for a time the tutor of a young conqueror who was to change the map and civilization of the eastern Mediterranean world Alexander the Great, King of Macedon, 336–323 B C, finishing the work which his father Philip had prepared and begun, conquered the world from the Balkans to Egypt and from the Greek peninsula to the frontier of India. Into this Oriental world, and especially into that portion of it which the Roman Empire later included, was now introduced Hellenic culture, which fused with the remnants of the old cultures of Egypt, Babylon, and Assyria into a civilization termed "Hellenistic." At Alexandria in Egypt, named after and founded by Alexander, the largest library in the ancient world was developed, as well as a zoological park and gardens to encourage further investigations like Aristotle's *History of Animals,* and there, also, gathered a learned society of librarians, editors, literary critics, men of letters, geographers and astronomers, botanists, physiologists, and medical men. Antioch in Syria was a similar center. Greek art, too, now left the peninsula, and cities in Asia Minor became the chief centers of sculpture The striking personality and marvelous career of Alexander left a deep impression. Many a Roman general and emperor tried to imitate his conquests. He became a legendary figure of Oriental lore and of medieval romance.

Greek influence

Alexander's empire was divided after his death into the three great monarchies of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, and many lesser states in Asia Minor and the Greek peninsula Therefore, when Rome had united under her rule all Italy, including the declining Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily, and had decisively defeated her great opponent in North Africa, Carthage, she found it comparatively easy to bring the powers of the eastern Mediterranean one by one under her sway But as Greek civilization had gone on spreading through Alexander's empire after it had ceased to be a political unit, so now that civilization was adopted by the Romans, who indeed had borrowed much from it in Italy before they conquered the East During the time of the Roman Empire and throughout the early centuries of the Christian era, Greek continued to be the written and learned language of the eastern half of the Mediterranean basin, and the science of the Hellenistic period was carried on by such writers as Galen and Ptolemy, our chief sources for ancient medicine and astronomy respectively. It is worth remarking that both these scientists believed in astrology.

Galen commented upon works in the older Hippocratic collection and



PTOLEMAIC EPICYCLE

The center B of the epicycle $ADCE$ moves about the earth on the deferent circle ACF, while the planet revolves about B as center on the epicycle When it is at or near A or C, it seems as seen from the earth to be standing still, A and C are therefore called *stations* As it moves along the epicycle from A through D to C, it seems to be going forward, whereas when it moves from C through E to A, it appears to be retrograding It is nearer the earth when at E than when at D

added numerous treatises of his own which were later to be translated into Arabic and medieval Latin. He made much of the four humors — blood, phlegm, choler, and black bile — and of spirits in the human body "animal" (i e , of the soul or *anima*) or psychic, centering in the brain; "vital" in the heart; and "natural" in the liver.

The Ptolemaic system of astronomy — which, like the Aristotelian philosophy, represented the earth as immobile at the center of the universe with the spheres of the fixed stars and the planets revolving about it — held the field through the Middle Ages and into early modern times until finally the Copernican system replaced it. To make his system fit the observed phenomena, Ptolemy postulated (1) *eccentrics*, by which the planets moved about other centers than that of the earth; (2) *epicycles*, which virtually transferred the earth's movement about the sun to another planet moving in a circle, whose center (and not the planet) revolved in a circle about a center near the earth, (3) *equants*, still other centers with reference to which the planet's movement, or that of the center of its epicycle, was uniform. These hypotheses served both to preserve the ideal of circular motion of the celestial bodies which had been dear to Aristotle, and at the same time to explain why another planet as seen from the earth is now nearer and now farther off, why it sometimes seems to remain stationary, sometimes to retrograde, and sometimes to accelerate its motion. It should be noted that the actual orbit of a planet, according to the Ptolemaic system, was not circular, although based upon an elaborate arrangement of circles and centers of circles.

Greek mathematics has lost some of its glory since we have learned of the solving of equations by the ancient Babylonians and of the Hindu contribution to medieval mathematics However, the Greek accomplishment — and it was a considerable one — was primarily in the field of geometry. Greek numerals, although less handy than the Hindu-Arabic numerals which were to be introduced in the course of the Middle Ages, were far superior to the Roman numerals which were also employed in medieval western Europe The Greeks used the first nine letters of their alphabet for the digits, 1 through 9; the next nine letters for the tens, 10 through 90, and nine more letters for the hundreds, 100 through 900 By combining the letter for 10 with the nine letters representing the digits, they were able to write any number from 11 to 19, and so on (The use of three obsolete letters gave them a total of twenty-seven alphabetic characters) When they reached 1000, they began over again with the alphabet but distinguished the letters by a stroke under them

With the Roman Empire we begin to pass from the history of the Mediterranean basin to the history of western and northern Europe By conquests and acquisitions there, Rome made up for its failure to occupy much of the ancient Orient

The empire spreads

Westward the course of empire takes its way The new area that Rome added to the ancient civilized world comprised not only the coastal regions of the western Mediterranean, but also lands beyond the Balkans and the Alps — the valleys of the Rhine and Danube, the entire interior of the Spanish peninsula, and Transalpine Gaul or most of present France and Belgium The Roman Empire thus advanced to the Atlantic Ocean; it did not halt there, but added the province of Britain beyond the English Channel. Italy had once been the western frontier of the ancient civilized world, and the Latins had been far inferior in culture to the Greeks But they had now adopted Greek mythology and Greek philosophy; copies of the masterpieces of Greek sculpture were to be seen in the houses of the rich Roman nobles; and the various forms of Greek literature were paralleled and imitated in Latin Terence corresponded to Menander; Seneca, to Aeschylus; Cicero, to Demosthenes, and Vergil, to Homer. It was this Latin version of Greek culture that the Romans spread to the new regions.

> Learning and Rome alike in empire grew,
> And arts still followed where her eagles flew. (Pope)

The city-state

There is a key to classical civilization and to the daily life of the Greeks and Latins which has not yet been mentioned, the ancient city-state. Our word "politics" comes from the Greek word for city — *polis* This was the fundamental political, social, and religious unit among the Hellenes, the Latins, and several other ancient peoples Such a state consisted normally of a walled town and a small surrounding area under its government. Peasants who lived outside the walls might perhaps be citizens, but they would have to go to town to vote and to obtain justice One reason for the existence of such states was that the Greeks were shut off from one another in small compartments or on islands by the mountains and seas, or were isolated on a distant shore as a colony amid an alien population But geography was not the sole reason for the existence of the city-state Its citizens believed that they were all related to one another, that they were descended from a common divine ancestor whom they worshiped Their fathers and grandfathers and great-great-grandfathers had lived in that same little town or plain or island as far back as they could remember Consequently the citizens were well acquainted with one another, had the same customs and ways of doing things, and had no desire to admit strangers to a share in their life and citizenship Each city-state had its own religion, its own legends and myths and gods and heroes, its own festivals and forms of worship in which all the citizens participated and which were presided over by the town magistrates. If one went to another city, one found other gods with different names and functions, and strange ceremonies on the wrong days There was, therefore, no distinction between church and state in Greece and Rome The city-state was both One's duty to the gods and one's affection for one's own kindred could best find expression in serving the state In Sparta the state took boys away from the home at seven years of age, and henceforth they lived together in bands, training to be soldiers and statesmen Each city naturally was a distinct economic unit, with an *agora* or market place where the peasants and merchants sold their produce and wares. There was interurban trade, but a city also felt quite free to plunder the ship of any but a fellow-citizen

Even more than today the city was the center of art, literature, learning, and amusement, since there were no means of spreading these things to farm and home — such as we possess in printing, radio, and television. Partly for the same reason and partly because the climate encouraged meeting in the open air, the inhabitants — more especially the men — of the ancient city spent much of their time together out-of-doors, not merely engaging in athletics, but listening to public speakers, poets, and philosophers, attending a dramatic performance, or admiring statues and other works of art, which were exposed to the air rather than enclosed in museums. Also, it was the exterior rather than the interior of a temple that was adorned with frieze and colonnade, for only the priests and individual petitioners entered the small *cella* where were the images of the gods Festivals and other large religious gatherings, such as athletic games and tragedies or comedies — all three of which were religious exercises — were held in the stadium, open-air theater, or some other large open place The streets of the town were, however, apt to be narrow, because the towns were limited in size by their enclosing walls, and because there was little traffic except for pedestrians

In a prosperous city-state there were usually numerous slaves, who of course were not citizens, but whose toil enabled those who were citizens to devote more of their time to war, politics, and culture We shall see that personal slavery did not entirely disappear in the Middle Ages, but society and economy were not based upon it, as was the case among the Greeks and Romans

Every citizen took an active personal share in the government unless he lost his rights through the rise to power of a tyrant or an oligarchy, or through conquest of his city by some neighboring town, which would either leave a garrison and governor of its own, or establish the rule of a few persons favorable to its sway. The ancients seldom practiced representation in government; the citizen was supposed to vote and fight in person, and to plead his own case in court. But it was evidently impracticable for the inhabitants of one town to attend popular assemblies and law courts and religious festivals in another town many miles away. Therefore, either each city had to be left some government of its own, or, if its inhabitants were to be admitted to real citizenship in another town, they must be transplanted thither and their old walls and city destroyed. Syracuse often did just this to the other Greek cities of Sicily.

Municipalities

Rome herself was a city-state, and although more liberal than the Greeks in bestowing citizenship on others, her government in Italy was essentially a league of cities. Moreover, Alexander the Great and his successors had founded scores of such cities throughout the eastern end of the Mediterranean world Rome, through her colonies and municipalities, spread the system in the West Of course the cities now lost their precious privilege of fighting with one another, and the inhabitants were no longer so closely related. But many of the features of the city-state continued, and the town was the fundamental local unit throughout the Roman Empire. The municipality was now almost always organized with an aristocratic government, with *duumvirs*, who corresponded to the Roman consuls, and *decurions* or *curiales* (members of the *curia*), who resembled the Roman senators. These rich men gave freely of their wealth and showed much civic pride in adorning their native city with handsome buildings, undertaking the expense of public works like aqueducts, endowing charitable foundations, or providing games and amusements They gave to the city as modern philanthropists give to universities, cancer research foundations, and foreign missions

Imperial government

While the city-state organization thus lasted into the Roman Empire and continued for some time to display a healthy life, the superimposition of the Roman imperial system and law upon the Mediterranean world and western Europe was a change of the greatest consequence. It is true that the Roman emperors borrowed many of their methods of government from the monarchs whom they conquered and whose lands they incorporated into the empire Likewise, Roman law, before it attained its final perfection, added to the original "civil law" (i e , law of the citizens, or of the city) of the Romans themselves the best of the laws of the Mediterranean world But the Romans knew how to combine into a smoothly working system these odds and ends which they had drawn from diverse sources Thus they gave to the peoples over whom they ruled the advantage of one united government and of a single, harmonious body of law This meant, on the whole, peace and justice for millions of human beings for hundreds of years. To reach this goal, however, a terrible price had to be paid

Rome had won the supremacy in Italy and had then annexed most of the Mediterranean basin under the lead of her senate of three hundred members, from whose families most of the annual magistrates and generals were elected and into whose ranks these officials usually went at the expiration of their term of office The Roman people were normally docile and deferential, trained in strict obedience to their fathers and superiors, and accustomed to the military discipline of the army in which they all served When Rome no longer had to struggle for existence, and the world lay open before her to be conquered and despoiled, the ruling class, hitherto distinguished for their ability, integrity, and devotion to the state, could no longer resist the temptation, but now devoted themselves to battening upon the unfortunate Italians and other conquered peoples, and became corrupt and inefficient. The rank and file of the citizens were dissatisfied with their small share of the plunder, but could see no better way to increase it than by forwarding the ambition of some city official who would give them amusing shows and cheap food, or by serving under some military leader who would let them sack cities and gorge themselves with loot, and then, when their fighting days were over, settle them somewhere in a colony where each would be provided with a farm of his own. However, this delectable devastation could not go on forever, especially since the ruling class became so inordinately ambitious and avaricious that they were not content to divide things decently with one another. The result was civil war, revolts of Italians, revolts of provincials, assassinations, and massacres, until finally the exhausted combatants gladly welcomed the strong rule of one man, and until at last that one man came to see that it was bad policy to kill the geese that laid the golden eggs.

This consummation was practically completed under Augustus Caesar, 31 B C.–A D. 14, whose rule marks the transition from republic to empire. Though he pretended to share his power with the senate, he was commander-in-chief (*imperator*) of the entire army, he appointed the governors of half the provinces, and his vast private estates scattered all over the empire yielded him a princely income These private possessions of his included all Egypt, whose fertile soil alone had once sufficed to support the pomp of Pharaohs and of Ptolemies and to pay the costs of erecting huge temples and pyramids In the city of Rome he was protector of the common people and was constantly being elected to this or that office The successors of Augustus kept increasing their own authority and lessening that of the senate until, after about a hundred years, the *imperator* had become indeed an emperor

The army

But whenever an emperor died, there was likely to be a struggle for the throne between rival candidates, and in settling such disputes the army was apt to prove the decisive factor The soldiers expected donations, if not a steady increase in pay, from each new incumbent This was especially true of the praetorian cohorts or imperial bodyguard at Rome, but the legions from the distant frontier provinces sometimes took a hand, too, and supported the claims of their ambitious commanders Normally, however, the legions were far away on the frontier or encamped in provinces which were as yet not thoroughly subdued But those provinces which had ceased to rebel against Roman rule and which had adopted its civilization were left almost entirely free from the presence of troops, unless the local cities kept a few guards of their own as police against brigands in the mountains or pirates along the coast Thus, in Gaul troops were to be found only near the Rhine frontier, and even in Britain the legions were not stationed in the southeast, but off in the mountains of Wales and northwestern England where they formed a ring of camps protecting the peaceful province Such permanent camps often developed in the course of time into towns

An army of only about four hundred thousand soldiers served to assure peace to the entire empire. They served for twenty or twenty-five years, at the expiration of which term they received Roman citizenship, if they did not possess it already, and allotments of land on which to pass their declining years. Usually enough volunteers enlisted every year

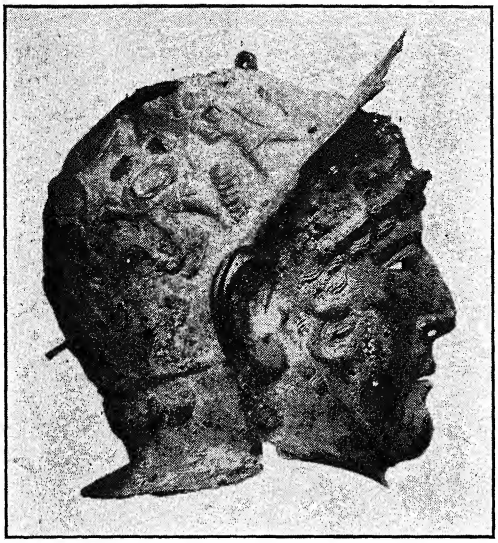


Figure 1

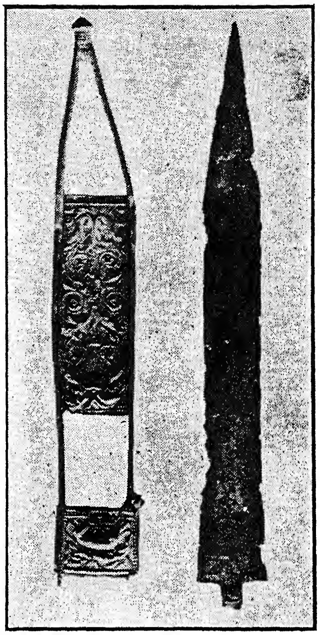


Figure 2

ROMAN ARMS AND ARMOR

Left, bronze helmet with mask; *right*, iron sword and bronze-plated scabbard

to keep the ranks filled. The best emperor was one who traveled about his empire a great deal, strengthening the frontiers or making wise alliances with the peoples outside the empire, hearing the complaints of his subjects against their governors and tax collectors, and noting all opportunities for improving the government and civilization.

Worship of the emperor

We have seen that each city-state had a religion of its own which was directed by the town government. In the Oriental despotisms, such as Egypt, it had been customary to regard the ruler as divine. It was therefore natural that the Roman Empire should have a state religion of its own, and that this should take the form of worshiping the emperor, who seemed to symbolize and to embody the great Roman power. Emperor-worship was the one religious observance that bound all the peoples and races of the vast empire together, whatever might be their own local gods and religious customs. The government did not much care what other rites and doctrines the people might practice and believe, so long as they showed their loyalty by joining in the imperial cult, and refrained from engaging in secret assemblies where rebellion might be plotted or crime perpetrated.

Roman law

Roman law survived the Roman Empire, for it was widely used and studied in the Middle Ages, and the laws of many European countries and of some of our own United States (such as Louisiana) are to this day based in large measure upon its definitions, principles, and ways of legal reasoning, or have even retained many of its particular provisions It was a scientific system consistently and carefully worked out in its every detail by generation after generation of capable jurists These men, by their skillful interpretation of the old written law of the Twelve Tables published in 451–449 B C , had enabled the Romans to conduct their affairs under that primitive code long after their life had been greatly altered from that of the early period and their ideas of justice had become more enlightened Then, through the edicts of successive city praetors and provincial governors, a new body of law, better suited to the requirements of a great city and of the Mediterranean world, had been built up Finally, through law schools, through the decisions of imperial jurists, and through the legal literature, which reached its height about A D 200 in the writings of Ulpian and Papinian, and which is marked by acuteness in reasoning, clearness in statement, and fairness in judgment, Roman law became both technically and practically the greatest legal system that the world had known. The most creative period of Roman jurisprudence was during the latter days of the republic, but the fullest statement of the law which has reached us was drawn from the writings of Papinian, Ulpian, and Paulus, who all held the high office of praetorian prefect. Papinian was executed by the vicious Emperor Caracalla, and Ulpian was murdered by the praetorian guards, but their clear thinking and concise expression left an undying mark upon legal development

Equity and humanity were the guiding ideals of Roman law, and for their sake it gradually rejected old customs, forms, and precedents The Roman jurist was not content with logical reasoning if it led to an unfair decision In such a case he went back and re-examined his premises He was not satisfied to apply an old law or judicial decision in its original meaning, if the social and economic conditions to which it would have to be applied had altered since its formulation. In such a case he would ask himself, What would the maker of this law or the judge who rendered this decision have said, had he lived under present conditions? And he would proceed to interpret the statute or precedent accordingly The jurists had learned from the philosophers the concept of a single universe, which, if not itself a living whole and animated by reason, at least was subject to one law, the law of nature Aristotle had spoken of "natural justice"; the Stoics taught man to order his life after nature and reason, to try to put himself into harmony with the universe of which he was a part, to serve not merely the city in which he lived but mankind at large. Humanity thus became an ideal The slave was a part of nature as much as his master, and was a man like him The Roman Empire, breaking down the barriers between city-states and between races, giving peace within its borders, and ultimately in A D 212 making citizens of all freemen in the empire, helped to encourage this ideal of world-citizenship and the brotherhood of man The lawyers, however, usually resorted to the ideal principles of natural law only when there was no ordinary law in existence, and they did not refuse to recognize slavery as legal, although they did not think it sanctioned by the law of nature But as the empire wore on, slaves were more humanely treated Women also secured a much more favorable position before the law The old arbitrary power of the head of the family over its members was greatly reduced; and on the other hand, youth was protected by the law from losses and injuries sustained through its natural heedlessness and inexperience The Romans, however, seem to have had no qualms about subjecting convicted criminals to cruel punishments, and torture was not unknown in extracting evidence, especially from slaves.

Art and building

The artists of the Roman Empire retained the Greek temple, of which stately specimens survive in towns of southern France like Arles and Vienne. At first they made copies of Greek sculpture, but later they created impressive portrait busts and statues of emperors and other personages, or historical reliefs to adorn triumphal columns and arches Public works such as roads, sewers, and aqueducts (see Figure 3) were often undertaken on a large scale, and some have survived to this day, partly because the Romans used more material and built more solidly than was necessary Their bricks were much larger and flatter than ours, so that walls of any height had to be correspondingly thicker The floors of buildings were of such thick masonry that it does not seem possible that open spaces or passages underneath — the so-called hypocausts — could have been used effectively for heating the rooms above, which were more likely warmed by coals in braziers. The Roman roads, though narrow, were solidly constructed, with a deep foundation of masonry and large paving slabs on top (see Figure 4). Consequently, large stretches of them, sunk into bogs or hollows, are still extant and enable us to trace their course But the fact that they were built to last does not prove that they continued in permanent use in the Middle Ages. Primarily military and intended for infantry, they were hard on horses' hoofs, and in cold climates they were split by the action of frost and could not be readily repaired They were often but not always built straight;

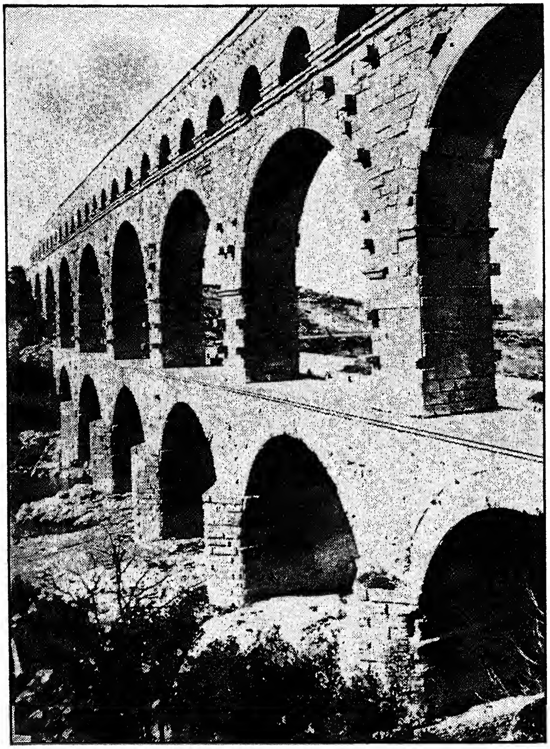
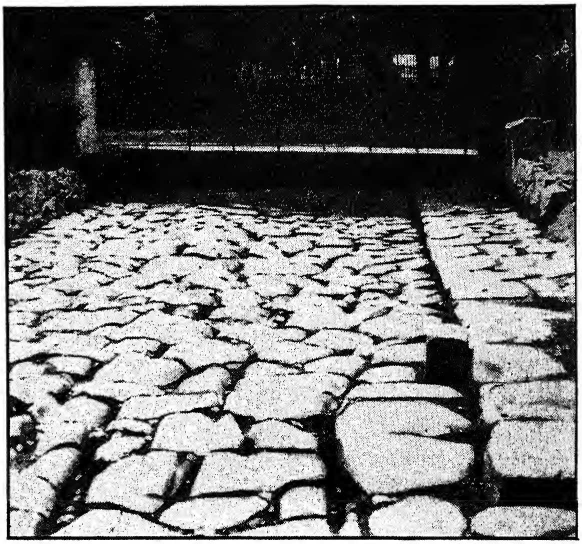


Figure 3

Left, Roman aqueduct, Pont du Gard, near Nîmes in southern France

Figure 4

Right, section of a Roman road from Vienne, on the Rhone River



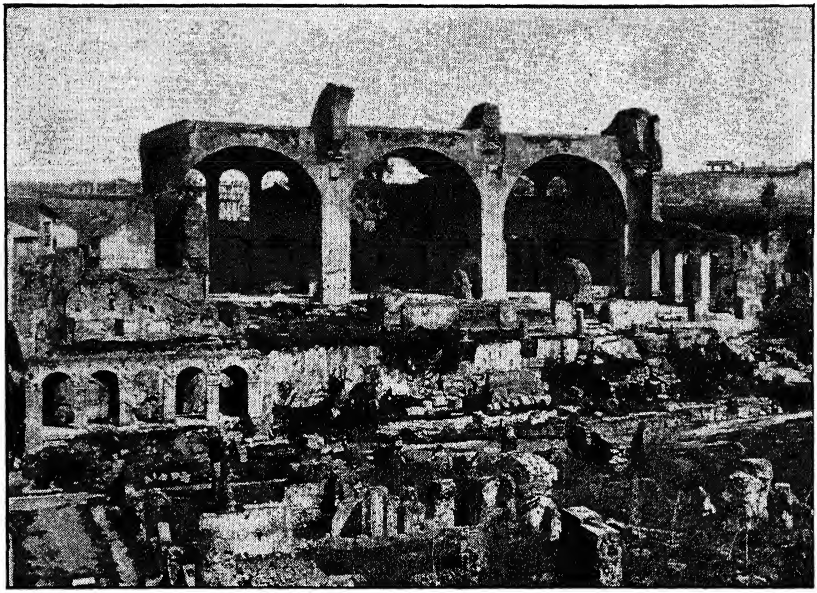


Figure 5

The Basilica of Constantine

the Emperor Trajan constructed cut-offs where the roads were too circuitous, but carried the road around on the level when hills were too high.

The Romans employed the round arch and barrel vault to majestic effect in triumphal arch or town gate, in bridges and aqueducts, in the outer walls of amphitheaters and arenas as well as in their inner labyrinths of entrances, exits, and foundations, and finally in constructing the vast public baths which further served as social clubs and lecture halls, and the spacious basilicas which virtually combined the functions of courthouse and stock exchange. The construction of these latter became so daring that in the so-called Basilica of Constantine (really begun under his defeated rival, Maxentius) a transverse vault was supported in mid-air on two aisles, both composed of three great barrel vaults measuring each 67 by 57 feet, and 80 feet high. This building stood for a thousand years until an earthquake in 1348. The three remaining vaults of one aisle are still perhaps the most impressive single feature of the Roman forum (Figure 5). Such structures, and also the private homes of the well-to-do, were adorned with classical friezes, cornices, and columns. Often, too, they were paved with mosaics — designs or pictures made of a large number of small cubes of stone in black and white or in varying colors.

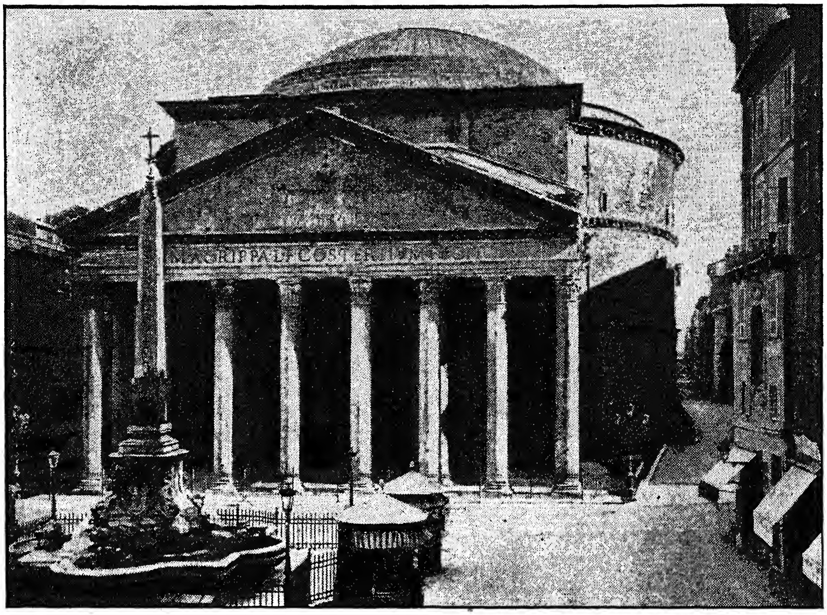


Figure 6

The Pantheon

The Pantheon

The dome was also employed; the chief example still in existence is the Pantheon at Rome (Figure 6). A half sphere of concrete 142½ feet in diameter springs directly from a cylindrical wall, 22 feet thick, that has embedded arches to relieve the weight, and that is also carried up high above the springing in order to counteract the outward thrust of the dome by a weight straight down, a principle to be developed more fully in Gothic architecture. A portico resembling a Greek temple is clumsily attached to this circular building and prevents much light from entering through the doorway, with its fine bronze doors, 26½ feet high; the interior is amply lighted, however, by a circular opening, 29 feet in diameter, in the center of the dome. Bronze flowers which once embellished the square panels of the deeply coffered interior of the dome have disappeared, and the tiles of gilded bronze, with which the exterior was covered, were stripped away in the sixth century by a Byzantine emperor. Some other minor changes have taken place, but the building as it stands today is still a fitting monument of "the grandeur that was Rome."

Such buildings were most numerous and colossal in the city of Rome itself, where the classical ruins made a deep impression upon medieval visitors But they were scattered widely enough over all western Europe to serve as inspiring suggestions for the medieval type of architecture known as Romanesque

Commerce and industry

Commerce and industry, advertising and credit, were not organized on so vast a scale as now. There was surplus capital and private banking, but corporations were frowned upon — except those formed to carry out public works or to farm the taxes, and social organizations for mutual burial insurance Even the benign Emperor Trajan forbade the formation of a local fire company lest it prove a hotbed of sedition Navigation was without chart, compass, rudder, or sails suitable for tacking against the wind, and so was slow and perilous There was, nevertheless, distant trade with the Far East, and wild beasts were imported from the interior of Africa for the shows of the amphitheater On shorter treks the merchant himself usually went and came with his wares, but partnerships were formed, and shares could be purchased in a voyage or other business undertaking The Romans kept books, but were unacquainted with double-entry bookkeeping, which developed later Commerce dealt more with raw products and less with manufactured articles than today. There were in the empire, however, firms or individuals who employed large numbers of workmen and whose products, bearing their names, are found by archaeologists today over widely scattered areas Such were the bronzes of Capua, the ironworks of Puteoli near Naples, the potteries of Arezzo, and the glassware of Sidon. More often handmade articles were sold locally from the small workshops of individuals, whose entire set of utensils and stock in trade could usually be packed up in two or three big earthenware jars Workmen in the same trade might be together in one street Retail merchants also operated on a small scale

Lack of power

For power in agriculture, industry, and transportation antiquity depended very largely upon human beings, who dragged huge blocks of stone for pyramids and obelisks, ground meal for their daily bread in small hand mills, and rowed boats across the Mediterranean. Labor-saving devices were relatively few, whether because human and especially slave labor was abundant, or because, with no new conditions of life to meet and no new forces of nature against which to struggle, conservatism and a lack of ingenuity had set in, or perhaps because the Greek and Latin intellect was more interested in literature and oratory, law and government, the fine arts and philosophy, than it was in economic and industrial development. Even domestic animals were not utilized to the full Pliny in the first century tells us

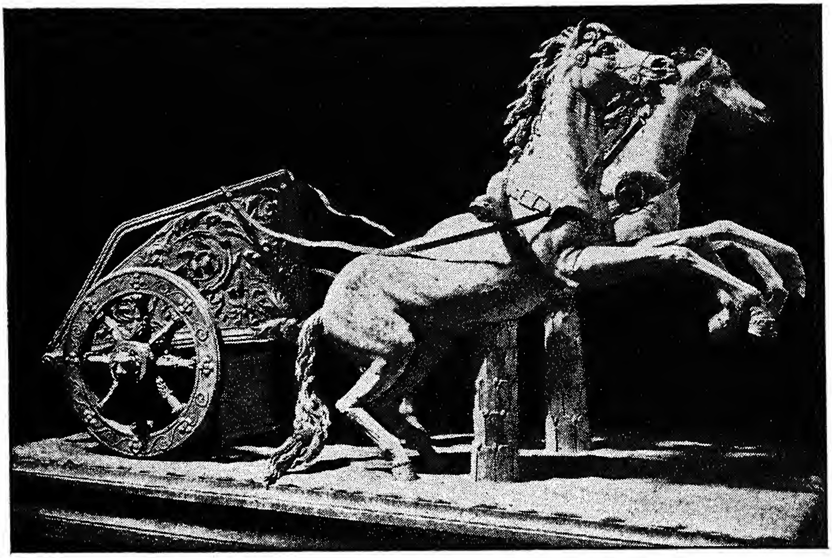


Figure 7

Roman chariot and horses (from the Vatican)

that in the Po Valley eight oxen were sometimes yoked to a plough, and there is some evidence that the heavy wheeled plough, with colter, horizontal share, and moldboard, was already in use in Britain and along the German frontier. But the lighter hand plough seems to have been prevalent in the Mediterranean basin. Horses were yoked somewhat like oxen, with one girth around the body behind the forelegs and another about the neck (Figure 7). This harness did not suit the horse, since it prevented him from throwing his full weight into the pull, and tended to strangle him by pressure on the windpipe if he pulled hard. Consequently, while a span of horses could draw one man on a light chariot in a race or battle, the amount that such a pair could transport in the imperial post of the fourth century was only a fraction of what they would draw today. In other words, the horse was prized chiefly for speed and for riding, but was not yet efficient as a draft animal. The ancients also had no method of harnessing animals tandem, that is, in line one in front of the other. Even as a pack animal the horse was to be more used in the Middle Ages. Water power seems to have been first used to drive mills in the first century B.C. But the first public water mill at Rome, located at the foot of the Janiculum hill, dates only from A.D. 398. Such mills became numerous only in the Middle Ages.

Economic and social life

Life was simple; and living conditions, in even the most populous and highly cultured cities, were what we should call very primitive. The variety of things to eat, even at the table of Rome's richest gourmet, was smaller than now; the common man's diet was very restricted Olive oil of varying grades was at once a fuel, luminant, lubricant, and food. In early fourth-century Rome, 2300 shops sold it, while there were only 254 bakeries in the city. Clothing was simpler, and styles changed less often than today. All our modern domestic conveniences, office appliances, and complicated machinery and gadgets were non-existent Almost everything was done by hand Statues of Roman women show some elaborate coiffures (Figure 9), and cosmetics were used long before the time of Cleopatra In a large city like Rome the proletariat were fed by grain ships from Alexandria and entertained by the shows of the circus and combats of the arena

Crude and uncomfortable as the material existence of the ancients may seem to us, we must remember that they were surrounded by works of art appealing to their esthetic senses, and were free to exercise their bodies in dancing, games, or hunting, and their minds in literature and philosophy. In the words of Pericles, "we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss to manliness " On the other hand, various superstitions, such as trust in charms and amulets and belief in spirits, were more common than now. The orator and demagogue of the earlier free cities had been replaced in the empire by the itinerant philosopher and the wandering miracle-monger The civilized town-dwellers in the empire were therefore not so greatly superior to the so-called "barbarians" beyond its frontiers But they thought that they were. In the *Recognitions of Clement,* a Christian romance of the time of the Roman Empire, we are told that "among the Saracens and Upper Libyans and Moors and the dwellers about the mouths of the ocean, and also in the remote districts of Germany and among the Sarmatians and Scythians and all the nations who live in the regions of the Black Sea . . . there is never found a money-changer nor a sculptor nor a painter nor an architect nor a geometrician nor a tragedian nor a poet."

Historians disagree widely in their estimates of the population of the empire — a matter difficult to determine Rome was certainly a more populous city than today, as its vast extent and many ruinous quarters indicate, and there were at least half a dozen other cities each with a population of three hundred thousand or over But lands like Gaul and Britain had a much smaller population than they support now, while Greece and Italy had become depopulated to a considerable extent by the

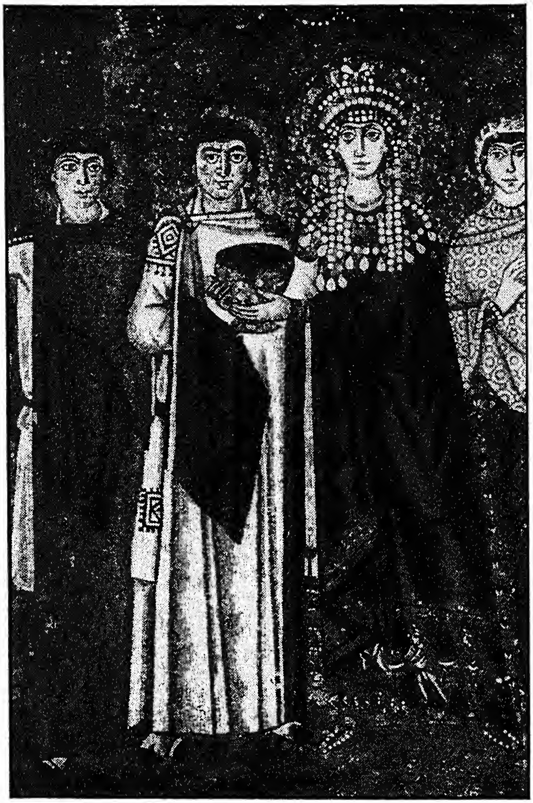
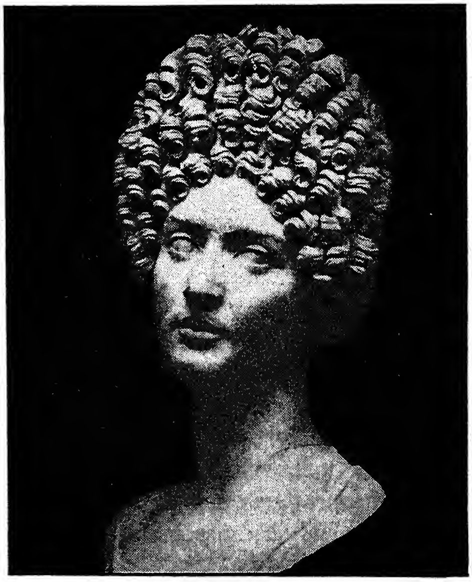


Figure 8

Left, the Byzantine Empress Theodora, with her attendants (from San Vitale, Ravenna)

Figure 9

Right, coiffure of the early Roman Empire (from the Capitoline Museum, Rome)



time of the empire On the other hand, North Africa was then more populous than it has been since The East was undoubtedly the most thickly settled part of the empire In large cities like Rome and Carthage there were buildings many stories high, and the narrow streets were crowded by the passing throng

Leaving city for country, and commerce and industry for agriculture, we find the leading feature of the land system to be the large domain of the great landowner, cultivated by small tenants and by slaves These slaves were sometimes large gangs owned by the landowner, sometimes smaller groups or individuals belonging to the more prosperous tenants If the great landowner had too much land to attend to himself, he would lease it out in large tracts to contractors (*conductores*), who would sublet these to tenants or cultivate them by slave labor Seldom or never did the person who actually tilled the soil own it The emperor was the largest landowner of all As war waned and conquest ceased, it became more difficult to get slaves, while tenants made their landlords considerable trouble by roving about and not remaining permanently in one place The tenant was, however, rather dependent upon his landlord, who usually had to provide him with ploughs, domestic animals, and other equipment at the commencement of his tenancy The Romans spread new plants, trees, breeds of domestic animals, and perhaps better methods of cultivation into the lesser developed parts of the empire, such as Britain.

It is perhaps worth while to list some of the typical occupations in the Roman Empire Politicians and soldiers, lawyers and financiers, priests and diviners, magicians and astronomers, orators and grammarians, poets and philosophers, mathematicians and medical men, musicians and athletes, merchants and business agents, sculptors and painters, jewelers and goldsmiths, druggists and dealers in aromatics and pigments and unguents, dyers and fullers, tanners and potters, workers with fire and metals, cooks and tavern keepers, fishermen and fowlers and hunters, farmers and gardeners, shepherds and grooms, cowherds and swineherds, pilots and sailors, divers and water carriers, embalmers and undertakers and guards of sepulchers, weavers and workers in wool, makers of tunics and manufacturers of linen, miners, turners, shoemakers, millers, bakers, flower sellers, and wine merchants — such were the workers in the Roman Empire

Social life in the empire has already been touched upon in several connections It remains to point out that eating, drinking, and lovemaking absorbed man more than today, since fewer artificial amusements and intellectual diversions were available to him then "Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die," summed up both precisely and completely the life of many an ancient Clothes were also a very important matter to many, and the wearing of gems and purple linen, of chaplets and garlands, and the anointing of one's self with oil, pigments, aromatics, and unguents, seem to have provided a great source of satisfaction As for health, medical practice was vastly inferior to that of our time, and was full of magic, and as a result disease was more rife But outdoor life and the heartless practice of exposing unpromising infants perhaps exerted a counteracting influence in this respect Society was, however, exceedingly susceptible to the ravages of plagues and pestilences In estimating both ancient and medieval callousness to cruel customs like torture and gladiatorial combats, we must take somewhat into account the fact that men were then more accustomed to physical pain, since they lacked many modern preventives such as dentistry and anesthetics

Pliny and Plutarch

Pliny's *Natural History*, in Latin, completed about A D 77, is "a vast encyclopedia of ancient knowledge and belief upon almost every known subject." Although primarily devoted to the world of nature, it is also the chief single source extant for all facets of ancient civilization and their past history It is, further, a great repository of ancient lore and magic drawn from two thousand rolls by a hundred authors Pliny not merely gives us a wide collection of facts and misinformation but also introduces moral reflections and criticism of the worldly and unintellectual society of his own time If, however, Pliny deals primarily with natural phenomena and the material side of civilization, we may turn for a more human and spiritual picture to the pages of Plutarch, who wrote in Greek his famous *Lives of Illustrious Men* and his so-called *Moral Essays* about A D 100 The latter is really a large collection of essays on miscellaneous topics, giving us many glimpses of ancient science, religion, superstition, manners, and morals The same is true of the biographies; in these he not only sets before us in pairs for comparison the great names in Greek and Roman history, and tells many facts for which we have no other sources, but also recounts anecdotes, quotes from his favorite authors, often pauses to moralize and to supply us with precious detail concerning the civilization and customs of his own day as well as of the time of the man whose character and career he is unfolding Plutarch himself was a cultured and humane man, who often could not approve of the deeds of the great men of the past, and who shows us the higher standards of morality and altruism that were coming to prevail in the peaceful empire, where, too, however, many vices and superstitions of antiquity were still perpetuated.

Bibliographical Note

Pliny, Plutarch, or almost any other classical author may be read in English translation H S Jones, *The Roman Empire, B C 29–A D 476*, in *The Story of the Nations* series is a good chronological presentation of the political history. It also has good illustrations Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, is best on this side of the history On intellectual history, see C Bailey, *Legacy of Rome* and *The Mind of Rome*, Cary and Haarhoff, *Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World*, and my *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol I, Book I, The Roman Empire H N. Wethered's *The Mind of the Ancient World* is limited to Pliny's *Natural History*. On the cities and provinces A C and F F Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, A H M Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, A L Frothingham, *Roman Cities of Italy and Dalmatia*, charmingly written, A C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian*, the numerous books of E S Bouchier on Roman Africa, Spain, Syria, and Antioch, and those of R G Collingwood and F. J Haverfield on Roman Britain On communication M P Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, and the articles of C. E. Van Sickle on "The Repair of Roads," *Classical Philology*, 24 (1929), 77–88, and Westermann "On Inland Transportation," *Political Science Quarterly*, September, 1928 On mining, O Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe*, and on aqueducts, Thomas Ashby, *The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, or E B Van Deman, *The Building of the Roman Aqueducts*. On the fine arts A. P Laurie, *Greek and Roman Methods of Painting*, E Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Grant Showerman, *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome*. Finally, H. W. Johnston, *The Private Life of the Romans*.

II

The Early Germans

We now turn to the peoples outside the Roman Empire and especially to the early Germans, whose fusion with the western part of the empire was to coincide with the passing of classical civilization and lead on to the numerous feudal states of medieval Europe and national states of modern Europe It should be realized that these early Germans not merely have a relation to modern Germany, where they became later intermixed with Slavic and other stocks, and to Scandinavia, where their lineage and physique have least altered, but that they also contributed the Anglo-Saxons and Danes to England, the East Goths and Lombards to Italy, the West Goths and Suevi to Spain, the Burgundians and Franks to France, the Alamanni to Switzerland, and the Scandinavians to Russia In short, they form an important factor in European history and civilization Montesquieu in eighteenth-century France still spoke of "our fathers, the ancient Germans" It is therefore highly desirable to trace their development from the earliest possible date.

"Barbarians"

The ancient Greeks had called all those who did not speak their language and conform to their customs barbarians (*barbaroi*), including even the Persians, who were almost as civilized as the Greeks and certainly more truthful The usage continued in the Roman Empire Those peoples who dwelt beyond its frontiers were referred to as barbarians, whether they were Picts and Scots in the British Isles, Berbers and Moors from the Sahara Desert, or Germanic tribes along the Rhine and Danube rivers The peoples to the north of the Black Sea were called Scythians by the Greeks, and Sarmatians by the Romans Originally they were nomadic, but the Greeks founded colonies and cities on the seacoast and obtained large supplies of grain from the interior, which suggests that settled agricultural life had come to prevail there to a large extent This region was never included in the Roman Empire, but the civilizing Greek influence did not soon die out Archaeological finds there indicate also a considerable degree of art and culture independent of Greek influence Some of this is to be credited to the German Goths, who entered the region from the north in the third century. Excavation

along the Roman *limes* or wall between the Rhine and Danube, and the finding of Roman coins in the German territory beyond, reveal a close contact, trade, and Romanizing influence between the empire and the barbarians. Nor was the influence all in one direction. Such things as felt, the wheeled plough, barrels and tubs, rye, oats, and hops were probably barbarian inventions or products. Already in the first century the Roman Emperor Caligula wore a German wig and dyed the hair of prisoners whom he had taken in Gaul, in order to make them look like Germans who had been captured in Germany, when he exhibited them in his triumphal procession. And Roman ladies used on their hair a kind of soap that was imported from Germany.

Source materials

Caesar speaks briefly of the character and customs of these German barbarians in his account of his conquest of Gaul, but the chief, and indeed almost the sole, description of them which has come down to us from Roman times is the brief *Germania* of Tacitus, written in A.D. 98. Scholars have fought almost tooth and nail over the interpretation of a sentence or the wording of a phrase in this precious text. Every student of the Middle Ages should read for himself the dozen of its pages that deal with the traits and institutions of the Germans as a whole, and thus get a first-hand knowledge of this original source which forms the basis of all modern accounts of the early Germans. Although Tacitus was one of the ablest of Roman historians, one caution must be observed in reading him. In his other historical writings we find him bitter against many persons and factors in Roman society and politics; this bias and discontent may make him too ready to see good in the Germans and their customs. When, for instance, he says that among the Germans freedmen are of slight account, except in those tribes where the king elevates them above freemen and even nobles, he may be sneering at the imperial freedmen of Rome — who often held high governmental positions under the emperor — rather than accurately depicting German conditions. When he describes German funerals as exceedingly simple, he probably has it in mind to reprove Roman pomp and luxury, and ignores the elaborate games and feasting that often accompanied the funeral of a German chieftain.

Aside from the writings of Caesar and Tacitus, our sources of information about the early Germans may be roughly summarized as follows: (1) primitive utensils, valuables, and other human remains, which are found most richly in excavations made in Scandinavia, (2) the much later archaeological remains, indicative of a more advanced state of civilization, found along the Roman frontier and to the north of the Black Sea; (3) brief and usually unsatisfactory incidental allusions to the Germans in the works of Greek and Roman geographers, travelers, romancers, and historians, of whom the last simply recount the wars of Rome against the barbarians and tell little of the Germans themselves, (4) laws issued in Latin, after the break-up of the Roman Empire, by the German tribes who formed states in the West, (5) early Germanic literature, such as the poem *Beowulf*, the mythological *Eddas* of Iceland, the skaldic poetry of Norway, the sagas or prose histories, and the *Nibelungenlied* Unfortunately most of this literature was not written down until the twelfth century, and so must be used with caution as a source for the language, religion, and customs of the barbarian Germans of Roman times The laws, too, though written down much sooner after the fall of Rome, are apt to show Teutonic customs considerably altered by lapse of time, Christian influence, contact with Roman civilization, and the altered circumstances under which the Germans were by then living. To sum up, our scanty sources about the early Germans are spread out thin over a period of some three thousand years, beginning with archaeological finds dating fifteen hundred years or so before Christ, and ending with poems and stories not set down in writing until nearly twelve hundred years after Christ

In the middle of this long dark road the little beacon of Tacitus sends forth a welcome light His account is entitled to the more credence because among the customs which he describes as peculiar to the Germans are some which we find in existence a thousand years later, such as the wager of battle, the *Wergeld* or payment in compensation for a person slain, the elevation by kings of men of servile origin above freeborn men and nobles, as in the case of the later feudal *ministeriales*, the annual shifting of ploughed fields; the reckoning of time by nights instead of days, of which we have an English relic in the word "fortnight" (that is, fourteen nights rather than fourteen days or two weeks) Archaeological evidence, too, has for the most part substantiated Tacitus

The Germans origins

The early Germans were of northern European race, tall of stature, with long skulls and fair complexions. Their earliest home was, perhaps, the region about the west end of the Baltic Sea, where archaeological evidence shows them to have been in the bronze age of civilization from about 1500 to 500 B C. Toward the close of this period they appear to have expanded southeast to the Vistula River and the Carpathian Mountains They next came under the uplifting influence of the higher, iron-age type of civilization characteristic of the Celts to the southwest Meanwhile the Germans were also advancing in this southwestern direction, until they reached the Rhine and Main Rivers. A century before Christ two peoples called the "Cimbri" and "Teutones" entered Gaul and soon threatened Italy, but were finally annihilated by Roman armies the Teutones, in southern Gaul just as they were preparing to cross the Alps, and the Cimbri the following year just after they had crossed into northern Italy. It has been questioned whether one or both of these peoples were not Celtic rather than Germanic, but the adjective Teutonic has since been used as synonymous with Germanic By Caesar's time the Germans were again pressing into Gaul He checked their advance and brought the territory from the Pyrenees to the Rhine under Roman rule

Caesar was impressed with the differences between the Celtic Gauls and the Germans, and Tacitus regarded the Germans as quite distinct from all other peoples and probably an unmixed, indigenous race His reason, however — that no one would consent to live amid such wild forests and filthy swamps and in so cold and raw a climate, unless he had been born there and knew no other clime — scarcely recommends itself to the serious consideration of the modern student of ethnology. But their large, tall bodies, fierce blue eyes, and reddish hair all marked them off from the shorter and darker men of the Mediterranean basin

Mode of life

Caesar represented the early Germans as a pastoral, almost nomadic people who lived mainly on milk, cheese, and flesh, and raised little grain But even in his time they were seeking fertile soil, and there is archaeological evidence of manuring, threshing, milling flour, and baking bread Both Caesar and Tacitus incline a little too much to picture the Germans from the military point of view as hostile warriors who always went armed Yet Tacitus also speaks of tribes and regions "sunk in long peace and idleness " We may therefore tentatively question whether warfare, plunder, and hunting were in fact the favorite occupations of the Germans of his day, and loafing, carousing, and gambling the chief diversions, and also whether the care of fields and cattle as well as of the house was left to women, old men, and others who could not fight, or to slaves Houses, which were rude affairs of rough timber more or less plastered with mud, without use of cement or tiles, were not built adjoining one another as in Italy but each with its surrounding plot of ground. Underground chambers, covered with manure for warmth, were used for storage of crops or for refuge from winter and the foe. Clothing was made largely of skins of animals, the men wore close-fitting trousers like those of the Persians Caesar says that the Germans bathed in rivers even in the depth of winter, but Tacitus has them take warm baths in cold weather and sleep late in the morning He says that they ate at individual tables Beer was the favorite beverage It is a moot point whether they had private or communal ownership of land, and if private, whether the great landed estate existed among them. Caesar and Tacitus imply that the magistrates of the community controlled the distribution of fields, but Tacitus adds that this allotment was made according to social rank. It seems likely that plots assigned to different individuals were ploughed and tilled together, while forest, swamp, and pasture were not divided but were used in common. Tacitus says that the early Germans had neither orchards, gardens, nor meadows, but there are indications from other sources that they ate fruit and were acquainted with a number of cultivated plants. Swine, cattle, horses, poultry, and bees were raised and kept. Against the view that the great estate was predominant is the discovery even along the Roman frontier of remains of small homesteads as well as of large villas. Tacitus says that everyone knows that they have no cities, but within fifty years the *Geography* of Ptolemy lists cities in Germany. In the interior, according to Tacitus, trade was mere barter of goods, except as merchants from the Roman Empire introduced coins. Capital and interest were unknown. From the Germans these traders got such commodities as amber, furs, goose feathers, and slaves. The tribes which bordered upon the North Sea had only rude boats, but showed considerable nautical skill and were imbued with a passionate love of the sea. The early Germans had barely enough iron with which to tip their spears, but they were fond of jewelry and gold ornaments. When the Goths, who were Germanic tribes, came west from the Black Sea in the period of invasions, they brought with them a style of inlaid gold jewelry, set with a mosaic of table garnets or colored pastes in cells. The germ of later heraldry and coats of arms may perhaps be traced in the remark of Tacitus that "they distinguish their shields by very carefully chosen colors." He further mentions their "ancient songs," war chants, and spear dances. But they appear to have had no writing except for brief runic inscriptions which are occasionally found set down in letters imitating the classical alphabet.

Mental traits

From the accounts of Caesar and Tacitus one might judge that the early Germans were a thoughtful people, capable of reflection and argument. Thus Caesar says that they offered many reasons for their custom of redistributing the land annually among the clans and kinship groups, which reasons he proceeds to list. He also gives the reasons why they lay waste the land about them in all directions. Tacitus represents them as thinking it inconsistent with the sublimity of celestial beings to confine the gods within walls or to liken them to the human face and form. They are said to have discussed important private matters and affairs of state at their drunken feasts, "because they think that at no other time is the mind more open to fair judgment or more inflamed to mighty deeds On the day following the matter is reconsidered and a particular advantage is secured on each occasion They take counsel when they are unable to practice deception, they decide when they cannot be misled." [1] One suspects, however, that Caesar and Tacitus have put these reasons into the mouths of the Germans, and in any case they are incorrect explanations of the customs in question. From the later literature of the Germans themselves it has been inferred that they were shrewd and somewhat skeptical, and of a philosophical, moralizing, and epigrammatic turn of mind

Religion

We know little of the religious beliefs and practices of the Germans before their conversion to Christianity Caesar says that they worshiped only those gods whom they could see, namely, such forces in nature as the sun, moon, and fire Tacitus in one passage tells of their carrying into battle "images and standards taken from their sacred groves"; elsewhere he states that they made no images of their gods, whom they worshiped not in temples made by hands, "but consecrate woods and groves and give the names of gods to that secret mystery which they see by reverence alone" — a characterization which we may perhaps take as a flattering idealization of primitive nature worship, or in which we may even see dimly adumbrated the later Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith The later pagan Scandinavians, at least, had temples, but also worshiped certain hills and mounds, and had stone altars under the open sky They were great sacrificers and also drank toasts to their gods and dead heroes Tacitus applies the Roman names Mercury, Hercules, and Mars to the German gods Woden, Thor, and Tiu whom they faintly suggest Our names for certain days of the week — Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday — come from these names of German gods, while Friday is named after the goddess Freya Tacitus tells us that the Germans sometimes practiced human sacrifice, and that they were addicted to many forms of divination, by bits of wood, by sacred horses, and by birds From other sources we learn that they burned their dead and believed in a future life They worshiped their ancestors, and indications of fetish worship are seen in their sacred trees, whence are derived our Maypoles and Christmas trees Their early religion was also marked by much magic ritual Woden was their teacher in mystic writing, incantations, and the performance of marvels For legends of their gods and heroes somewhat similar to Greek mythology, we have to turn to the Icelandic *Eddas* and the German *Nibelungenlied*, which date in their present extant form from the twelfth century

Women were respected and family life was wholesome Tacitus says

---

[1] There is a similar passage in the Greek historian Herodotus about the Persians

Woman and the family

that the girls were as tall and vigorous as the boys, and that their dress was not much different from that of their brothers, except that they more often wore linen and sleeveless garments Early marriages were not contracted and monogamy was the rule "Almost alone among barbarian peoples they are content with one wife each, except a very few who make several marriages not from lust but because of their high rank " In some tribes widows were forbidden to remarry, and their voluntary death met — as in India — with approval Evidently husband and wife were hardly equal The adulteress, shorn of hair and naked in the presence of her kindred, was driven from the house by her husband and whipped all through the settlement "For no one there smiles at vice, nor is corrupting and being corrupted called the way of the world " The wives and children were often present to spur the warriors on to fight, for the men feared captivity most for their women Certain women were looked upon with awe as prophetesses

Mothers nursed their own children, who grew up naked and sturdy. The father had the legal right to reject the newborn babe and leave it to die of exposure, a practice which was all too frequent among the cultured Greeks and Romans, but after he had once taken it to his bosom he could not kill it. Tacitus implies that the children were seldom exposed When a son married or was allowed by the father to receive his arms from any other man in the tribal assembly, and when a daughter married, the paternal authority over them ceased The husband's power over the wife was not quite so great as that of the father over the children In early days the wife was either stolen from another tribe or peacefully purchased from her kindred, if two persons within the same tribe married. In this latter case the wife's kinsmen did not entirely abandon their interest in her welfare, and could in some instances offer her legal protection.

Social organization

For in addition to the family, the Germans had another larger social group, the *Sib*, or association of kinsmen This institution was analogous to the *gens* of the Greeks and Romans Possibly the *Sib* was older than the family, a relic of the time when a wandering life was led and before settlement on the land and the founding of separate households and homes took place Members of the *Sib* fought side by side in battle, and stood by each other in lawsuits, providing security or compurgators, and receiving the *Wergeld* or damages for a slain member The *Sib* either itself acted as guardian of widows and orphans or appointed some individual so to act

Both nobles and slaves were to be found among the early Germans. Some of the privileges and prerogatives of the nobility will be brought out later in the course of this chapter. The slave class was made up of captives in war, delinquent debtors, men who had gambled away their freedom or sold themselves into servitude to get something to eat and wear, the children of slaves, and slaves purchased from other tribes. It was a point of honor for one who had gambled away his freedom to deliver himself over to the winner. The father of a family had the right to sell child or wife, if he were in dire need. By strict law the slave was a mere chattel, he could not contract a legal marriage and had no position before the law, his master was responsible for his acts and had the power of life and death over him. According to Tacitus, however, most of the servile population among the Germans had houses of their own, paid their masters a portion of their produce, and were seldom beaten or punished, and so might better be called serfs than slaves. The existence of such serfdom is favorable to the afore-mentioned theory that the large estate predominated.

Army and freedom

The army was the oldest political organization and the bearing of arms the sign and test of freedom and of citizenship. Tacitus says that it was "not customary for anyone to assume arms until the tribe has recognized his competency to use them." Some kinsman or chief equipped the youth with his shield and spear in the presence of the whole army, or tribal assembly, which amounted to the same thing. "Before this he was only a member of a household, hereafter he is a member of the tribe." This one sentence and this custom suggest a great deal. The son passed from the paternal authority at an early age to become a free warrior on an equality with his fellows. This is very different from the custom of Chinese society, for instance, where the son even after marriage lived on under his father's roof, where old men and their ideas or lack thereof controlled life, and where duty to the family took precedence of business obligations or patriotism. It is also very different from early Roman usage where the father retained his authority, regardless of whether his sons married or not, and could punish a son even after he had served as consul at the head of the army.

Political organization

It was the duty and privilege of every freeman to attend the tribal assembly in arms, and the warrior who had left his shield behind him on the battlefield was not permitted to enter. The influence of religion is manifest in the holding of the assembly — at the time either of the new or full moon — in an open place consecrated to the war god Tiu, where the hallowed ground was roped off and priests proclaimed silence and kept order. The freeman, however, was inclined to assert his independence by arriving late. Debate was regulated by age, rank, military prowess, eloquence, and power of persuasion

The mass of freemen present usually contented themselves with shouting their dissent in chorus or clashing their spears against their shields in unison as a token of approval A council of chiefs discussed beforehand the matters to be submitted to the assembly The assembly decided the question of peace and war, had criminal jurisdiction, chose the magistrates to act as judges in the localities, and was consulted on all other important matters It seldom legislated in the modern sense of the word, because law among the early Germans was regarded as customary, sacred, eternal, and unchangeable The object of government, they thought, was not to make new laws, but to maintain the good old customs Neither was there any state taxation, because there was no coinage and few officials, and all government and warfare were attended to personally by the freemen without pay Tacitus says, however, that it was customary to make voluntary gifts of honor to the chiefs

Caesar states that the tribe chose a single leader only when about to engage in war; and some of the Teutonic peoples appear not to have had kings until they invaded the Roman Empire Tacitus affirms that their kings were chosen for their ancestry; their generals, for their valor; that the power of the former was limited, and that the latter led more by example than command, only the priests venturing to inflict such penalties as death, flogging, or imprisonment The first part of this statement probably refers to the custom of electing the king from among the members of some one noble family The king was likely to be deposed by the assembly or violently slain by some offended warrior or ambitious rival

Besides the tribal army, the Germans had a smaller and more personal military organization, commonly known by its Latin name, *comitatus*, indicating a band of comrades (*comites*) Caesar tells us that frequently in an assembly a chief would propose a raid upon some neighboring tribe and ask for volunteers to join therein It was easy to get them, because, as Tacitus says, "If their native state sinks into the lethargy of long peace and quiet, many of the noble youths voluntarily seek those tribes that are still carrying on war." Such young men would join the following of some distinguished chief and take an oath "to defend and protect him and give him all the glory of their brave deeds" To survive him in battle was a lasting infamy He in return had to support them with the proceeds of plunder and war In *Beowulf* the companions live in their lord's hall and his wife mends their clothes The size and fighting ability of his *comitatus* brought fame and influence to its leader both in his own and neighboring tribes The followers did not regard their position as dependent in any humiliating or restrictive sense, but felt themselves the social equals of their leader. In the time of Tacitus, there were, nevertheless, grades among them, "assigned by the judgment of their leader" and "great rivalry . . . as to who shall rank first with the chief." But on the whole we see in the *comitatus* another illustration of the importance of youth and voluntary organization among the early Germans.

Early law and justice

Although the Germans engaged so much in war, they were not a lawless people. They had their ancient customs and standards, which they tried to fix in their memories by alliterative or proverbial expressions. They had their folk-courts, local magistrates and "law-speakers," but no police. A man's kindred were supposed to look after him and see that he kept the peace. The individuals concerned in a case and the community as a whole had to bring wrongdoers to justice, and to enforce rights or execute sentences after these had been determined in court. The law was very strict, and less fair than the law of the Roman Empire. One had to suffer for his act, regardless of whether his intention had been good or evil.

Legal procedure consisted chiefly of set forms of words and ceremonies employed by the litigants themselves to decide the controversy. These forms had to be observed most scrupulously, and one was not permitted to repeat in order to rectify a mistake. A lawsuit normally opened by the plaintiff's going with witnesses to the house of the defendant and formally summoning him to appear in court. At the court the plaintiff, holding a staff in his hand, made his complaint in set terms, and the defendant had to answer by denying each charge fully and explicitly or he would be regarded as admitting its truth. The court then straightway decided which of the two parties should be put to further proof. The method of proof was not the careful sifting of evidence, but oath or ordeal. The only sort of testimony desired was that of ceremonial witnesses to the effect that in the case in question the legal forms prescribed by custom, such as handing a spear, glove, or sod, had been duly observed; or the sworn assertions of the friends and kinsmen of each party that they believed him to be a credible person. Both oath and ordeal were religious tests. In taking an oath one invoked the gods and feared their condign punishment for perjury. Sometimes one litigant was allowed to establish his side of the case by his solitary oath, but more often either the plaintiff or defendant was required to produce a certain number of oath-helpers to swear with him. Ordeals, as we know them later, had been considerably altered by the Christian Church from their original form of appeals to the judgment of heathen deities. The two litigants might draw lots to determine who was in the right, or they might engage in single combat with the idea that God would give victory to the right. Or the one who had made the less favorable impression upon the court by his pleading might have the burden of proof put upon him in the form of undergoing the ordeal of fire or of water He might be thrown into holy water, which was supposed to reject any guilty person, so that if he floated on its surface he was condemned, while if he sank he was believed to be innocent. Or he might have to plunge his hand into boiling water, or carry a red-hot bar for three paces, or walk a short distance over hot ploughshares. The injured member was then bound up, and if after three days it was found to be healed, the decision was in his favor, if otherwise, he was pronounced guilty Still another ordeal consisted in trying to swallow a large morsel of bread or cheese without its sticking in the throat

Although there were no police to enforce this system of justice, public opinion was behind it, and if any man refused to submit to it, he was liable to be outlawed; that is to say, he was put outside the peace of the tribe No one in the tribe could protect or shelter him, in fact, it was the duty of all the tribe to hunt him down; he became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and his property was divided between his king and his kin. Women could not be outlawed because they were not directly under the protection of the law in the first place, but under the care of their fathers, husbands, or kindred. Outlawry was also the penalty for those crimes considered the most heinous

Killing a man, however, was not then esteemed so serious an offense as now, and could usually be atoned for by paying the *Sib* of the dead man the amount of his *Wergeld,* which varied in value as he was a noble, freeman, or freedman. If one killed a slave, one simply paid his master damages. This practice of compensation largely replaced the older custom of feud by which the *Sib* of the dead man tried to get open revenge upon the slayer or any other member of his kinship group. *Wergelds* and the share of the kin in them continued in parts of Germany as late as the seventeenth century

In general it may be affirmed that all free members of the tribe who were not still under paternal authority had equal rights before the law, except that nobles were protected by a larger *Wergeld* and their oaths carried more weight in court. The Germans had no testamentary law because they made no wills. A man's property was inherited by his children or other relations according to rules fixed by custom Their real-estate law was not at all complex because their agricultural life was as yet so simple. With the law of partnership, sales, contracts, and other business relations they were still less conversant. In short, their law was largely personal. Each tribe, of course, had its own customs or laws, which differed considerably from those of other peoples

It should be added, however, that while German law, taken as a whole, was incomplete, crude, and harsh, compared to the fine humane system which had grown up in the Roman world, it was, on the other hand, much like the law with which the early Roman farmers had been content in their little settlement on the Tiber. Indeed, the Germans were not so unlike the people within the empire as they at first sight seemed. The Greeks and Latins themselves had been produced a thousand or more years before Christ by a fusion between the peoples of the Mediterranean race and invaders of the northern European race speaking Indo-European languages, for the Latin, Greek, and German tongues all belong to the same group. The future was to show what the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Germans would produce.

Germans in the empire

Already in A.D. 98 Tacitus saw in the Germans a greater menace to Rome than the Samnites, Carthaginians, Spaniards, or Gauls had been; and he feared "German liberty" more than the Parthian kingdom. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180) had to spend almost his entire reign away from Rome in a hard struggle against both Parthians in the East and German tribes, the Marcomanni and Quadi, on the upper Danube. These latter, together with the Sarmatian Iazyges, who were probably not Germans, had overrun the Roman provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia, and had reached the Adriatic Sea. Marcus Aurelius at last managed to bring the territory as far as the Danube again under Roman control, but in order to replenish the wasted population of Pannonia he settled there many thousands of the conquered barbarians. Their duty was to till the soil, which they were not allowed to leave, and to defend it against any further invasions that their kinsmen across the river might attempt. To such an extent did the successors of Marcus Aurelius allow or compel the barbarians to settle within the boundaries of the empire that a century later, we are told, "not a province was free from the presence of the barbarian settler." Of these many were Germans, who thus had already begun to fuse with the Romans.

The Goths

At the opening of the third century of the Christian era, the Sarmatians, as the barbarians north of the Black Sea were now called, were being driven out by the German Goths, who had migrated to the Black Sea from their earlier home on the Baltic. The middle of the third century was a period of civil strife and misgovernment in the Roman Empire, which came near going to pieces as a result. The Goths took advantage of this state of affairs to cross the Danube and the Balkans, and to defeat and kill the Emperor Decius. They also ravaged the shores of the Black Sea with their fleets, completely devastated the Roman province of Bithynia, and passing through the Dardanelles into the Aegean Sea, wrought havoc and ruin along its coasts Meanwhile in the West the Franks had crossed the Rhine into Gaul and then into Spain, and other Germans had invaded Italy itself, while Moorish tribes made trouble in northwestern Africa. Finally the barbarians were defeated, but the emperors found it necessary once more to surround the city of Rome by walls, and to abandon Dacia, a large province on the north side of the lower Danube which had been added to the empire at the beginning of the second century. The Goths thereupon spread into this abandoned province, and henceforth were found along the Danube as well as to the north of the Black Sea They divided into two peoples, the East and West Goths, or Ostrogoths and Visigoths Archaeological finds in southern Russia and in the territory north of the Black Sea indicate that the Goths were not mere barbarians but possessed a quite highly developed art and culture of their own, distinct from the civilization of the earlier Greek colonies in that region.

Bibliographical Note

The accounts of Caesar and Tacitus may be read in English translation in *Translations and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania*, VI, iii, 2–16. An interesting, if old-fashioned, portrayal of early German life is found in F. B. Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, 1892, republished in 1930 as *Founders of England* On early Teutonic myths and religion, there are J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 1882, H. A Guerber, *Myths of Northern Lands*, 1895, De la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, 1902. All these accounts draw largely from later Norse mythology and Anglo-Saxon literature.

III

Decline of Rome and Growth of Christianity

Causes of decline

Exactly why and how came to pass the decline of the great Roman Empire, which had seemed to knit together so satisfactorily most of the civilized lands of antiquity? This question is not easy to answer, especially with the scanty sources at our disposal. Numerous attempts have been made to solve the mystery, and the fall of Rome has been variously attributed to mosquitoes and malaria, to the drain of precious metals to the Far East, and to exhaustion of the soil. Probably the fundamental reason was that the Roman Empire was founded on the ruins of states and civilizations that had already declined, like Egypt, Phoenicia, Asia Minor, Carthage, and the Hellenic cities of the Greek peninsula, Sicily, and southern Italy. The empire was a patchwork of outworn nationalities or despotisms and of bygone cultures, which had not been able to save themselves from Rome's attacks and which could give little to reinvigorate the new whole. The Roman Empire, then, possessed little new life of its own, it was the last stage in the ancient history of the Mediterranean basin.

Greece and Italy, the very heart of the empire, had shown unmistakable symptoms of decay even before the Roman Empire, strictly speaking, had begun. Not only had the Hellenes lost their cherished liberty and political independence, not only had the republican form of government and the popular assemblies proved a failure at Rome, but in both Italy and Greece depopulation and alarming economic decline were painfully evident during the two centuries before the Christian era. Moreover, first the Greeks and then the Italians had displayed an increasing distaste for military service and an increasing fondness for lives of ease and luxury. It is significant that after the first century of the Christian era Italy furnished no more emperors; Rome's rulers henceforth came from the provinces.

To her new acquisitions in the north and west, Rome, as we have seen, spread the benefits of classical civilization, thus raising those provinces to a higher state of culture than that of their previous tribal life, but not leading them to create any new art or literature, or any new industrial methods or political institutions of their own They merely dropped to a greater or less extent their previous ways and adopted to the best of their ability the arts and letters and institutions of the Greeks and Romans. This change, together with the continued prosperity of Eastern lands, such as Egypt and Asia Minor, where there were still plenty of inhabitants and wealth, if not any new ideas, made the early empire appear flourishing and successful, especially as peace prevailed

Passing of city-state

But, in reality, scarcely had the Romans achieved their work of extending through the western half of their empire the classical culture which had originated among the gifted Hellenes, when that classical culture began to dry up at the roots In Chapter I we noted the city-state as the key to classical civilization and described the flourishing urban life of the early empire We may now trace the decline of that civilization in connection with the decay of the ancient city.

Decay of civic religion

Perhaps first of all came the decay of civic religion Once all inhabitants of a city had joined in the same religious beliefs and acts of worship, and it had been the supreme religious duty of every citizen to serve his city. Now changed external conditions of life and the growth of philosophy had made educated men skeptical about the gods, the myths, the religious rites and ceremonies of their forefathers Of the late schools of Greek philosophy, the Epicureans had attacked religion as an evil and had advised each man to search intelligently after his own happiness. The opposite school of the Stoics made some effort to save the old myths by warning men not to take these tales about the gods too literally; but they had somewhat the same ideal of "the self-centered sage" as the followers of Epicurus, and thought that the good and wise man should not be affected by evils about him

The Stoics, however, laid stress on something other than selfish happiness, and emphasized the existence of one law of nature to which all men should conform But this concept, too, was contrary to civic religion and substituted for narrow patriotism the brotherhood of man and a world-religion. Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor from A D. 161 to 180 as well as Stoic philosopher, turned his thoughts in his famous *Meditations,* not to some particular city such as Athens, called by the poet, "dear city of Cecrops" after its legendary founder, but to the "dear city of Zeus"; that is, to the whole world about him. "All things harmonize with me which are in harmony with thee, O Universe," he wrote, "all things are fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature; from thee are all things, in thee are all things, unto thee are all things." This was a noble conception, but for the time being it meant the death of that city religion which was the basis of so much in classical civilization and the root in particular of Greek and Roman patriotism.

It is true that the state was now an empire, not one city; but after all it had grown from one city and was now not much more than a collection of cities. In any case, the worship of the emperor, though more universal than a local city cult, did not prove an adequate state religion. It exerted a marked influence in some respects, particularly upon Roman art; but in the long run it did not satisfy the religious inclinations of the inhabitants of the empire any more than the old city worships now did.

Oriental religions

Under the empire there were spread abroad, both in the East and West, numerous Oriental cults which exerted upon many people an attraction greatly superior to the hold that the outworn formalities of the municipal worship had upon them. These Eastern religions were not state worships. They aimed at salvation of the individual rather than the prosperity of a social or political group, such as the tribe or town. In many cases they were open to anyone, even to slave and to foreigner, instead of being restricted to a limited number of citizens. They offered to their initiates as a compensation for external ills a feeling of inner satisfaction and the hope of a better life after death. The ordinary civic religion, although it stimulated a devout patriotism, does not seem to have controlled man's private life very successfully, or at least had ceased to do so by the time of the empire, for there was much sensuality and sexual excess in ancient society. Now there seems to have been a reaction against this personal license; men felt sinful and desired to find some means of purification from their guilt. The Oriental worships, upon the basis of a revelation supposedly divine and authoritative, offered men a personal redeemer by whose aid and by following whose example and previous experience, as recounted in some sacred legend, they too, through symbolic rites and sacramental mysteries and acts of penance, could become purified from sin and evil, enjoy moments of emotional ecstasy even in this life, and after death win an immortal union with a deity outside and above the mortal world. The Egyptian cult of Isis had its baptisms and fasts, its liturgy and prayer book, its well-organized priesthood with tonsure and vestments, and its Mother-Goddess who had herself been through sufferings and who longed to relieve suffering humanity. In the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius she appears to the hero in a miraculous vision and says, "Lo, Lucius, I am come, moved by thy supplication, I, nature's mother, mistress of all the elements, the first begotten offspring of the ages . . . I am come in pity for thy woes." Other widely disseminated cults were those of the Great Mother from Phrygia, of Baal from Syria, and of Mithra from Persia.

Mani, a Persian born in 215–216, was the founder of Manichaeism, a dualistic religion which stressed a Power of Darkness as well as a God of Light, and which spread from Iran towards both China and the Roman Empire

Along with such exalted aims these religions preserved many primitive rites and some notions of a questionable or even distinctly immoral and superstitious character But it is somewhat difficult to judge them fairly, because most of the information which has come to us concerning them is from the writings of early Christians, who were bitterly opposed to them and regarded them as devil-invented and indecent parodies upon the Christian faith. And it is evident that in a number of respects they roughly resembled Christianity, which, of course, was one of the many religions that spread from the East over the Roman world and which for a long time had to struggle with the others for supremacy

The spread of these cults meant the break-up of civic religion Their legends were different from those of classical mythology In place of Greek intellectual freedom they imposed an authoritative revelation Civic service was replaced by mystic sacraments Affairs of the present world were likely to be neglected and attention centered upon things of the spirit or the world to come The tendency was to retire to a desert and live as a hermit rather than go to the frontier as a soldier or rear a large family of children The early Christians were regarded as unsocial and dangerous by the people of the ancient cities and by the Roman government.

Mysticism and magic

Gradually, under the increasing pressure of the Oriental religions, philosophy lost much of its former sanity, and rational investigation of nature ceased Religious mysticism was the main interest of the philosophy called "Neo-Platonism" because it professed to be based upon Plato's doctrine, Plotinus (about A.D 204–269), born in Egypt, may be regarded as the founder of the Neo-Platonic school The chief problem of this philosophy was not the study of nature, nor the conduct of man in this world, but how the human soul might return to God — a goal which the Neo-Platonists often sought to attain by asceticism or mortification of the flesh, by ceremonies of purification, and sometimes by magic and incantations. Their one Supreme Being, they believed, transcended all attempts at description and was outside and far above the world of nature — a transcendent God. The great Christian writer, Augustine, in the fifth century, admits that he was led to a more spiritual and monotheistic idea of God by reading Plotinus. The followers of Plotinus, however, either feeling the need of mediators between man and so lofty and distant a God, or else desiring to retain some of their old religious beliefs, stated the existence of a host of intermediate spiritual beings, between the supreme deity and the human soul, and of a multitude of demonic forces in the stars, the air, and nature generally. These mediators and demons could be propitiated by sacrifice and ceremony or coerced by magic and incantations.

Cultural decline

Religion in ancient and medieval times was the chief inspiration of art and literature, and we have seen that classical art and literature centered in the city. Hence, when the city-state and civic religion declined, art and literature deteriorated too. Moreover, the efforts of men who were neither Greek nor Latin by birth to write in those tongues resulted in a natural falling-off in purity of style and diction, while at the same time these writers failed to introduce much new subject-matter. Public taste, too, had degenerated, and where Athens had supplied large audiences for the tragedies of Aeschylus and Euripides, the people of the Roman Empire preferred pantomime, as the people of today prefer moving pictures. Seneca's tragedies in the first century of our era were probably written to be read rather than acted, and after him no dramas are extant from the time of the Roman Empire. Here we have a good illustration of how the decline of religion affected literature. Many had attended the performance of a drama by Aeschylus, just as many listen to a sermon today, not because they especially enjoyed or even thoroughly comprehended it, but because it was part of a religious festival which everyone was expected to attend. By the time of the empire, people felt under no such obligation, and as far as amusement was concerned, preferred the exciting combats of the arena or races in the circus. Whatever the reasons, what is called "classicism" in literature and art had for the most part disappeared before the end of the second century. There are, it is true, several writers — from the African, Apuleius, in the second century, a vivid romancer and mystic with a style of unfailing gusto, to the sober historian and soldier, Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century — whose tone and content are of great interest to the student of history; but students of the classics usually regard such writers as of minor importance from their standpoint. Authors dating from the later empire are seldom read in courses given by Latin and Greek departments, and the great period of Latin literature is considered to end with Juvenal and Tacitus.

Building upon a large and magnificent scale continued as late as Constantine in the fourth century, for the imperial idea was more of an inspiration to art than to letters, and dying antiquity reared impressive monuments in its last moments. But we see that the Hellenic genius in sculpture is gone, when we compare, among the friezes and medallions that adorn the Arch of Constantine, the crude carvings executed by contemporary artists with the sculptures transferred to this structure from older buildings

End of prosperity

The material prosperity, indicated by the costly buildings in the municipalities of the early empire, in time ceased As early as Trajan (A.D 98–118) we find the central imperial government sending its agents to manage the affairs of towns whose finances were in a bad state This imperial interference kept growing until the cities had little self-government left By the fourth century the chief function of the *curiales*, or members of the governing class of the town, had come to be the collection of taxes, for which the emperor held them personally responsible But the towns had so decreased in prosperity, or else the taxes had so increased, that it was very hard for the *curiales* to squeeze the required amount out of their fellow-townsmen and the landholders of the immediate neighborhood If they failed, they had to make up any deficit from their own fortunes This requirement tended to ruin a class of men who had once been the richest in town, and though they often tried to escape from their office, the emperor made it hereditary. Many skilled occupations also became hereditary, so that both society and economy tended to coagulate or become set.

Decline of manpower

The decline in prosperity of the cities was due in part to the civil wars and barbarian inroads of the third century, but also to the fact that the prosperity of the ancient city was founded largely upon slave labor, and that with the cessation of Roman conquests it became increasingly difficult to obtain slaves Moreover, many slaves were given their freedom as the empire progressed. This might have been expected to produce a large working middle class that should have revived the languishing industry and commerce of the empire But unfortunately the population of the empire as a whole, as earlier in the cases of Greece and Italy, began seriously to decrease A great plague which swept over the empire during the reign of Marcus Aurelius reduced the population terribly for the time being, and afterwards the ancient stocks apparently did not possess enough vitality to repair its ravages It was perhaps this simple lack of men and life and energy that did most to terminate the Roman Empire and classical civilization. Unless this decline of manpower could be stopped, it meant, of course, that many towns would become depopulated and that municipal life would give way to a scattered agricultural society.

A clear indication of the depopulation of the empire is seen in the repeated settlement, from the reign of Marcus Aurelius on, of large numbers of barbarians within the Roman frontiers These barbarians were given waste lands or depopulated areas to till and formed a half-subject peasant class. Naturally they were not admitted to the towns in the first instance, for they knew little of business and industry and were unfitted to participate in city life. But neither could their children go to the city to learn a trade, since the imperial government forced them to till the soil as their fathers had done. Thus as the cities went on declining, the barbarian settlers remained ignorant peasants and came into little contact with classical civilization, and hence no new middle class developed.

Furthermore, the peasant class in general soon became bound to the soil. A law of the early fourth century decreed that the landowner on whose estate was discovered a *colonus* or tenant from another estate, must not only restore the fugitive to his rightful master, but must pay damages for the time that the said *colonus* had worked for him; and that *coloni* who were "meditating flight" might be put in chains and "compelled by such condemnation as a slave deserves to perform the tasks that a freeman should." On the other hand, numerous laws were also passed to protect the peasant from oppressive exactions.

Rome's early conquests had been largely due to the dense population of Italy which furnished her with plenty of soldiers; for men had to fight to exist, and it was natural for them to overflow the crowded peninsula and conquer other territories. But then, as we have seen, came depopulation and a decline of military spirit in Italy. The provinces for a time supplied soldiers enough, but in the later centuries of the empire, with the general falling-off in population, the fighting spirit of the provincials declined, and finally the emperors had to recruit their armies mainly from among the Germans.

General discouragement

With the ancient city doomed and the peasant badly off, with classical religion and art and literature dying out, with the old races disappearing and barbarians taking their places both as peasants and as soldiers, there still remained the Roman imperial system and law to hold the weakened empire together; and for a long time the imperial government struggled persistently on and succeeded in staving off the day of destruction. But the members of the governing class sometimes felt the almost hopeless nature of their task, and it was with a heartfelt sigh of relief that some of them laid their burdens down.

Dio Cassius, who wrote his history of Rome in the third century, belonged to the senatorial class and held many administrative positions under the dynasty of the Severi. In the last book of his history he excuses himself for not giving a detailed account of the recent reign of Alexander Severus,

> for the reason that for a long time I did not sojourn at Rome After going from Asia to Bithynia I fell sick, and from there I hurried to my duties as head of Africa [1] On returning to Italy I was almost immediately sent to govern in Dalmatia, and from there into Upper Pannonia After that I came back to Rome and on reaching Campania at once set out for home

Then, after narrating the murder of Ulpian, the famous jurist, by the praetorian guards of whom he was prefect, and the Persian conquest of the Parthian kingdom and subsequent war upon Rome, Dio continues

> The troops are so distinguished by wantonness and arrogance and freedom from reproof that those in Mesopotamia dared to kill their commander . . . And the praetorians found fault with me before Ulpian because I ruled the soldiers in Pannonia with a strong hand, and they demanded my surrender for fear that some one might compel them to submit to a regime similar to that of the Pannonian troops. Alexander, however, paid no attention to them, but promoted me in various ways, appointing me to be consul for the second time as his colleague, and taking upon himself personally the responsibility of meeting the expenditures of my office. As the malcontents evinced displeasure at this, he became afraid that they might kill me, if they saw me in the insignia of my office, and he bade me spend the period of my consulship in Italy somewhere outside of Rome. Later, however, I came both to Rome and to Campania to visit him After spending a few days in his company, during which the soldiers saw me without offering to do me any harm, I started for home, being released on account of the trouble with my feet So I expect to spend all the rest of my life in my own country, as the Divine Presence revealed to me most clearly at the time I was in Bithynia. Once in a dream there I thought I saw myself commanded by It to write at the close of my work the following verses.
>
> Hector was led of Zeus far out of the range of the missiles,
> Out of the dust and the slaying of men, out of blood and of uproar

We meet the same attitude a century later in another work by a man of senatorial rank, this time a pleader in the law courts, Julius Firmicus Maternus, rather than a commander of the legions But as Dio Cassius wrote a history to divert his mind from its other cares, so Firmicus Maternus composed an astrological work for his friend Lollianus or Mavortius, who was still higher up than he in the governmental hierarchy Firmicus states that he had formerly "resisted with unbending confidence and firmness" factious and wicked and avaricious men "who by the terror of lawsuits seemed formidable to the unfortunate"; and that "with liberal mind, despising forensic gains, to men in trouble .

---

[1] "Asia" and "Africa" were the names of small Roman provinces in western Asia Minor and North Africa which were the first to be organized in the two continents of Asia and Africa.

I displayed a pure and faithful defense in the courts of law ” But by this upright conduct he had incurred much enmity and danger, and he was glad at last to retire from this hard world, where Socrates and Plato suffered while Alcibiades and Sulla prospered, and from the sordid atmosphere of law courts and forum, in order to spend his leisure with the divine men of old of Egypt and Babylon and to purify his spirit by contemplation of the everlasting stars and of the supreme God who works through them

Reforms of Diocletian

During the civil strife and barbarian inroads of the third century the empire for a time fell into anarchy, but before the century was over, the imperial government seemed more strongly established than ever. This was largely due to the reorganization effected by Diocletian (A D 284–305) He increased the power of the emperor, making him in every respect an absolute ruler whom his courtiers and subjects were to treat as a god and whose court was characterized by most elaborate ceremonial and etiquette His predecessor Aurelian had already closely associated the cult of the emperor with the worship of the Unconquered Sun, whose earthly representative the emperor now asserted himself to be Diocletian also endeavored to establish a regular and unbroken succession to the throne, in order to avoid civil strife. Further, he divided the empire into many more provinces than before, greatly increased the number of governors and officials (who were all given high-sounding titles), put the army under leaders separate from the provincial governors, and established an elaborate system of espionage over all his subordinates. He also tried to regulate economic conditions and issued an edict to keep prices down From this time forth, indeed, the imperial government itself took charge of an increasing number of state industries. Whether the state killed private business by so much paternal interference, or whether the state interfered because private business was dying already, is a problem that our sources do not suffice to solve

The chief flaw in Diocletian's “system,” as it has been called, was that he subdivided functions too much, and especially that he divided the imperial office itself between two *Augusti* and two Caesars, the latter of whom were to succeed the former when their terms of ten years expired But here again he perhaps did the best that could be done by accepting an inevitable tendency of the empire to split into two parts, the East and the West, if not to go to pieces entirely. Apparently a ruler with all the attributes and trappings and sanctity of the imperial office was now needed simultaneously in East and West to control the situation. During a period of nearly two hundred years after Diocletian's system first went into effect, there were less than thirty years when there was not more than one emperor. Moreover, the center of gravity of the empire had shifted from Rome to the East, where Diocletian made Nicomedia in Asia Minor his capital Another defect of the elaborate officialdom introduced by Diocletian was its expensiveness Heavy taxation was required to support two *Augusti* and two Caesars, each with a splendid court and a large army, the four praetorian prefects, the *vicarii* or heads of the ten or a dozen dioceses into which the empire was divided, and the hundred-odd *consulares* and *praesides* set over the smaller provinces. All these officials drew large salaries and kept numerous clerks and assistants, making altogether a burden almost too great for the diminished population to bear Indeed, the burden of taxation became so great, and the petty tyranny exercised by the host of officials became in many cases so oppressive, that in the later fourth century there were established in the cities new officials called *defensores*, whose duty it was to protect the inhabitants from the other imperial officials

Reign of Constantine

Rome had ceased to be the political capital even in the West, where the Augustus made Milan his official residence. Constantine, who became the sole emperor for a time in the first half of the fourth century, took two very important steps First, he plugged up the hole through which the Goths had invaded the Aegean by rebuilding and fortifying the city of Byzantium, situated where Europe and Asia meet at the entrance to the Black Sea A better site both for defense and commerce than Nicomedia, Byzantium replaced it as capital of the empire under the name Constantinople. Moreover, to build, adorn, and populate it, Constantine drew off a large fraction of the population of Rome. According to the original plan, the new city was to have been an exact replica of ancient Rome, and Constantine and his successors transferred thither many masterpieces of art. Constantine's second step was to become the first Christian emperor and to summon the first general or ecumenical church council at Nicaea in Asia Minor in 325. Just what were his motives and how sincere was his conversion are questions that have been disputed by historians, but his act was in a sense a confession of weakness The emperors had tried various expedients — such as Aurelian's association of himself with the Unconquered Sun — to make the worship of the emperor more of a living force which would sustain their government and insure them popular support. Now the emperor adopted an unworldly religion which his predecessors had striven to extirpate, and thereby recognized that Christianity had or was to become a power superior to the Roman state or to classical civilization All his successors but one, Julian (361–363), were

Christians; and Christianity came to dominate the Mediterranean basin and medieval Europe Let us acquaint ourselves with its previous history.

Christianity began in Palestine among the Jewish people, who by the time of its inception had been subjected to the Hellenistic culture which spread through Alexander's empire. So close was the relationship between Christianity and Judaism that the Hebraic religious literature of the Old Testament was incorporated in one Bible together with the Greek New Testament, which was of Christian authorship and which was believed to fulfill the prophecies of the Old Testament To the Hebraic conception of one supreme and personal God, who had created the universe out of nothing and who guided the affairs of men, was now added the Gospel story It told of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who had been born in this world of a woman, had led a sinless life, had left many social and moral teachings, had worked numerous miracles, had been crucified by the Jewish priests and Roman governor, but had demonstrated his divinity by rising from the tomb and ascending to heaven and by the workings of the Holy Spirit ever since in his followers They were held to high standards of morality, were to try to lead pure lives themselves and to engage in loving service of their fellow-men In return they were promised forgiveness of their past sins, a comforting personal communion with the Holy Spirit, and after death an eternal life of bliss with God

Christianity: teachings

The teachings of the New Testament marked an advance upon those of the Old Testament, whose Mosaic law and chronicles savor in parts of an age of crude superstition and bloodshed — just as its psalms and prophets at times reach high planes of moral fervor and religious sentiment. The Christian teachings were by no means, however, entirely new or strange to the age in which they were put forth A gospel of "peace on earth and good will toward men" chimed in with the peaceful and humane Roman Empire from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius Back four hundred years before Christ the Greek tragic poet Euripides wrote many tender or moral passages, which are suggestive in thought and sometimes even in phraseology of the New Testament. Many philosophers had already come to a belief in one God, whom, however, they did not venture to describe as a person. The Stoics advanced the idea of one law of nature and of the brotherhood of man, even including slaves. Plutarch, though still immersed in pagan religions and old superstitions, shows us a distinct advance in the early empire over the moral standards of the older Greeks and Romans, and Juvenal, another non-Christian writer of Rome, tells us that "fools seek revenge, philosophers forgive."

Nor were the teachings of philosophy confined to the educated and intellectual classes, for we hear of philosophers who preached to the mob in the streets or who rolled over naked in the snow to show the privates in the imperial army that cold has no terrors for the good man. The actual daily life of most people was, however, far from realizing the ideals of the philosophers — people seldom have lived up to their ideals in any age — and the Apostle Paul had to warn his Christian converts repeatedly and painstakingly against worship of idols and illicit sexual intercourse. Not philosophy alone, but other religions as well had been moving in much the same general direction as Christianity

What especially distinguished Christianity from the other cults was the remarkable personality of its founder, sketched so vividly in the four Gospels against the familiar background of daily human experience For one thing, He was a most unconventional person who brushed aside the cobwebs of conservatism. He broke the Jewish Sabbath, talked with a woman of Samaria, feasted with tax collectors and sinners, forgave an adulteress, justified Mary of Bethany for anointing his feet with costly ointment instead of selling it and giving the money to the poor, and, in place of the negative injunctions of the Hebrew Ten Commandments, with their "Thou shalt not," preached a positive gospel of love

Early communities

During the first and second centuries the Christians seem to have come mainly from the poorer and lower classes of society. Christ had said, "Come unto me all ye who labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest" Rich men, on the other hand, were warned that they would have difficulty in entering the kingdom of God and were advised to dispose of their property first and to give unto the poor. The disciples were sent forth penniless to preach the Gospel — an ideal of apostolic poverty which was to have great influence throughout the Middle Ages The first Christian communities shared their goods in common and awaited expectantly the end of this world and the coming of a better. Even when they gave up the notion that the second coming of Christ was close at hand and returned to a more normal mode of life, they still reckoned things spiritual as of more importance than ordinary human interests and activities, and the prospect of eternal life in the next world as of more moment than citizenship in the Roman Empire Ignatius, one of the earliest Christian writers, even went so far as to assert that "nothing visible is good" This tendency was accentuated by the persecution to which the Christians were often subjected by the outside world, and by the fact that they lived in an atmosphere of miracle, prophecy, and martyrdom. Various apostles and wandering missionaries like Paul had founded numerous scattered churches, of whose early local organization we know little, except that they had officials called overseers or *episcopi* or bishops, elders or *presbyters* or priests, and deacons. From these are derived the present names of such churches as the Episcopalian and Presbyterian. At first Christian sentiment seems to have favored great liberty in "prophesying"; that is, in preaching by any one who was so moved by the Holy Spirit. One early Christian declared that the truth or falsity of a prophet should be inferred, not from what he said, but from the godliness or selfishness of his life.

Sacraments

Besides hymn and prayer, preaching and prophecy, certain sacred ceremonies and symbols played a large part in early Christianity. Such were the sign of the cross, the name of Jesus, and the mysteries or sacraments of baptism with water and the Lord's Supper or Eucharist of bread and wine. By these sacraments divine grace and life were to be communicated to the believer. Baptism was believed to cleanse from sin, and many Christians, including later some of the Christian emperors, postponed it until the very end of life in order that all their sins might be blotted out. The proper time for baptism, however, was when one entered the Christian life. Three of the four Gospels represent Jesus, at the Last Supper with his disciples before he was crucified, as blessing and breaking the bread and giving it to them with the words, "This is my body," and as then passing the wine with the remark, "This is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins." This ceremony was continued by the early Christian communities, and the idea came to prevail that the words of Christ were to be taken literally, that the bread and wine were his body and blood, by partaking of which the human body became joined with the divine Christ.

Growth of heresy

The founding of scattered communities by different wandering missionaries, and the freedom at first permitted to "prophets" of airing their supposedly divine revelations, naturally produced much local variance in belief and practice, especially since Christians in different places sometimes retained customs and notions from the previous religion of their particular locality. As a result heresies sprang up and apocryphal scriptures were composed which the Church as a whole has rejected. Gnosticism was a heresy of the second century which adopted the cosmology and astrology of the ancients and interpreted Christian story in the light of them. Many men of that day were inclined to take the Gospel story as a sort of allegory rather than as history, or to hold that God had never really become man, but that Christ was a kind of phantom or celestial image. The most dangerous heresy during the period of the Roman Empire was Arianism, which, the orthodox held, relegated Christ to a secondary place compared to God the

Father. Its founder, Arius, died in 336. Similarly Paul of Samosata, who perhaps gave his name to the later Paulicians, had held in the previous century that Christ was born a man and only gradually became God The Donatists of the fourth century held a view which was to crop out again repeatedly later, that the priest must lead a holy personal life, if the sacraments which he administered were to prove efficacious.

Church organization

To prevent heresy, church unity and organization developed The bishop became the chief local authority and one was elected by the members of the Christian community in each city By the middle of the third century Cyprian, in his *Unity of the Church,* declared that there was only one Catholic Church, and that no one outside it could be saved even though he suffered a martyr's death "for confessing the name of Christ " For "he can no longer have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother " In order to keep the various bishops in agreement two customs grew up One was to have the bishops of a given area meet together, Cyprian, for instance, during the ten years that he was Bishop of Carthage called a number of such meetings or local church councils The other practice was to look to some one Christian community as a model or authority in doctrine and as an umpire in disputes The church at Rome seems from an early date to have been thus looked up to; the sees of Alexandria and Antioch perhaps came next in importance

Hostility to Christians

The early Christians were very unfavorably regarded by Roman society It is hard for us to realize that Christians, who have always prided themselves upon their lofty moral standards and regarded other faiths and rites as superstitious, were themselves considered grossly immoral and superstitious by the pagan world Yet Suetonius spoke of "Christians, a class of men of a new and vicious superstition"; and Tacitus remarked their "moral enormities" and their "hatred of the human race," and asserted that "they were criminals who deserved the most severe punishment." The pagan mob believed them guilty of such practices as incest and devouring children Such horrible stories circulated about them probably because they seemed to the pagans a people with strange, peculiar, and mysterious ways, who had their own private meetings and held aloof from popular festivals and from much of the life of the ancient city. We find the same attitude toward the Jews in the Middle Ages, when they were often attacked by Christian mobs and when similar stories were current among Christians concerning them.

One might expect the Roman government with its good law courts to have soon discovered that there was little truth in these charges against the Christians and to have protected them against mob violence. And so to a certain extent it did. But the government had further reasons of its own for being suspicious of the Christians and for punishing them. Christianity had originated in Judea, and not long thereafter the Jews had revolted against the rule of Rome, and had refused to submit even when Jerusalem was besieged in A.D. 70. Rather than surrender they did eat human flesh, and they killed themselves and burned the city as the Romans stormed it. Jerusalem till this time had been the chief center of Christianity, and the allusions in the Book of Revelation to Babylon, the great harlot, and to "the image of the beast" probably apply to Rome and to worship of the emperor. At any rate, Christians refused to worship the statues of the emperor or to join in other civic rites, and so the government could hardly do anything else than regard them as obstinate rebels. Origen, the great Alexandrian church father in the first half of the third century, admitted the truth of the charge "that Christians decline public offices," and declared those persons "enemies of our faith who require us to bear arms for the commonwealth and to slay men." Moreover, the organization of Christians in churches and their frequent meetings violated the laws of the emperors against associations, which Trajan had been so careful to enforce that he even forbade the establishment of a volunteer fire department lest it lead to sedition. The prevalence of symbolism in early Christian art is thought to have been due to fear of detection and punishment, if Christian subjects were depicted openly.

The usual penalty for confessing one's self a Christian was death, sometimes in the arena or with torture. Such was the letter of the law, but since the Christians did not actually attack the government, most emperors did not try to ferret them out and to annihilate them by wholesale persecution, though they did punish anyone who was publicly charged with being a Christian and who did not free himself from the accusation by worshiping the statue of the emperor or images of the gods. But anonymous accusations were usually disregarded, and anyone who falsely accused another of being a Christian was liable to severe punishment himself.

Persecution to triumph

Meanwhile the Christians kept increasing in numbers in pursuance of the injunction of Jesus, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned." By the third century there were erudite Christian writers to reply to the attacks which cultured pagans now thought it worth while to make upon Christianity. The emperors, too, awoke to the fact that the Christians were increasing rapidly in numbers, wealth, and power, and from the middle of the third century tried to crush them by more systematic persecution Many Christians suffered martyrdom and more recanted, some did neither, but purchased from corrupt officials certificates that they had performed pagan sacrifice when they really had not, but the Church as a whole successfully weathered the storm We possess an edict of 311 in which the Emperor Galerius says that he has decided to tolerate even the Christians because persecuting them does no good Finally, with Constantine, Christianity triumphed, and soon began in its turn to persecute all pagans and heretics

There now had come to be a regular series of offices through which a clergyman usually had to pass, namely, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, priest, and bishop For there was now a clear distinction in the Church between mere believers, the laymen or laity, and those who officiated in the churches, the clergy. The clergy were given many privileges by the Christian successors of Constantine, as their edicts in the Theodosian Code show. They were in large measure personally exempted from state duties and taxes; and in most criminal and some civil cases were to be tried by their own bishops rather than by the imperial courts. Before Christianity had been recognized by the State, it was often the practice for the laity as well as the clergy to settle their disputes privately before their bishop instead of in the public courts, and the emperors now allowed the bishops to continue this jurisdiction to a certain extent. The emperors would not permit rich men to escape paying taxes by becoming clergymen, but they did allow the Church as a corporation to receive bequests, and themselves endowed it freely. Church lands were subject to taxation, but this did not prevent the Church and many individual bishops from growing very wealthy, and by the fifth century the Church is estimated to have become the greatest landholder in the empire.

A Christian culture

The triumph of Christianity hastened the decline of classical art, literature, philosophy, and science, which it was eventually to replace by a theology, a literature, and an art of its own Many Christians, especially ascetics, felt that ancient art and poetry were dangerous, closely connected as they were with pagan mythology, and appealing as they did to the sense of beauty and the passion of love. Yet for a long time Christians who had any education had a classical one, because that was the only one available. The early Christians did not excel in art and literature, as the lack of literary style in the Greek New Testament and the rude frescoes of the Roman catacombs show. Often Christian artists took statues of Apollo or Mithraic

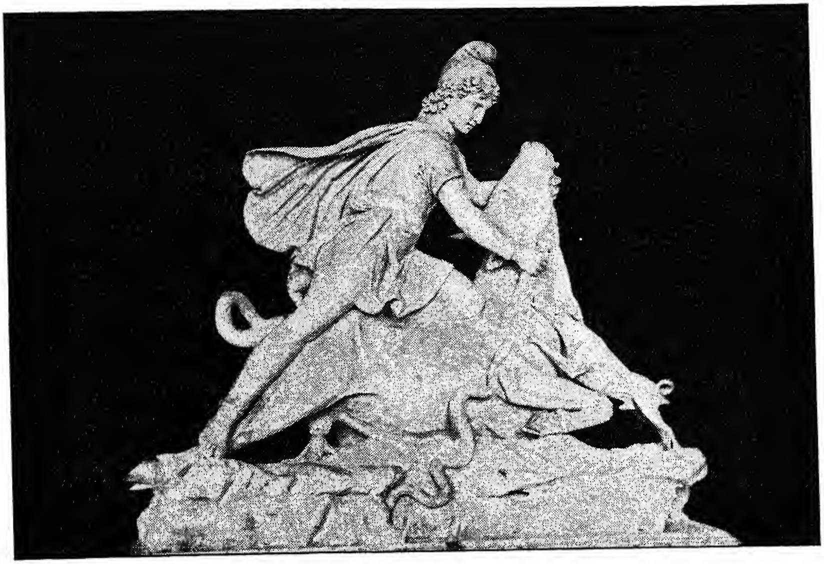


Figure 10

Mithraic sacrifice (from the Vatican)

monuments (Figure 10) and used them with slight modifications for Christian personalities and biblical scenes. For their church services they adopted, not the classical temple, but a style of building sufficiently similar to the Roman forensic basilica to be called by the same name — a rectangular structure with a central nave higher in the roof than the two side aisles which paralleled it and which were separated from it by colonnades or arcades. At one end was added to the rectangle a semicircular recess for the altar, and the interior unless small was covered with a flat wooden roof. Gradually the Christians came to express their new faith in hymns differing in both form and spirit from classical verse, while lives of the saints took the place of epics and romances. Symbolism in art and allegory in literature were important Christian characteristics, the mysteries of the faith being told in parable or veiled in sign and symbol. Some Christian poets of the late empire, however, still wrote in classical style, like Ausonius, who sang the praises of the scenery and wines of the Moselle region, or Claudian, who eulogized the more questionable virtues and merits of the Emperor Honorius and his general, Stilicho.

Because Constantine was the first Christian emperor, the tendency

Constantine the Great

was to glorify him beyond his deserts and to associate with his name things to which he had no claim. We have seen that the so-called Basilica of Constantine was not built by him. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was said to be that of Constantine, but this was denied as early as the twelfth century. He is still sometimes represented as the first to grant toleration to the Christians, but both Galerius and Licinius preceded him in this. The story of the cross appearing to him in the sky is apocryphal, as is the so-called *Donation of Constantine*, which will be discussed in a later chapter. On the other hand, his accomplishments on the material plane have vanished with time. None of his buildings at Constantinople remain. The great octagonal church which he began at Antioch and which was adorned within by his son Constantius with gold and bronze, statues and jewels, and with a huge domed ceiling covered with gold, suffered in an earthquake of the early sixth century, was stripped of its treasures and marble by the Persians in 540, and was finally ruined by another earthquake at the close of the century.

Arianism

The Council of Nicaea had decided against Arianism, but that belief continued to be widespread in the Eastern Empire, where many bishops and some emperors favored or refused to persecute it. Such division in the East also contributed towards the growth of orthodox papal leadership in the West.

Ulfilas converts Goths

Christianity spread not only over the whole Roman Empire but beyond its borders. In the fourth century A.D. we see signs of the conversion of the Goths. Those in the region we call the Crimea were represented by a bishop at the Council of Nicaea in 325. The chief missionary was Ulfilas (311–381), an Arian or unorthodox Christian who worked among the West Goths in Dacia. His ancestors had been carried off by the Goths, and he himself was "in heart and by speech a Goth." He had his troubles, however, with the heathen king, Athanaric, and most of his converts moved with him into Roman territory. He is famous for his translation of the Bible into the Gothic vernacular, which gives us our earliest example of writing in a Germanic language. Three hundred years elapse before we have another specimen. The manuscripts of Ulfilas's Bible which have come down to us comprise a few chapters of the Old Testament and a large part of the Gospels and Epistles. The story goes that he refrained from translating such books as First and Second Kings and First and Second Samuel on the ground that the Goths were too fond of fighting already. Since the Goths as yet had neither books nor writing of their own, he had to invent an alphabet, using the Greek letters.

Survival of paganism

Paganism, the term that came to be applied to the past classical religion, is derived from the Latin word *pagus,* meaning a rural district The derivation indicates that the old superstitions, as the Christians regarded them, lingered longest in the secluded and backward areas For a long time, however, paganism continued in the cities too, although many edicts against it were issued by Constantine's successors Especially did the city of Rome remain a stronghold of pagan beliefs, this was probably one reason why Constantine transferred his capital to Constantinople and tried to make it outshine Rome in industry and art At Rome the senate maintained the old rites until the reign of Gratian (375–383), who refused to hold the office of *Pontifex Maximus,* stopped payment for pagan sacrifices and ceremonies from the imperial treasury, and took away the time-honored privileges and revenues of the Roman priesthoods Even after this, senatorial coinages still bore pagan symbols Yet it was at Rome that the papacy was to develop and long hold the leadership of the Church in the West Thus ancient pagan Rome was gradually to become medieval Catholic papal Rome

But as the Latin language continued and classical literature was still read, as Greek philosophy had already deeply influenced Christian theology, so there were survivals from pagan myth and festival in the legends and ceremonies of the Catholic Church Moreover, the administrative divisions of the Roman Empire were closely followed in ecclesiastical organization, with a bishop over each Roman *civitas* and its surrounding territory, and an archbishop for each province of the empire So, when the emperor divided Cappadocia into two provinces in 372, this meant that there would henceforth be two archbishops there instead of one. Similarly the Council of Chalcedon ruled in 451 that every town which was raised to the rank of a city thereby acquired the right to have a bishop The sees of bishops in France today still correspond closely to the Roman municipalities where, before Christianity became the state religion, there had been a pagan *flamen* for the cult of the emperor On the other hand, the word *diocese,* which in Diocletian's system included a number of provinces, has come to be applied rather to the region under a bishop. As an archbishop exercised a wider jurisdiction than a bishop, so the patriarchs at such centers as Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, and the pope at Rome claimed superiority over archbishops.

Bibliographical Note

There is more than one English version of the *Meditations* or *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius, and Dio Cassius may be read in Foster's translation, but Firmicus and the *Codex Theodosianus* have not been translated. The *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official list of all the posts in the administrative system of the Late Empire, is translated in vol. II, no. 4, of *Translations and Reprints of the University of Pennsylvania*. The translation includes but one of the many interesting illustrations with which the Latin text is adorned and which may be examined in Seeck's edition (Berlin, 1876). The last book of *The Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (translated by E. H. Butler, 2 vols, Oxford, 1910) is rich in information concerning the spread of Oriental cults. A standard secondary work is F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. For early Christianity the New Testament is the chief source of information; as to its production see E. J. Goodspeed, *Story of the New Testament*, J. E. Symes, *The Evolution of the New Testament*; M. Jones, *The New Testament in the Twentieth Century*. For a skeptical viewpoint, see F. C. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals* and *History of New Testament Criticism*, or J. M. Robertson, *The Historical Jesus*. Other Christian writing before the Council of Nicaea is gathered in English translation in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*. More recent secondary works than Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* are E. G. Sihler, *From Augustus to Augustine*, E. R. Goodenough, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, and K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. I, The First Five Centuries. On Christian symbolism there is the work of Mrs. H. Jenner, on *Early Christian Art*, the work of that title by C. R. Morey, 1942. "The Economic Basis of the Decline of Ancient Culture" was discussed by Westermann in the *American Historical Review*, XX (1915), 723–743.

IV

The Barbarian Invasions

Such was the condition of the Roman Empire, declining economically and socially and intellectually, divided between East and West, between effete classical city dwellers and rude barbarian settlers and soldiers, between Arians and orthodox, between Christians and pagans, when a new thunderbolt struck the foundering ship of state

Nomads of Turkestan

In the basin of the Caspian and Aral Seas and in the deserts of Turkestan lived the mounted nomads of Altaian race These Asiatics were of short stature, with small hands and feet, but strong bones, a comparatively long trunk, and a decided tendency to corpulence. Incessant horseback riding made their legs bowed and their gait waddling Their faces were broad, especially their noses, mouths, and chins, also their noses were flat, their ears were large, their eyes were oblique and slit, dark and sunken. Their cheekbones were prominent, and what hair they had — for their beards were scanty — was coarse, stiff, and black

The nature of the country accounts in large measure for the nomadic life of these Asiatics and for their failure to progress to a higher stage of civilization, for their descendants live today much the same life as their ancestors of two thousand years ago. In the Caspian-Aral basin the evaporation exceeds the rainfall, the two seas have shrunk to less than their original limits, and the rivers of the region fail to reach the ocean The temperature varies from 118° Fahrenheit in the shade to 31° below zero, and the wind that drives the sand about in summer whirls the snows to and fro in winter. Deserts of sand or gravel predominate, and only a very small fraction of the region is fit for agriculture. But in the south the salt steppes afford a good winter pasturage, though in summer they dry up and are uninhabitable from lack of water. Far to the north, however, are well-watered grass steppes on the edge of Siberia These provide abundant summer pasture, but are under deep snow in winter Evidently the nomad had to drive his flocks and herds back and forth each year, seeking his winter camp in the south when the snows began to force him from the northern grass steppes, and moving northward again when summer heat dried up the luxuriant and nourishing early spring growth of the salt steppes. He naturally spent most of his life on horseback. Cattle could only with difficulty endure the sort of life just described, so that he chiefly kept sheep and horses, and sometimes camels He ate little meat, grain, and vegetables, but lived mainly upon milk products. Each man kept a number of mares, for his favorite food and drink was the nutritious *kumiz*, or fermented mare's milk Horse's blood also appeared upon his restricted menu

It should not be implied that these nomads made no contribution whatsoever to civilization They perhaps introduced to the western world the use of the stirrup and the wheeled wagon, and the material called felt, which is made by beating wool and hair together. Their tents were of felt and the only furnishings within were rugs of the same material.

These people wandered together in bands of a suitable size for a single camp and grazing area A number of these camps together formed a clan, and there might be further union into tribes and peoples. Occasionally some great conqueror, called a *khagan* or *khan*, would arise at the head of a vast horde made up of various tribes and peoples The life of the wife or wives of the nomad was very hard, and he was cruel to his slaves or to the wretched communities of subject serfs whom he forced to cultivate for him the few fertile spots that existed in the region over which he wandered. Nor was cleanliness at all esteemed. The newborn babe, it is true, was washed daily in the open air for the space of six weeks regardless of whether it was summer or winter, but these forty-two baths had to last it for the rest of its life. Smoke from the campfire in the tent, served, however, as a disinfectant; and the life that the nomad led soon trained him to endure hunger, thirst, and almost any hardship His horses were even tougher than himself.

Menace to civilization

Had this disgusting race, which lacked any legal or political institutions as well as any vestiges of culture, remained in its own unattractive region, we might well pass it by But the nomads did not limit themselves to stealing one another's herds or fighting among themselves for the best pasturage and winter camping-stations They were continually plundering and devastating the adjoining regions, or enslaving the neighboring peoples and reducing them, too, to a low state of civilization On their swift and hardy horses they could cover hundreds of miles in a few days, and either take the enemy by surprise, overwhelm him by the fury of their onslaught, or evade him and reduce to a wilderness the country he was trying to defend It was as difficult to stand against them as to fly before them. Moreover, at intervals in the course of history, owing either to changes of climate that lessened their pasturage and decimated their herds, or to overpopulation, or to defeat incurred in their struggles among themselves, a great horde would entirely detach itself from its native habitat and sweep onward in a wild career of conquest, altering the face of the earth by its depredations, and the map of the world by transplanting whole peoples, whom the nomads either forced to join them or to flee before them. They were a menace to China, India, and Persia, but we are especially concerned with their inroads into Europe. Such were the later Tartar or Mongolian invasions of the thirteenth century, when most of Russia submitted to the Great Khan. The Turks, too, came of this stock. Before the Turks and Tartars make their conquests, we shall hear in the earlier Middle Ages of Bulgars, Avars, and Magyars, all of whom, in their first appearance at least, represent the same sort of inroads from Asia into Europe.

Such mounted nomads were the people with whom we have now to deal and who about A.D. 372 burst like a cyclone into the region between the Volga and the Don Rivers and filled the neighboring Goths with unreasoning terror and aversion. These nomads were the Huns. Their invasion seems to have been caused by a period of unusual drought, when the Caspian Sea had shrunk to such restricted limits that walls which were built to keep out the nomads in the fifth and sixth centuries are in our day found under water miles from the shore.

Battle of Adrianople

None of the tribes between the Volga and the Danube had been able to offer successful resistance to the Huns. They rapidly overwhelmed the Alani, a people who were probably not Germans but Sarmatians from Iran and who had invaded Persia as early as A.D. 75 and 133. They conquered most of the East Goths, who were situated north of the Black Sea, then they pressed on towards Dacia where the West Goths dwelt. Most of the West Goths decided to take refuge from the dreaded foe within the Roman Empire. Accordingly, they asked permission to settle south of the Danube, promising not to plunder and to aid the emperor in defending the frontier. They were allowed to cross the river, but the imperial officials failed to supply them with food until they could grow crops for themselves, and in other ways ill-treated them. In consequence, they began to ravage the countryside and before long crossed the Balkan Mountains and entered Thrace, leaving the Danube frontier behind them open to any one who cared to follow. The Emperor Valens, who already had experienced quite enough trouble for one reign from would-be assassins and usurpers, conspiracies and rebellions, and wars with the Persian Kingdom, was now called upon to face this new peril Before he arrived, there had been considerable indecisive fighting with the Goths. Their numbers had been further swelled by bands of Alani and Huns, who now fought as their allies and to whose hideous appearance and coarse manners the Goths seem to have quickly reconciled themselves. With the arrival of Valens a pitched battle was fought, in which the emperor himself, his leading generals, and the greater part of his army were slain The Goths, however, were unable to take either the city of Adrianople, near which the defeat had occurred, or the capital, Constantinople, against which they next marched. But their victory left them permanently within the empire, where in the Balkan peninsula they and other barbarians who sooner or later followed in behind them formed a wedge separating the eastern and western halves of the empire Therefore, it has long been the custom to date the beginning of successful barbarian invasions or migrations from the battle of Adrianople in 378

Theodosian dynasty

Theodosius the Great, an able general and emperor, maintained the *status quo* until his death in 395, and founded a dynasty which lasted until 455. But he had to employ barbarian troops and leaders, some of whom even intermarried with members of the imperial family. Most of his successors were weak personalities, and several of them were assassinated His immediate successors were two minor sons: Arcadius, aged seventeen, in the East; and in the West, Honorius, only eleven, under the guardianship of the Vandal general Stilicho

Breakdown of frontiers

The Huns now crashed into the empire by a new route, surging into Asia Minor and Syria through the Caucasus Mountains and Armenia. In the West the Rhine frontier broke down permanently, and the Germanic peoples known as Franks, Alamanni, and Burgundians made permanent settlements to the west of it. The Roman legions withdrew from Britain, leaving that island to its fate. The Alani and the Teutonic Suevi and Vandals, after ravaging Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees and entered the Spanish peninsula

Sack of Rome

The next great event was the sack of Rome in 410 by the West Goths under their leader Alaric. He had failed to get a coveted generalship, and the imperial government also stopped paying the Goths tribute. They thereupon ravaged the country near Constantinople, but were unable to take the capital and turned south, capturing such famous Grecian cities as Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. Finally Arcadius gave Alaric the generalship and money, and he turned from the Balkan to the Italian peninsula Stilicho, commanding the imperial troops in the West, had already attempted to check the advance of Alaric and continued to do so, but his sincerity and loyalty were suspected. Arcadius had already declared him a public enemy; in 408 Honorius executed him on a charge of high treason. As a consequence Alaric again entered Italy and was joined in great numbers both by the imperial German troops, who were discontented with Stilicho's fate, and by runaway slaves. Honorius took refuge in Ravenna, the home henceforth of the western imperial court. It was a city close to the Adriatic coast just north of the Apennines, where, protected by surrounding swamps and with access to the sea and so to Constantinople, one could watch the main roads leading to the Alps and to Rome. Alaric did not try to take Ravenna, but marched on Rome. Constantinople, open to the sea, could not easily be cut off from supplies; but Rome, dependent on Africa for grain and located fifteen miles from the coast, could be starved out by blockading the Tiber River. Since Honorius sent no aid, the senate had to pay Alaric a huge sum to raise the siege. He lingered in Italy, however, and when after long negotiations Honorius failed to come to terms with him, he marched on Rome again and forced the senate to select a new emperor, Attalus. Attalus, however, was unable to secure Africa and its grain supply, so Alaric deposed him. His negotiations with Honorius were again a failure, and he marched upon Rome a third time. The siege led to famine as before, and one night a city gate was treacherously opened to the besiegers. For three days Alaric's army plundered the great metropolis; then departed with their spoil for the south of Italy, whence they intended to embark for the wheat-fields of Sicily and Africa. The Christian refugee Rufinus, in the preface to his last literary labor, which has preserved in Latin translation the Homilies of Origen on the Book of Numbers, tells how, from across the narrow strait that divides Italy from Sicily, he saw the Goths set fire to the town of Reggio. But their ships had been destroyed either by a storm or by the imperial fleet, so that Alaric turned back northward again. Before the year 410 was over he died, the first, since the Gauls had burned it just eight centuries before, to sack the city that had so long ruled the world.

The sack of Rome made a tremendous impression. The "Eternal City" had at last fallen! Saint Jerome in distant Syria lamented that Rome, which had taken the whole world, was now itself taken. The pagans, who were still numerous at Rome and in the West, attributed the disaster to the abandonment of the old state religion and the Roman gods, and to the imperial adoption of Christianity. Augustine wrote his famous *City of God* in reply to this contention.

Under Ataulf, Alaric's successor, the Goths roamed about Italy for a while longer, but in 412 they entered Gaul Here Ataulf helped Constantius, one of Honorius' generals, by defeating a usurper whom the Franks, Burgundians, and Alani had supported, but he was then unable to come to terms with Honorius, and consequently set up Attalus again as emperor It is remarkable how even the barbarians felt that someone must be emperor and kept putting up their own candidates Constantius soon cut off Ataulf's supplies and forced him to retreat to Spain, where at Barcelona one of his own followers assassinated him. The Goths then tried to cross from Spain to Africa, but suffered the same misfortune as had befallen their fleet off southern Italy They therefore made peace with Honorius, were provided with grain, and proceeded to reconquer much of Spain from the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi who had recently overrun it For this service they were rewarded with lands in southwestern Gaul with Toulouse as their capital and what amounted to an independent kingdom However, the Roman municipalities in this region, the provincial governors, and the official postal service continued under Visigothic rule About the same time the Burgundians established a kingdom in territory granted to them on the Rhone These two kingdoms cut off northern Gaul from the rest of the Roman Empire Under a later king, Euric (464–484), the West Goths began to overrun the Spanish peninsula, but this penetration was a slow and gradual process, as petty Roman governors held out here and there, while the Suevi in the northwest were not conquered and absorbed until 585

Wanderings of West Goths

It may be worth while to pause for a paragraph to consider the period of invasions from a woman's experience, especially since the ladies of the imperial family are frequently mentioned in the pages of the Greek historians of this time Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, had a career that was both influential and full of adventure. She was at Rome when Alaric first besieged it, and she agreed with the senate at that time in executing Stilicho's widow on the charge of conspiracy with Alaric. When Alaric set up Attalus as anti-emperor, he kept Galla Placidia with him as a hostage, and his successor Ataulf carried her off to Gaul, where in 414 at Narbonne he married her. Their son died in infancy and his father was killed soon after. His first successor, who reigned only a week, humiliated the widowed queen by making her walk before his horse for twelve miles The next year, when the Goths made their peace with Honorius, she was restored to her brother's court. He forced her to marry his general, Constantius, who became his colleague in 421. This Constantius III died that same year, however, and Placidia was again left a widow with a young son, Valen-

Galla Placidia

tinian, and a daughter, Honoria. For a time she seemed to overshadow her weak brother Honorius, but in 423 she and her children were banished to Constantinople. Honorius died before the year was out, however, and Theodosius II sent his aunt, Placidia, and cousin, Valentinian III, back to Italy with an army to secure them the throne against a rival whom their enemies had set up. Placidia ruled for her son until he came of age. Even then he proved of little account, like his cousin at Constantinople, whose learned and orthodox and ascetic court was dominated either by his wife or his sister, although he has perpetuated his name in the Theodosian Code. In 437 Valentinian married Theodosius' daughter. Galla Placidia and her nephew Theodosius died in 450, five years before the death of Valentinian. Her mausoleum at Ravenna, though small, is a notable example of early Christian architecture. It is in the shape of a Latin cross with a low tower rising over the crossing. Within this tower is a dome covered, like the arched ceilings of the arms of the cross, with beautiful mosaics in blue and gold. In the three short arms rest the empty sarcophagi of the Emperors Constantius III and Valentinian III and the Empress Galla Placidia.

The Vandals in Africa

Meanwhile the barbarians had been continuing their invasions. Soon after their defeat in Spain by the West Goths, the Vandals had moved southward, where Andalusia (Vandalusia) is supposed to take its name from them, and by 425, they were attacking the African coast. In 429 they began a wholesale invasion of Roman North Africa under their new king, Gaiseric, who was to have a long reign until 477. A civil war between Boniface, Count of Africa, and the court at Ravenna afforded them a good opening. Boniface and Ravenna soon reunited against them, and an army was also sent from Constantinople, but to no avail. The Vandals, however, found the taking of walled towns slow work, especially as they were accustomed to fight on horseback; and in 435 they made a peace by which they were to hold Mauretania and part of Numidia as tributary allies of Rome. But the Vandals had by this time built up a navy of small, swift vessels which soon gained the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, and part of Sicily, and committed acts of piracy all over the Mediterranean. Thus the empire became everywhere infested with barbarians, by sea as well as by land. In 439 Gaiseric pounced unexpectedly upon Carthage. A fleet which the Eastern emperor sent to the rescue accomplished little, and in 442 the Western emperor came to terms with the Vandal and recognized his complete independence. Gaiseric, however, dated the beginning of his reign and also of the legal year from the day when he captured Carthage. When Valentinian III, last of the Theodosian dynasty, was assassinated in 455, Gaiseric sailed to Italy, took Rome without meeting resistance, sacked it for two weeks, and carried off the imperial widow and her two daughters.

The conquest of their new homes had been made possible for the invaders by entrusting the military leadership to some one man and by combining into larger aggregations of peoples than the tribal organizations of the early Germans. When they had settled down on the new soil, it depended largely on the personality of the leader whether he could convert his office into a permanent, absolute, territorial monarchy, or whether the kingship would dwindle before the local independence of the other great landowners — the king, of course, took a lion's share of confiscated lands. Gaiseric continued to rule the Vandal state in Africa vigorously until 477. He established a truly absolute monarchy and alone among the German monarchs was strong enough to establish a direct male hereditary succession to the throne. He also forced the surrounding Moorish tribes to remain quiet, although they had previously made the Roman Empire a good deal of trouble and were to resume their raids after his death.

The Vandals regarded the Roman provincials as a conquered population without rights, but do not seem to have increased their burden of taxation. When the empire later reconquered North Africa, the overtaxed peasants sighed for the easier days of Vandal rule. The Vandal kings, however, kept the old Roman division into provinces and left many important offices in the hands of Roman administrators. Also they built new public baths, and by the sixth century the Vandal warriors had succumbed to the attractions of Roman luxury, food, clothing, and love-making. They lived in palaces and often attended the theater. Even in the last years of Vandal rule, a considerable amount of Latin literature was written in North Africa. Indeed, the destruction of Roman civilization in North Africa is not to be charged to the Vandals, but to the Moorish tribes of the desert. The Vandals, however, who seem to have become Arians (their later kings were certainly so) and who found allies in the local heretics known as Donatists, persecuted the orthodox Christians of North Africa. These were expelled in large numbers from the two provinces which the Vandals themselves settled, and elsewhere were kept for some time without bishops.

Aetius in Gaul

In the West, and more particularly in Gaul, about the middle of the fifth century the chief representative of the empire was Aetius, a statesman and general who had great capacity for enlisting Huns in his service, perhaps because he had earlier spent some time among them as a hostage. He prevented the Visigoths in southwestern Gaul and the Franks in the northeastern part from increasing their conquests, and conducted an aggressive campaign against the barbarians in Rhaetia and Noricum. For a time he fell out with the government of Galla Placidia and had to take refuge with the Huns. Later he returned with an army of them and forced the empress to restore his command. He then continued to make his power felt in Gaul, reducing the strength of the Burgundians by crushing defeats and keeping the West Goths within some bounds.

Attila

In the meantime a Hun named Attila brought under his despotic sway all the tribes and peoples to the north of the Danube and Black Sea, and made no end of trouble in the Balkans, devastating from the Danube almost to the walls of Constantinople and capturing towns and forts as far south as the historic pass of Thermopylae. In 450 he turned westward and led into Gaul a huge army, composed of his German subjects as well as Huns. Aetius now had to oppose the Huns instead of using them as soldiers, but he hastily summoned contingents from Franks, Burgundians, and the Celts of Brittany, and was also joined by his former enemy, Theodoric, the king of the West Goths. Orléans, situated on the northernmost bend of the river Loire, is a strategic point whose possessor can enter almost any section of Gaul or France. Theodoric and Aetius, coming from the southwest and southeast, reached it before the Huns, who advanced from Metz which they had just sacked. Attila withdrew eastward again. Aetius and Theodoric followed and engaged him in what has usually been called the battle of Châlons but which was actually fought much nearer to Troyes than to Châlons. Like Adrianople, it seems to have been primarily a cavalry encounter; the losses were great on both sides and included King Theodoric. But after the engagement Attila continued to retreat, and the following year he invaded Italy rather than Gaul, sacking such cities in the Po Valley as Pavia and Milan, but not going further south. A year later he died and his mushroom empire rapidly disintegrated. But his name lived on for centuries in both Germanic and ecclesiastical legend. He appears in the *Nibelungenlied*, while saints were held to have miraculously intervened to save not only Orléans but Paris, which he never came near, and Pope Leo was said to have persuaded him to withdraw from Italy.

Britain invaded

Aetius had been unable to help the inhabitants of Britain against the Picts and Scots who, they piteously complained, were driving them into the sea. About the time of the battle of Troyes or Châlons they began to suffer from new Teutonic invaders, marauding bands of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who came across the North Sea from the coasts of Germany and Denmark. These German invaders were gradually to conquer and occupy most of what is now England, pushing back the previous population into Cornwall and Wales, and introducing the Anglo-Saxon language and to some extent the tall, fair, and long-skulled physique. The first considerable settlement seems to have been made by the Jutes in Kent, at the extreme southeastern corner of the island of Britain, in an area bounded on the north by the Thames estuary and on the west by fen and forest. Beyond these boundaries various Saxon invaders settled: to the north of the Thames, the East and Middle Saxons; to the west, the South Saxons and the different tribes — such as the Dorsetas, Wiltsetas, and Somersetas — which were later to be united as West Saxons. From such local settlements by small groups came such later English — and American — names of counties as Sussex, Essex, Middlesex, Dorset, Wiltshire, and Somerset. The Angles, because of whom the name of the southern part of the island was changed from Britain to England (Anglia or Angleland), occupied the eastern coast from Essex to the Firth of Forth; they also came in bands and peoples each with its own name — Deirans, Bernicians, North folk, South folk (whence Norfolk and Suffolk), and so on. Little by little and bit by bit such groups occupied the lowlands and plains where their heavy wheeled ploughs could operate to advantage, and pushed back the native Britons into the mountains and moors of the north and west.

End of Western emperors

Aëtius lived only a little longer than Attila. The Emperor Valentinian III killed him with a sword-thrust in 454 and was himself assassinated in 455, thereby terminating the Theodosian dynasty and precipitating the second sack of Rome — that by the Vandals. In the years following Valentinian's death, emperors were put up and pulled down in the West with confusing rapidity and increasing disorder. In the East they maintained themselves more successfully against the leaders of their barbarian soldiery. After 476 there was no emperor except at Contantinople. Power in Italy was in the hands of a barbarian named Odoacer, who may have been a Hun rather than a German, and who did not attempt to name a Western emperor. He recognized the title of the Eastern emperor, however, and continued the Roman senate, consuls, and administrative system. We are told in the later life of a missionary to the Slovenes or Alpine Slavs that in 488 Odoacer ordered all Roman subjects in Noricum to withdraw into the Italian peninsula, an indication that he felt unable to hold Noricum and that he needed their help to defend Italy itself.

The East Goths, or Ostrogoths, who had escaped from the domination of the Huns with the break-up of Attila's empire and had settled as allies of the Roman Empire in the Balkan peninsula, now became the chief disturbing element there, although Huns, Bulgars, and Slavs also made trouble and laid the foundations of the present Balkan problem Various lands were assigned to the East Goths and they devastated many others When the walls of Constantinople were damaged by an earthquake, they would have broken into the city but for the emperor's Isaurian troops, and they vainly attempted to cross over into Asia Minor At last, in 488, the emperor persuaded Theodoric, who by this time had become king of all the East Goths, to march against Odoacer, and Constantinople was delivered from them as it had been eighty years before from the West Goths and twenty-eight years before from Attila. Other barbarians, however, soon took the place of the Ostrogoths in the Balkan peninsula It required four or five years for Theodoric to conquer Italy. He got rid of Odoacer, who had endured a siege of three years behind the walls of Ravenna, only by promising to divide the rule of Italy with him and then murdering him at a friendly banquet

East Goths in Balkans

The kingdom of the East Goths, established by Theodoric (493–526), included territory in the northwestern part of the Balkan peninsula and to the northeast of Italy, as well as the entire Italian peninsula At its greatest extent it stretched from the mouth of the Rhone to the banks of the upper Danube Theodoric was a dominant personality who wisely regulated affairs, not only in his own kingdom, but in neighboring states as well He made marriage alliances with all four leading Germanic states of his time: Vandals, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks He was deferential to the Roman senate, still appointed consuls at Rome, and at his palace at Ravenna maintained a court imitated after that at Constantinople The mob of Rome still had to have its "bread and circuses" even under the Ostrogoths Theodoric continued the distribution of grain to the city populace, maintained the chariot races and the pantomime, and was praised by a bishop and by Cassiodorus, both pious Christians, for having revived gladiatorial combats Cassiodorus, however, was a secretary to Theodoric Although himself an Arian, Theodoric was careful not to interfere much in ecclesiastical affairs at Rome. Once he refused to decide a disputed papal election, telling the clergy, "It is your duty to settle this question" During the last three years of his reign, however, he persecuted the orthodox Christians fiercely, because the emperor at Constantinople was ill-treating the Arians in the East

Kingdom of Theodoric

It was apparently in this connection that the execution of Boethius occurred Boethius held a high political post under Theodoric When a

Boethius

man of senatorial rank was accused of treasonable intrigues with Constantinople, Boethius spoke boldly on his behalf. Thereupon Theodoric cast Boethius into prison, and there, while awaiting trial, he is supposed to have written *The Consolation of Philosophy.* It opens

> The songs that once I sang with eager pleasure
> In woe must I repeat to sadder measure.
> Behold! the Muse, though maimed, resumes dictation
> And wets my cheek with no feigned lamentation
> The Muse at least no terror can defeat,
> She is my comrade even in retreat

Boethius tells us that the real reason for the charges against him was the hatred which he had aroused by protecting the lands of the Roman provincials against the greed of the Goths. After a short trial he was tortured by the twisting of a cord bound tightly about his head, and finally he was killed with a blow from a club In Chapter VIII we shall have more to say of his writings

The tomb of Theodoric, a few bits of his palace, and some Arian ecclesiastical edifices of his reign may still be seen at Ravenna. These last, however, may be more appropriately considered in the next chapter along with Byzantine art Most of his structures were composed of fragments from ruined buildings, and a bishop in an oration in his praise declared, in the usual stilted language of panegyric, "He rejuvenated Rome and Italy in their hideous old age by amputating their mutilated members"

Expansion of the Franks

From the kingdom of the East Goths under Theodoric we turn northward to that which was developed in Gaul by the Franks under Clovis There had long been two branches of the Frankish people in northern Gaul the Salians dwelling along the North Sea, and the Ripuarians who lived along the Rhine. Both had expanded across the Roman frontier even before the battle of Adrianople, but had been defeated. The Ripuarians were driven back across the river, while the Salians were allowed to remain as allies of the empire in the extreme northeast of Gaul. By the beginning of the fifth century they ceased to recognize Rome's authority, and the Ripuarians, too, came west of the Rhine once more. Aetius checked the advance of the Salians for a time, but they soon had spread as far south as the Somme River, and made Tournai their capital. The Ripuarians gradually wrenched from the empire the important cities of Cologne, Bonn, Aix-la-Chapelle, Juliers, Treves, and their surrounding country.

The Franks thus differed from the East Goths and West Goths, the

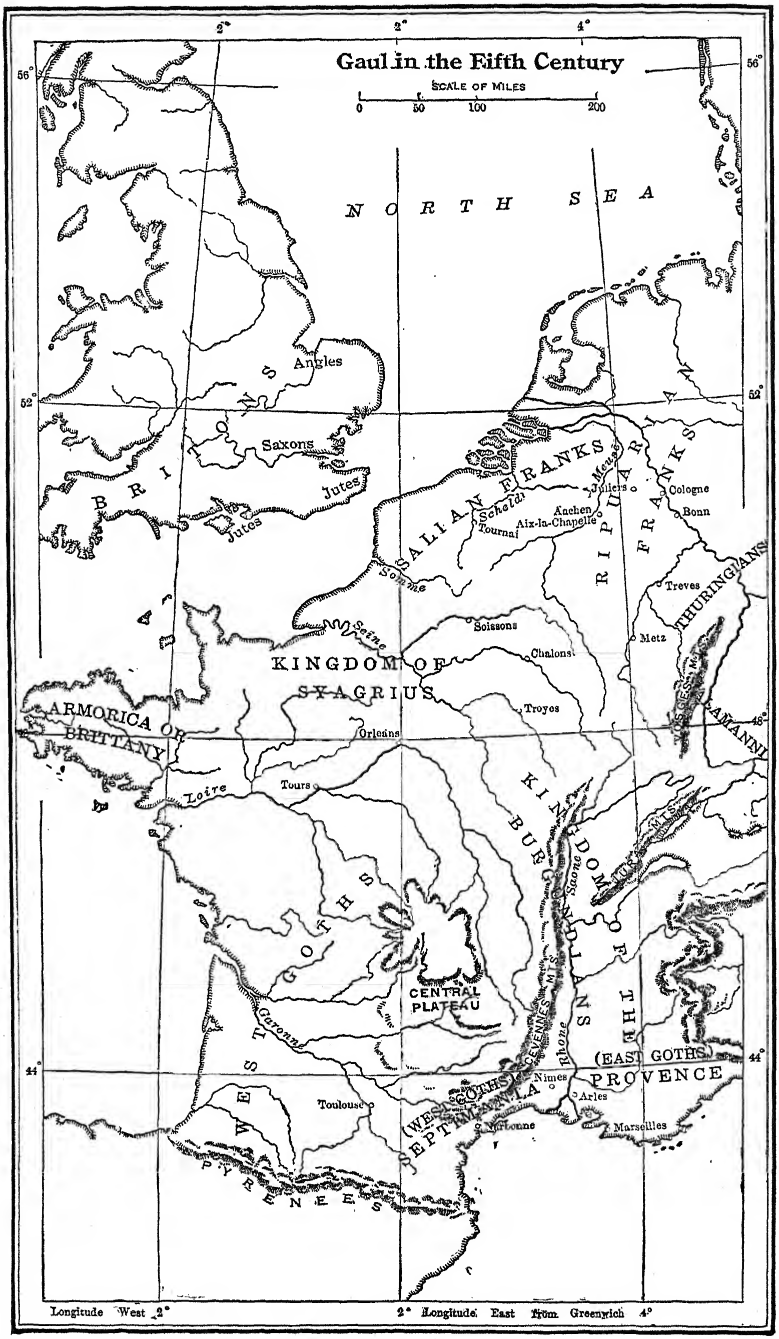
Vandals and the Suevi, in that they did not make long migrations across the breadth of the Roman Empire, but occupied regions adjacent to their original habitat. Hence, their own numbers were less likely to dwindle as they moved along, or to be supplemented and replenished by foreign accessions to their ranks; and their influence would be more permanent. The Salian Franks almost completely obliterated Roman civilization and Christianity from the region between the Meuse and the Scheldt, which they occupied in their first aggressions against the empire, and where today is spoken a German dialect, Flemish. The Ripuarians also, in their first permanent advance west of the Rhine, seem to have dislodged the Roman culture and the Christian religion, and their southwestern boundary at that time coincided roughly with the present limits of the French and German languages

Peoples of Gaul

South of the Ripuarians on the Rhine came the Thuringians and then the Alamanni, who occupied Alsace, the region between the Vosges Mountains and the Rhine, and extended eastward through the Black Forest to the Lake of Constance The Alamanni, like the Franks, introduced a permanent Germanic element in the population west of the Rhine From their name comes the French word for German, *allemand* Farther south, in the upper Saône and Rhone Valleys and in Savoy on the west slopes of the Alps, were the Burgundians. What the French call "*le massif central*," an elevated and barren region whose eastern boundary is formed by the Cévennes Mountains, occupies a considerable portion of south-central France and separates both southeastern from southwestern France and the Mediterranean littoral from the interior. The Visigoths had at first been west of this central plateau, but had now also expanded south of it and occupied most of the Mediterranean coast region To the north their kingdom reached the Loire The remainder of Gaul, between the Loire and Somme Rivers, had not yet been conquered by the German invaders. A certain Syagrius had inherited it in 464 from his father Aegidius, a lieutenant of the Roman emperor, and was known as the "Roman King of Soissons," for he made that city rather than Paris his capital

The Franks under Clovis

In 486 Syagrius was defeated, and later secretly put to death, by the Salian Franks under the lead of Clovis (482–511) — a name equivalent to the modern Louis — who then gradually took the walled towns of the region until his dominion reached the Loire This was for Clovis but the beginning of a career of conquest. He drove the Thuringians out of Gaul; forced the Alamanni out of Alsace and up the Rhine into the Rhaetian Alps; and defeated the Burgundians. Thus, although German himself, he may be said to have put an end, for a time


Gaul in the Fifth Century
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
200
56°
52°
48°
44°
2°
4°
NORTH SEA
BRITONS
Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Jutes
SALIAN FRANKS
RIPUARIAN FRANKS
Scheldt
Meuse
Juliers
Cologne
Bonn
Aachen
Aix-la-Chapelle
Tournai
Somme
Seine
Treves
THURINGIANS
Metz
Soissons
Chalons
KINGDOM OF SYAGRIUS
Troyes
VOSGES MTS.
ALAMANNI
ARMORICA OR BRITTANY
Orleans
Tours
Loire
KINGDOM OF THE BURGUNDIANS
JURA MTS.
Saone
WEST GOTHS
CENTRAL PLATEAU
Garonne
CEVENNES MTS.
Rhone
(EAST GOTHS)
PROVENCE
Nimes
Arles
Marseilles
Toulouse
(WEST GOTHS)
SEPTIMANIA
Narbonne
PYRENEES
Longitude West 2°
2° Longitude East from Greenwich 4°

at least, to the barbarian invasions so far as Gaul was concerned. At some time in the course of his reign he received Christian baptism [1] and became the champion of orthodoxy as against the Arianism and paganism of other Germans. In 507 he killed with his own hand the king of the West Goths and forced that people to give ground and withdraw wholly into Spain, except for a strip of land along the Mediterranean coast and south of the central plateau, which they continued to occupy from the Pyrenees to the Alps. Indeed, of this the West Goths in Spain kept only the province of Septimania, which extended from the Pyrenees to the city of Nîmes, while Provence, which extended from the Alps to the city of Arles, was added to the kingdom of the East Goths by Theodoric, who had come to its relief. Clovis murdered the other kings among the Salian Franks and was also accepted by the Ripuarians as their sole ruler. At his death he ruled all Gaul except the Mediterranean coast and the Rhone Valley, and by 536 his sons had added the kingdom of Burgundy and Provence to the Frankish possessions.

Character of invasions

Although this chapter has been entitled "The Barbarian Invasions," it should be understood that the invasions and infiltrations began long before the period with which the chapter opens and — although Clovis had done something to check them — continued long after the period with which it closes. For this chapter deals with only a cross-section of a long-continued movement — a segment whose dominant feature is the shifting into southern and western Europe, under pressure from mounted Asiatic nomads who sweep over eastern and central Europe, of peoples mainly Germanic. Their numbers are uncertain; but as they retained their names and identities and native laws even after such long and protracted wanderings as those of the West Goths, Vandals, and Suevi, it seems impossible to regard their movements as mere incursions of military bands rather than as folk migrations. The host of Vandals which Gaiseric transported from Spain to Africa is said to have numbered 80,000 males, counting from newborn babe to oldest graybeard. In the historical foreground there may appear few but individual adventurers who will earn a living by fighting for or against the Roman Empire, as the case may be, and ambitious chieftains who want to become imperial generals or even emperors themselves, who put up and depose emperors and are themselves executed for treason or murdered on suspicion by emperors. But in the background are the mass of the people who want to escape from the Huns and from nomadic devastation, to acquire lands and settle down again. They may be forced for a time to fight and be tempted by circumstances to plunder, but this way of life is not their final and ultimate objective It does not necessarily follow that the barbarian invaders were few in number because in the course of centuries they were merged physically and linguistically into the pre-existing population; for physical traits are dependent on climate and habitat as well as on descent, and may alter in a new environment As for language, in the Italian peninsula some scattered German-speaking communities have survived into the present century

---

[1] As late as 506 has been recently suggested, but most scholars still adhere to the traditional date of 496 or 497.

The invasions, of course, were not incessant; they were not going on all the time everywhere. The districts through which the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals swept on their way across Gaul to Spain were prosperous again within a generation Although some cities were sacked, it was slow work besieging and taking walled towns, and the invasions did not wipe out urban life Costly games and festivals were still furnished the populace in the large cities

Theodosian Code

From the laws of Constantine and his successors, it seems evident that the Roman Empire was already declining in the latter years of the fourth century and was but further weakened by the series of invasions which the Huns precipitated. A collection of these laws was compiled, expurgated, and issued in 438 by the Christian emperor Theodosius II and was called after him the *Codex Theodosianus* (Theodosian Code), this mass of imperial legislation reveals the efforts of the government to check the decline of the empire, and at the same time indicates the adoption of policies which probably had the unfortunate result of hastening that decline. Some of the laws conflict with others, for the policy of the emperors evidently fluctuated, and perhaps the conditions with which they had to deal changed too For instance, at one time private individuals are allowed to quarry marble; at another time the right is reserved to the state Some sweeping commands doubtless were never thoroughly executed; other laws merely sanction conditions already existing But on the whole the reader of the laws gets the impression that things are going very badly in the Roman world, and that all the scolding and threats of the emperors cannot prevent it. In 379–383 the death penalty is decreed for making payment in gold in trading with the barbarians In 389 private landowners who tap the public aqueducts to irrigate their farms are threatened with confiscation of their land Some workers are forced by penalties to pursue the same trades as their fathers; others are encouraged in their callings by immunities and exemption from taxes. Skilled labor seems to be getting scarce It is also difficult for the government to procure enough ships to bring provisions to the populaces of Rome and Constantinople, or a sufficient number of workmen to carry out various other public enterprises. The toilers in the state mines and quarries often run away. So difficult has it become to keep the governing class in the municipalities at their disagreeable task of tax collecting, that evil doers are sometimes forced to join a *curia* by way of punishment, while five gold pieces are offered as a reward to any one who drags a runaway *decurion* back to his office. It is further to be noted that the *Codex Theodosianus* marks a decline in the Roman law, compared with the writings of the jurists of the second and third centuries, to which it is inferior both in language and in thought, both as literature and as law.

Continued decline

Whatever the actual amount of damage that can be directly charged up to the invaders, it is certain that the decline of ancient civilization went on apace and that the age was one of great misery for the Roman world. Lawlessness and brigandage were a natural result of the invasions and disorder. Tombs were robbed, parents sold their children into slavery, slaves ran away from their masters and were probably guilty of worse acts of rapine and cruelty than the barbarians. In 458 the legislation of the Emperor Majorian tells the same story as the earlier Theodosian Code: things going wrong generally, oppression by those in authority, corruption among the officials, and wretchedness among the people. To check depopulation, Majorian forbids women to become nuns before forty and commands childless widows to remarry within five years or forfeit half their property. The burden of taxation is revealed when the emperor cancels arrears of tribute that are eleven years overdue but feels obliged to increase the land tax for the future. Writers of the time tell of men who preferred to flee to the barbarians, even to the Huns, and live under their rule rather than endure the misery and oppression which were their lot within the Roman Empire.

Salvian, a Christian clergyman of the time, draws for us a vivid picture of the wreck and ruin of the ancient world. He holds that the Roman world richly deserves the multifold calamities that have befallen it, because of the immoral lives of the majority of Christians who are not a whit better than the barbarians, although the latter are ignorant pagans or heretics who cannot be expected to have as high standards as the orthodox and cultured Christians of the empire. He charges that, even while cities are being besieged by the barbarians, Christians of long standing get drunk within the walls and that "honored Christians who are decrepit with age" continue slaves to gluttony and lasciviousness when their cities are on the very verge of being sacked. The barbarous Goths, he continues, are models of chastity compared to the lustful Christians of Aquitania, and it was the Vandals who did away with the public prostitutes of Roman Carthage "Nothing is left to us of the peace and prosperity of our ancestors except the crimes that have ruined that prosperity" Salvian's moral indignation is perhaps somewhat overdone, his language is very rhetorical, and his sweeping charges of universal immorality are probably exaggerated, and are partly due to his prejudice against circuses and theaters, which Christian society had generally retained from the pagan past But he seems well informed and sometimes speaks with the assurance of personal experience, and many of his statements are corroborated from other sources He tells us how fathers, in order to get a little protection for themselves, give up their property to the great and powerful, so that their sons lose their inheritance and have no lands, yet are still held liable to taxation by the government. These, and many others who have fled from their lands to escape invaders or tax collectors, have no course left but to become the *coloni* of rich landowners, losing their liberty as well as their property and becoming transformed from men into swine as if by the wand of Circe Salvian himself, after the sack of cities, has seen nude corpses of both sexes lying about everywhere, torn by birds and dogs And his rage rises to a white heat against certain nobles of Treves who, after the city had been burned and sacked thrice, could still ask the emperors for circuses. "Where would you hold these public spectacles?" he asks — "Over the graves and ashes, the bones and blood of the dead?" In another passage he gives us a brief summary of the general situation "The whole Roman world is in misery and yet is luxurious . It is dying and it laughs"

Results of the invasions

The barbarian invasions of the period covered in this chapter left the Roman Empire and its classical civilization badly upset and demoralized. But it was not permanently nomadized. Even in the West, despite all the slaughter and plunder, some urban life and some agriculture survived What farming was done, however, was carried on by the wretched class of *coloni*, except in so far as lands were taken over and cultivated by Germans, and in the towns, although some industry and business still went on, the reduced populations probably consisted largely of refugees and proletariat. In the countryside the large landowner, and for a time the German settler, was the chief figure, in town, it was the Christian bishop

Could something like the old Roman Empire be restored and reconstituted? Could the imperial government at Constantinople recover the lost western provinces? Our next chapter will answer these questions.

Could declining classical civilization be revived upon a Christian basis? The answer to this question will require more than one chapter

Bibliographical Note

For a rather full account of the sources, with translations of some of them, C. H. Hayes, *An Introduction to the Sources relating to the Germanic Invasions* (New York, 1909), especially Chapters 8 to 13. Salvian has been translated by Eva M. Sanford, the *Gothic History* of Jordanes, by C. C. Mierow. T. Peisker's "The Asiatic Background," *Cambridge Medieval History*, I, 323–359, is a memorable account of the mounted nomads. J. B. Bury, *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians*, gives "opinions on a number of long-debated problems." A longer treatment, in eight or nine volumes, is T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*. Reynolds and Lopez, "Odoacer: German or Hun?" *American Historical Review*, 52 (1946), 36–53, is an example of a particular problem. S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, is still the best general picture.

V

Justinian and the Byzantine Empire

The empire in the East

ROME, which had conquered the entire Mediterranean world, had twice suffered sack; Constantinople, the new capital, had escaped practically unscathed. The western half of the empire had gone to pieces, the eastern half had suffered, but for the most part had held together. What was the explanation? One reason would be the impregnability of Constantinople, which not only protected itself but prevented the invaders from crossing into Asia and turned them from the Balkans westward. Another would be the sea power of the Eastern Empire, for the fleet not only held invaders off from the capital but also served to protect more distant coasts. A third contributing factor might be that German invaders, at least, would find Western conditions more congenial than Oriental. But we must also consider the greater populousness and economic strength and the more advanced civilization of the eastern half of the empire. Finally, at least as an explanation for the future and further survival of the empire at Constantinople, we should note that there were a number of able emperors, generals, and other officials who showed a readiness to avail themselves of innovations: as, in the military realm, of the Huns' methods of fighting, in naval tactics and coastal defense, of Greek fire; in the economic sphere, of the silk industry and the drawloom. And of all the able emperors at Constantinople, Justinian was the most famous.

In 518 had ended the troubled reign of Anastasius, filled with a succession of rebellions at home and wars abroad; riots in Constantinople; revolts of the Isaurians — native tribes in Asia Minor who furnished good soldiers and had supplied the previous emperor with troops, barbarian raids in the European provinces; war with Persia in the East; a breach with the Bishop of Rome, or pope, who was coming to be recognized as head of the churches in the West, and religious opposition among the emperor's own subjects because of his Monophysitism. The Monophysites were those who insisted that Christ had only one nature, the divine. This view was widespread in the East and was the cause of many popular disturbances, since in the East even the lowest classes took sides in theological disputes In spite of all the disturbances that vexed his reign, however, Anastasius left a well-filled treasury behind him

Justin and Justinian

Justin, an aged soldier of peasant stock from the province of Illyria, now came to the throne The old man could scarcely read, had to use a stencil to sign his name, and knew little of politics The real ruler during the nine years of Justin's reign (518–527) and then for thirty-eight years longer in his own name (527–565) was Justinian, a nephew of Justin, who had received a broad education, was trained in politics, and who in 518 was already thirty-six years old Indeed, the great historian, Gibbon, said that Justinian "was never young" He lived to be eighty-three He was a man of somewhat cold and ascetic temperament, of simple manners and abstemious habits. "His stature," says a contemporary, "was neither too great nor too little, well proportioned and rather inclined to be fat, his face was round and comely, his complexion was fresh, and sometimes when he had eaten nothing for two days" He had the love of order and system and the enormous capacity for details which have marked all great administrators, and, like Napoleon, he could do with very little sleep and hated to be idle He gave his personal attention to every department of government, and also took a keen interest in theology. He had great power of self-control, was expert in hiding his feelings and intentions, and outwardly always gave the impression of great strength and firmness of purpose We are told, however, that his mind sometimes vacillated in critical moments, and he was perhaps at heart more a man of intellect than of action His actions were guided in the main, however, by definite policies and fixed principles, and it was only stress of untoward circumstance that made him hesitate. From the start he aimed to be a great emperor and he succeeded In a church in that same city of Ravenna, where are the tombs of Galla Placidia and of Theodoric, the East Goth, and which Justinian reconquered from the barbarians, are still to be seen in resplendent mosaic the official portraits, made during the course of his reign, of the "Lord Justinian" himself and of his empress, Theodora (Figure 8, page 28).

For the great achievements which Justinian planned, he needed a number of able assistants, and he was either fortunate enough, or more likely, wise enough to find them. In Belisarius and the eunuch Narses, he had two remarkable generals Anthemius of Tralles was the architect who had charge of his public buildings His two chief ministers were the learned jurist, Tribonian, who executed the great legal work of the reign, and John of Cappadocia, an able administrator and resourceful financier. John was accused, however, of resorting to cruel extortion to supply

Justinian with the funds needed for his great enterprises, and Tribonian was charged with corruption and sale of justice Justinian was watchful, if not suspicious and jealous, of even his most successful subordinates Finally among his chief helpers the remarkable empress, Theodora, should not be forgotten

Procopius' Secret *History*

The reign was also graced by an eminent historian, Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, whose works on the wars and the buildings of Justinian have contributed to his fame Procopius, however, also wrote a venomous *Secret History*, in which he depicted Justinian as a fiend incarnate and his reign as a terrible orgy of oppression The wild exaggeration of this work may be seen in such statements as that "more murders were committed by Justinian's order or permission than in all the ages before him," and that "he had no money himself and would suffer no one else to have any " The wives of both Belisarius and Justinian are represented as women of the worst type Amid all the slander, however, a certain amount of probable fact can be selected

The Empress Theodora

Theodora is said to have been the daughter of a wild-beast keeper at the Hippodrome and was for a time a very popular and fast young actress in the pantomime at Constantinople After questionable adventures in the East she returned to the capital a reformed character. Justinian now fell in love with her, married her in 523, and she shared the imperial throne with him from 527 to 548, during which time she is supposed to have exerted a vast influence over him in political and religious matters Procopius admits that she "had an excellent face, and though her person was small, yet she was exceedingly well shaped; her complexion was neither too white nor too red, her eyes were extremely quick, and she cast them a thousand ways at once " According to Procopius, Justinian and Theodora made it a regular policy to pretend to disagree in matters of state and to side with different parties, while really they always worked hand in glove with each other, betrayed their associates freely to each other, and thus learned the secrets of their enemies. Indeed, they seem to have been as well adapted to each other as the famous Jack Spratt and his wife While the wakeful Justinian walked the palace all night, the drowsy Theodora slept on half through the day He was easy to see, she was very inaccessible He merely touched his food and barely sipped his wine; she interrupted her slumbers to have a bath and breakfast and then went back to bed again, and "at dinner and at supper there was no sort of meat but she would have and that in abundance."

A prime aim of Justinian was to recover the lost provinces in the West

Justinian's reconquests

and thus restore the Roman Empire "to the limits of the two oceans." Hilderic, the weak king who ruled the Vandals from 523 to 530, favored the orthodox Catholics rather than the Arians, and was friendly to Justinian, whose overlordship he recognized nominally. When the Vandals, dissatisfied with his rule, deposed him and made Gelimer their king, Justinian had a pretext for interference. To the Vandal kingdom in North Africa he dispatched Belisarius, with an army of some twenty thousand whose chief strength lay in its heavy-armed mailed cavalry (*cataphracti*), the *cataphracti* were equipped with close-fitting steel helmets, shirts of mail, round shields, long lances, broadswords, daggers, and bows and arrows. The army of Belisarius quickly defeated the Vandals in two battles and Gelimer surrendered in 534. Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Isles were also occupied by Justinian's lieutenants, and the spoils taken from Rome in 455 were recovered. The Moors or Berbers, however, who had already been winning their native soil back from the Vandals, maintained a stubborn resistance for fourteen years more. Justinian was never able to conquer much of Mauretania, the westernmost stretch of North Africa and equivalent to modern Morocco. But he held Ceuta, the important citadel guarding the Straits of Gibraltar. He thoroughly fortified the frontier of the territory he had gained — a great labor, since the Vandals had razed the fortifications of most towns except Carthage. Huge ruins remain today to show on how vast a scale the work was done. The African provinces had suffered terribly during the long struggle with the wild Berbers, and complained of the heavy taxation of Justinian's officials.

We may get some idea of the population of North Africa at this time from the exaggerated complaint of the *Secret History* that five million people were slain in the course of its conquest, and from the large corps of officials employed in governing it. At the head was the praetorian prefect, later known as the "exarch," who received a larger salary than did all the members of his staff together. Beneath him were his staff of about four hundred persons, seven governors with fifty helpers each, and six dukes with forty clerks apiece in charge of the frontiers — altogether a thousand officials. Justinian did what he could to restore prosperity and embellished Carthage with a number of new buildings.

When Justinian undertook his war against the Vandals, the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was ruled by a young king whose mother was well disposed toward Justinian and who allowed Belisarius to use Sicily as a base of operations against Africa. Her son had disgusted the Gothic chiefs by crying when his teacher whipped him, but the manly education which they insisted upon giving him had the effect of making him too tough, and his vicious ways caused his death a few months after the Vandal king surrendered to Belisarius. The queen mother succeeded in marrying the next candidate for the throne, her cousin, but presently he had her strangled This gave Justinian an excuse for declaring war Belisarius, helped by the Franks, whom Justinian's clever diplomacy induced to invade Provence and the north of Italy, and by another Byzantine general who conquered Dalmatia, but hampered by Narses, whom Justinian sent out for a time with another army to spy upon him, won a series of successes from 535 to 540 culminating in the capitulation of Ravenna Military necessity was responsible for an industrial invention in 536, when the Goths were besieging Belisarius in Rome They destroyed the water courses which ran the mills in the city, but Belisarius set up floating ship mills in the Tiber (mills in midstream which were turned by the current of the river) and stretched chains across the river to protect them against the logs and corpses which the Goths floated downstream

Under a new king, Totila, who sought peasant support against absentee landlords, the Goths renewed the struggle, and by 551 had reconquered most of Italy and had seized Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica as well Finally, in 552, the now-aged Narses defeated and killed Totila, and by 555 resistance was practically at an end, and the Franks and Alamanni, who had taken advantage of the disorder to ravage Italy, had been driven out

But Rome and other cities of Italy had suffered more from these Gothic wars than from the previous barbarian invasions Furthermore, Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia were lost, and in 568, only three years after Justinian's death, the German Lombards began their successful invasions and partial conquest of Italy. It therefore might have been better for the cause of peace and civilization if Justinian had left the Goths in Italy strictly alone, or if he had made some peaceful arrangement with them.

Exarchate of Ravenna

Justinian had no thought of setting up an emperor in the West again. Italy, like Africa, was ruled by an exarch subordinate to himself, and the days of the Roman senate and of the consuls were over. This Exarchate of Ravenna, though soon greatly reduced in size, lasted for a long time after the Lombards entered Italy. Genoa, where the Archbishop of Milan took refuge, was not taken by the Lombards until 642; Bari, Brindisi, Gallipoli, and a few other towns on the east coast fell around 650 Ravenna itself did not fall until 751; and Constantinople held Sicily, parts of southern Italy, and other scattered points on the coast, like Venice, into the tenth and eleventh centuries The exarchate had an Oriental tinge; one quarter of Ravenna was called Armenia, and through the seventh and eighth centuries most of the popes at Rome were Greek or Syrian.

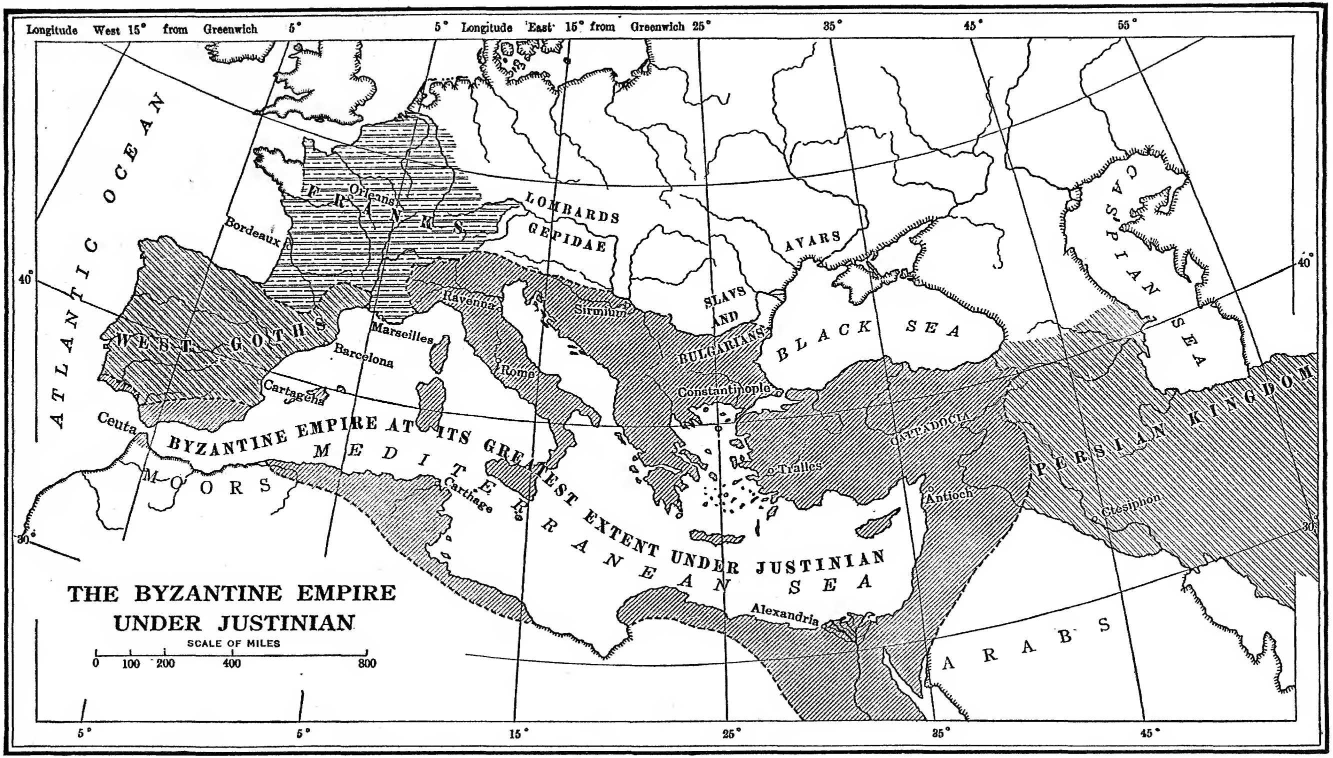
A considerable strip of southeastern Spain was also seized by Justinian, when a usurper appealed to him for aid against the Arian king, who was persecuting the orthodox subjects. In the course of time, however, this territory gradually reverted to the Visigoths But Justinian had almost succeeded in bringing the coasts of the Mediterranean within the empire, and he assumed by virtue of his generals' conquests a series of titles such as *Africanus, Vandalicus, Gothicus, Alamannicus, Franciscus, Germanicus*

The Byzantine Empire

But Justinian had failed in his attempt to restore the old Roman Empire, and it seems advisable henceforth to use another name for the state and territories over which he and his successors ruled From 476 to 800 there was no other Roman emperor than the one reigning at Constantinople Since Constantinople was not Rome, nor its inhabitants in any true sense Romans — though they so called themselves — it is legitimate to speak of the Roman Empire as now at an end It is true that the Roman law and governmental system and for a time the use of Latin as the official language continued at Constantinople But it will be clearer henceforth to speak of this half or less of what had once been the great Roman Empire by a distinctive name, and to call it the "Eastern" or "Greek" or "Byzantine Empire." The last adjective, which comes from Byzantium, the former name for Constantinople, and which is especially applied to the art and literature of this empire during the Middle Ages, is the most distinctive For we have already spoken of the Eastern Empire before 476, and the adjective "Greek" would not distinguish the culture from that of earlier Greece. Moreover, the empire was as much barbarian and Oriental as it was Greek. The expression "Later Roman Empire" has been used of this survival of Roman rule in the East, but is a confusing phrase, since such expressions as "the early empire" and "the later empire" are used of the Roman Empire before 476 to distinguish its early period of peace and prosperity from the later centuries of decline and invasion. We shall therefore henceforth speak of the government which centered at Constantinople as the "Byzantine Empire."

Justinian and the barbarians

Nominally the Balkan peninsula east of Dalmatia and Pannonia had formed a part of the empire at Justinian's accession, but barbarians had been plundering it almost at will. He now filled the entire region from the Danube to the Sea of Marmora with lines of forts, and here, as on all his frontiers, he revived the old Roman system of entrusting the defense of the border of a province to troops that were levied from that province and settled upon lands granted to them upon the very frontier The armies of Belisarius and Narses, on the other



THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE UNDER JUSTINIAN

Longitude West 15° from Greenwich 5°
5° Longitude East 15° from Greenwich 25°
35°
45°
55°
40°
30°
5°
15°
25°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANKS
Orleans
Bordeaux
LOMBARDS
GEPIDAE
AVARS
SLAVS AND BULGARIANS
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
WEST GOTHS
Marseilles
Barcelona
Cartagena
Ravenna
Sirmium
Rome
Constantinople
Ceuta
BYZANTINE EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT UNDER JUSTINIAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOORS
Carthage
Tralles
CAPPADOCIA
Antioch
PERSIAN KINGDOM
Ctesiphon
Alexandria
ARABS
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
400
800

hand, were largely recruited from barbarians outside the empire. Justinian also relied upon a very ingenious and complicated diplomacy in dealing with the barbarians We have already seen his skill in making friends in the royal houses of Africa, Italy, and Spain, and then in discovering plausible pretexts for conquest When the simple ambassadors of the savage tribes upon his borders came to Constantinople, he dazzled them by the splendor of his court, and he gratified their kings with presents, favors, and titles But he was also constantly setting them upon one another and thus keeping them occupied so that they might not invade his territory His alliances extended to Ethiopia, Abyssinia, and the Upper Nile This policy was expensive, however, since the barbarians would not do his bidding without subsidies.

Wars with Persia

But what especially hampered Justinian in his schemes for extending and strengthening the empire was the hostility of the Persian kingdom on the eastern frontier In the reign of Chosroes I (531–579) both Persian literature (Pahlavi) and Persian religion (Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism) reached their height, but the aggressive Persian foreign policy of these years was to lead ultimately to sad results Wars which were not sought by Justinian lasted from 524 to 532, 540 to 545, and 549 to 562, and ended by his agreeing to pay Persia an annual tribute

Meanwhile Justinian had been forced to draw away so many troops from the northern frontiers for these Persian wars and for the long-drawn-out conquests of Africa and Italy, that the Huns, Slavs, and Bulgars were able to make incursions across the Danube on an average of one in four years during his reign. In the end the invaders were always driven back, but sometimes they got as far as the Isthmus of Corinth or the environs of Constantinople In his old age Belisarius gained his last laurels by repulsing a great invasion of the Huns in 558.

The Bulgars

The original Bulgars were nomads like the Huns and followed them into the Pontus Steppe at a somewhat later date Their name comes from the Volga River near which they once lived; the letters *b* and *v* were interchangeable at this time, while in modern Greek *v* has replaced the ancient *beta* The Bulgars first appeared south of the Danube toward the end of the fifth century As the Huns a century before had conquered many German tribes and driven others into the Roman Empire, so now the Bulgars carried the Slavs with them in frequent raids across the Danube Though originally the masters, the Bulgars were eventually to adopt the language and customs of the Slavs, and fuse with them into the Bulgarian nation that we know today.

The early history of the Slavs is uncertain They are classed as of

The Slavs

Alpine race, and their closest racial affiliation seems to be with the Celts; they speak languages of the Indo-European group They include Letts and Lithuanians near the Baltic Sea as well as the Slovenes or Alpine Slavs, the Russians, and the Slavs south of the Danube Several centuries before our era the Germans had pushed them back east of the Vistula, but in the early centuries of our era the Slavs appear to have multiplied rapidly in numbers and to have expanded widely over eastern Europe They were an agricultural peasantry, inferior to the Germans in their vegetarian diet and lack of domestic animals to aid their labors Political and social institutions were little developed among them and although they were kindly, thrifty, and inured to hardships, they were rather wanting in enterprise and aggressiveness, and were fonder of music than of warfare Many of them became a subjected peasantry, toiling under the yoke of the nomads from the East, but others seem to have learned from their invaders the lesson of fighting and ravaging, and to have become invaders themselves when the East Goths left the Balkan peninsula free for new plunderers and occupants. Procopius speaks of the Slavs especially in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, that is, modern Rumania

The Heruli and their trek

Procopius' account of another barbarian people, the Heruli or Eruli, some of whom were employed as troops by Narses, may serve to illustrate how much or how little was known then of the world north of the Danube He depicts them as originally worshiping many gods, practicing human sacrifice, killing off the sick and aged, and having widows commit suicide These people attacked the Lombards but were defeated and, lacking food, submitted to the Gepidae who were bitter foes of the Lombards But the Gepidae oppressed them To escape this humiliating situation, many of the Heruli crossed the Danube and settled in Illyricum as allies of the Byzantine Empire The others, including most of the royal family, made a long trek, traversing all the Slavic nations until they came to Denmark, where they put out to sea and settled in "Thule" — a land which, according to Procopius, was ten times as large as Britain and to the north of it It should indeed have lain beyond the Arctic Circle, since Procopius describes the longest day and longest night there as lasting for forty days. The Heruli within the empire killed their king, thinking that they would do better without one, but after a time they regretted their action and sent envoys to distant Thule to bring back another member of the royal family. On the way back, he died in Denmark, so the envoys returned to Thule for yet another. Meanwhile the Heruli in the empire, impatient at the delay, asked Justinian to name a ruler for them and he sent a

Herulian from Constantinople But when the real representative of royalty finally appeared, they all abandoned the imperial appointee, who fled for his life

Turks and Avars

Toward the close of Justinian's reign two important changes occurred in the barbarian world The White Huns or Ephthalites, a barbarian tribe dwelling in the Oxus basin beyond the Persian Kingdom, which they had often distracted by their attacks from its aggressions against the Byzantine Empire, were overthrown by the Turks, who were later to affect European history so profoundly At the same time another wave of Asiatic nomads, the Avars, began to roll westward Justinian in his last years paid them a yearly subsidy as a reward for defeating the Bulgars and Slavs who had been attacking his territories Soon after Justinian's death they fought under their khagan, Baian, against the Franks in Thuringia, and then combined forces with the Lombards to defeat the Gepidae on the Upper Danube The Lombards then descended from Pannonia upon Italy, while the Avars absorbed the territory of the Gepidae and occupied the plain of present Hungary Soon they came to tyrannize over a much greater region, for the Germans in pushing west and south had left central Europe open During the remainder of the sixth century Avars wintered yearly in the neighborhood of modern Nurnberg in northern Bavaria; their sway at its height probably extended from the Baltic Sea to Sparta and from the Tyrol to Russia. But by the eighth century their power began to decline

Imperial absolutism

Amid all these wars and frontier problems Justinian found time to attend to internal affairs It was his aim to make the power of the emperor absolute. His state papers are couched in imperious and pretentious language In his presence men had to prostrate themselves and kiss the imperial feet of the "Lord Justinian" Yet even the *Secret History* admits that he was very accessible, that he never denied any man an audience, and that he received everyone courteously Indeed, so many matters were taken over by the central government and so much more business than before was transacted at his court that the imperial palace was always thronged

Hippodrome factions

Like all the Byzantine emperors, however, Justinian had the turbulent populace of Constantinople to reckon with In 521, Justin had spent the equivalent of over a million dollars in shows for the people. Anastasius had abolished human combats with wild beasts, but they were now once more permitted. Even more than such combats, however, or than the entertainments at the theaters — of which one bore the sinister name "The Harlots" — the favorite pastime of Constantinople was the exciting four-horse chariot-races of the circus, which were held, usually on Sunday, in the great Hipprodrome seating thirty thousand men — for women did not attend The beards of the men of this time, and the costumes with huge puffed sleeves tight at the wrist, showed styles borrowed from the Huns The spectators at the races took sides according to the colors worn by their favorite charioteers, and occupied blocks of seats reserved for their respective colors. Thus arose the two great parties of Greens and Blues, who divided the city and who often carried their rivalry to the point of animosity and blows These two factions could, at least on occasion, become political parties Anastasius had favored the Greens Justinian and Theodora adhered to the Blues The Blues seem to have been the aristocratic and orthodox party, while the Greens were popular and Monophysites Such parties existed also at Antioch and in Egypt. At Constantinople triumphal processions were held in the Hippodrome; also the emperor was a frequent and interested spectator of the races, and the people thus had a chance upon this informal occasion to let him know how they felt Usually he was applauded, but sometimes was hissed, "booed," or made the target of saucy remarks and of complaints about the conduct of the government.

Sometimes a serious riot occurred, if not in the Hippodrome during the performance, then afterwards in the streets In 532, both Greens and Blues became offended at the city prefect, next demanded the dismissal of both Tribonian and John of Cappadocia, and then were not satisfied even with that When troops were sent against them, the rioters drove the soldiers back to the imperial palace and set the city on fire Justinian made a personal appeal to them in the Hippodrome, but the frenzied crowd refused to accept his promises and proclaimed a rival emperor. Justinian thereupon became thoroughly alarmed and was inclined to leave the city But Theodora made a courageous speech to his council declaring that she would not flee; Narses went out to win back some of the Blues by a discreet distribution of cash, and Belisarius and Mundus with barbarian mercenaries slaughtered the throng in the Hippodrome. From the cries of "Beat them!" which had been raised by the mobs, this six-day disturbance is known as the Nika riot For some years afterwards Justinian discontinued the games of the circus and instituted a number of new administrative measures intended to make the city more orderly henceforth But before his long reign ended the Blues and Greens were at it again as lively as ever

Almost the first act of Justin's reign had been a reconciliation with the papacy, followed by a persecution of the Monophysites Justinian felt that he needed the support of the pope in reconquering the West. As soon, however, as his generals had gained a foothold in Italy and control of the city of Rome, it became evident that Justinian intended to be master even in ecclesiastical matters In 537, Pope Silverius, in whose election Gothic influence had been felt, was deposed, and Vigilius, the candidate of the empress Theodora, replaced him Theodora is also credited with convincing her husband that it would be better policy to lessen his severities toward the Monophysites, who, despite repeated persecutions, were displaying increasing strength When Pope Vigilius opposed this, imperial troops removed him from Rome, where he was none too popular, owing to such acts as killing a notary with a blow of his fist and ordering his niece's husband flogged to death The pope was taken first to Sicily, then to Constantinople, and was ready by the time he arrived there to give in to Justinian But he soon repented of this decision, and the remaining seven years of his pontificate were spent in a vain effort to squirm out of the position to which he had committed himself by solemn vows and written statements. He was kept a virtual prisoner at Constantinople much of the time, was threatened with force when he fled to sanctuaries for safety, and finally was banished to a desert island The fifth ecumenical council of the Church, held at Constantinople in 553 in the new church of Saint Sophia, supported Justinian, and those clergy who sided with Vigilius were punished with stripes, imprisonment, exile, and deposition Vigilius himself in the end submitted, but by so doing lessened the authority of the papacy in the West, where the archbishops of Milan and Aquileia termed him a traitor to orthodoxy and initiated a long schism. During the remainder of his reign Justinian controlled the elections of popes and church affairs generally

Justinian and the papacy

In short, Justinian was as autocratic in religious as in political matters and acted as if supreme head of the Church But he was also as eager to forward the interests of Christianity as he was to restore the power of the Roman Empire He was generous in gifts to churches and monasteries, zealous in encouraging missionaries to the barbarians, and severe in legislation against pagans and heretics. In Justinian's old age, when he had lost interest in wars and in the details of the defense of the empire, which had once so absorbed his attention, he still loved to engage in theological discussions and was still intent upon making his people one in faith and doctrine

Justinian's trouble with the pope illustrates the extreme difficulty of holding together in one church the two halves of the Christian world in East and West It has been estimated that Constantinople was at variance with Rome over religious matters nearly half of the time

The Eastern Church

between 337 and 878 The eighth and last council in the East which is accepted as ecumenical by the Roman Church was that held in Constantinople in 869 The final schism did not come until 1054, but there had been little true unity for a long time before Ever since then, despite one or two attempts at reunion, Roman Catholics have been distinct from Greek Catholics and from Russian Christians

Reforms in government

Justinian introduced various reforms in the administration of the empire He abolished the sale of offices, a practice which is likely to lead the purchaser of the office to make as much profit out of it as possible, and he raised the salaries of his governors so that they would not be tempted to steal He suppressed a number of unnecessary offices, even including such high posts as those of the *vicarii*, and he rearranged and simplified the official hierarchy and adapted it to current needs Aware that only about one third of the taxes reached his treasury, he tried to make his officials more efficient, careful, and honest in remitting monies His many enterprises were very costly, however, and although he economized strictly in certain respects, and although his officials taxed the people almost beyond endurance, he died leaving debts as against a considerable surplus in the treasury at the beginning of Justin's reign The *Secret History* complains bitterly that he was wastefully extravagant in some things, while in others he deprived many people of their source of revenue or their customary enjoyments by his strict policy of financial retrenchment For instance, he discontinued public shows and the free distribution of grain, he seldom created consuls; he reduced the soldiers' pay and the fees and pensions of lawyers and physicians, and he cut down the service of the imperial post with its relays of horses. On the other hand, he tried to lessen the law's delays and to make it possible for most litigants to settle their cases without having to appeal to Constantinople and undertake an expensive visit or residence there

Law books of Justinian

But the great legal work of Justinian was to put the entire living body of the Roman law into permanent and final form That law, as we have seen, had ceased to develop, had begun to deteriorate, and might soon have died out, as did most of classical civilization, had not Justinian boiled it down and preserved it, as a housewife cans fruit that would otherwise decay This extremely valuable labor was performed over a few years' time Lawyers were becoming lazy in Justinian's day and contented themselves with citing old statutes and authorities, instead of reasoning out the correct solution of a case for themselves But there was often disagreement as to the authorities. Justinian felt that the law should be standardized, that one correct and official version of it should be published.

The Theodosian Code of 438 had merely brought together and abridged under various headings the legislation of the emperors since Constantine, and some of the laws ordered what others forbade, so that today one cannot tell which laws were enforced and which were dead-letters There had also been codes of imperial legislation before Constantine. In 528, the second year of his reign, Justinian appointed a commission of ten to collect all imperial statutes down to his own time, but to leave out repetitions and contradictions and to include only laws which were still in force This piece of work was finished by 529 and is known as the Code of Justinian

The next year Tribonian, who had been a member of the previous commission, was given full charge of the more difficult task of making a digest of all the writings of Roman jurists His committee, made up of professors and practicing lawyers of his own choice, worked in three sections, and by Tribonian's estimate, they reduced three million lines of legal literature to about one hundred and fifty thousand From some writers they made but a single excerpt, while one third of their book is drawn from the writings of Ulpian Here again anything obsolete or contradictory was omitted The extracts were arranged according to their subject-matter under four hundred and thirty-two titles similar to those in the Code, although a belief in the mystic significance of numbers led to a further division of the work into seven parts of seven books each — fifty books in all, since there was one introductory book. Henceforth this work was to be the exclusive authority and no one was to write a commentary on it Such was the famous *Digest* or *Pandects,* completed in 533 It preserved in a practical form enough of the writings of the earlier great jurists to enable later ages to benefit by their thought and to continue to make use of the Roman law

The preparation of the *Digest* had revealed to Tribonian the need of further revision of the Code, which was reissued in 534 in the form now extant The other two law books of Justinian which have come down to us are his *Institutes,* a textbook for students in the law schools based upon the earlier *Institutes* of Gaius, and his *Novels,* or new laws issued during the remainder of the reign Some of these were enacted in order to supplement or correct certain parts of the Code and the *Digest* Such was the *Corpus Iuris,* or body of law, which medieval and modern western Europe were to revive and use Most of it is in Latin, but the *Novels* are mainly in Greek

Possibly, if Justinian had not stereotyped the law, there might have been a development in the legal field similar to that which took place in the sister profession For medicine was represented in the sixth

Medicine

and seventh centuries by writers in Greek who were not only men of great learning and systematic arrangers of their materials, but also experienced and expert practitioners, and thinkers of independence and originality We shall speak of these medical authors again in Chapter VIII

Education

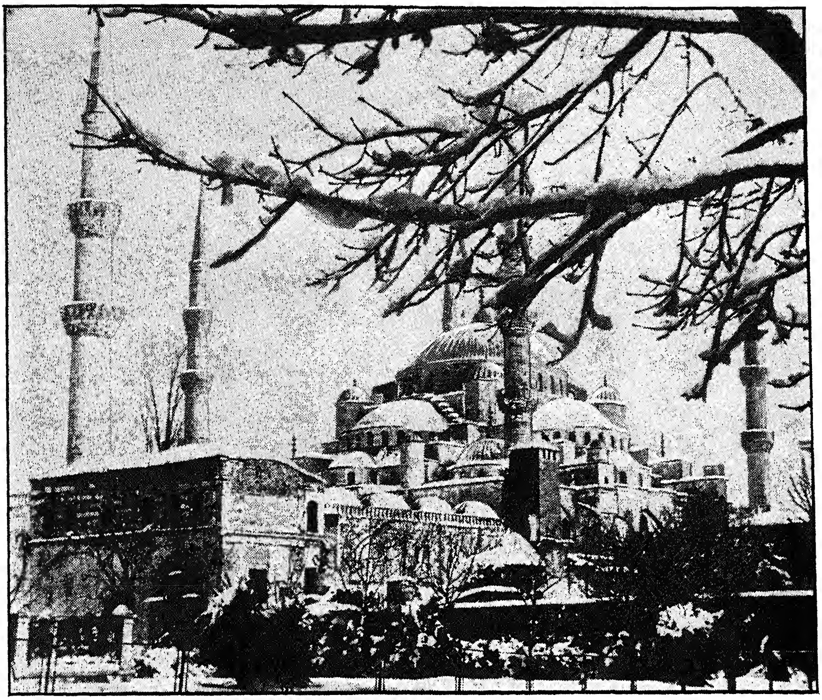
Justinian is said to have closed the schools of philosophy at Athens from motives of Christian intolerance, and to have confiscated the endowments even of Plato's Academy and the funds whose income supplied the salaries of the professors, who now found a refuge at the Persian court (The answers of one of them, Priscian of Lydia, to nine questions asked by the Persian king, Chosroes, are extant only in Latin translation in a single manuscript of the ninth century) But Ananias of Shirak, an Armenian computist, found teachers of philosophy at Athens in the next century There were schools of Christian theology at Alexandria in Egypt and at Nisibis in Mesopotamia. When Beirut was ruined by an earthquake in 551, its law school disappeared, and legal instruction was henceforth to be had only at Constantinople In 592 the Quinisext Council, so called because supplementary to the fifth and sixth church councils, forbade the students to take part in theatricals, to mask or disguise themselves, or to continue pagan customs The subsequent history of Byzantine education is very obscure

Buildings

Justinian maintained the Roman tradition of magnificent public works as well as of lawmaking We have already mentioned the elaborate rings of massive fortifications with which he surrounded the empire and the splendid structures with which he adorned his newly acquired city of Carthage When the Persians destroyed the great Eastern metropolis, Antioch, he rebuilt it in munificent style, as he did other Syrian cities destroyed by earthquakes in the latter part of his reign But most impressive was the new Constantinople that rose after the great fire during the Nika riot Today little is left of its statues, porticoes, basilicas, hospitals, and the vast and richly adorned Sacred Palace of the emperor Even of the churches only two or three remain, but among them is the greatest of all, Saint Sophia (Figure 11)

Church of Saint Sophia

This vast edifice was begun on January 15, 532, completed in less than six years, and dedicated on Christmas Day, 537 — the day of the year when the axis pointed precisely to sunrise The dome soon fell, however, but was rebuilt, and the church was rededicated on Christmas of 563 The church of Saint Sophia is our most impressive example of Byzantine architecture and has been called "perhaps the boldest instance of a sudden change in almost every respect, whether of

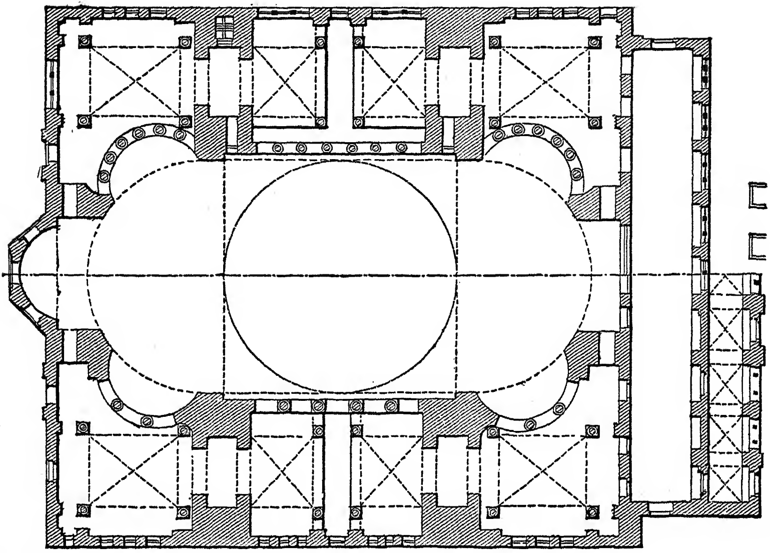


Acme

Figure 11

Saint Sophia, Constantinople, after a snowfall

plan, elevation, or detail, which is known to architecture." It is true that a dome had been reared over a square floor-plan in Egyptian tombs and mausoleums several centuries before Christ, but we have seen that the great dome of the Pantheon at Rome rested directly upon a thick circular wall. Now a central dome, 179 feet above the floor, 107 feet in diameter and 46 feet in depth, was raised high in air above the roofs of the rest of the structure, and was supported on the keystones of, and by pendentives between, four great round arches springing from four great piers, placed at the four corners of a square large enough to circumscribe the circumference of the dome. Pendentives are segments of masonry in the shape of spherical triangles which carry the weight of the hemispherical dome down to the four piers and which thus make the transition from the circular space above to the larger square opening below. Two of the great arches opened into half domes, beneath which, as beneath the great central dome, was open floor space. What is more,



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT SOPHIA

each half dome rested upon, and opened into, three smaller half domes or apses. The two great arches on the north and south sides of the dome, however, were filled in with supporting arches and columns, and beneath them were porticoes running along either side of the main auditorium. If we include these porticoes beyond the columns at either side of the open floor space beneath the domes, we have an interior 235 by 250 feet in the form of a vast nave with an aisle on either side. In this respect Saint Sophia is something like a basilica, but by virtue of its central and subsidiary domes it belongs to the round or concentric style of ecclesiastical architecture. "The dome of Saint Sophia, considering its great size and the character of its supports, manifests a structural perfection which is probably unsurpassed in any other building."

The central dome was pierced with a ring of forty arched windows through which light flooded the spacious interior. "It is singularly full of light and sunshine," writes Procopius. "You would declare that the place is not lighted from without, but that rays are produced within itself, such an abundance of light is poured into this church." Columns and capitals have now broken away from the restrictions of the three classical Greek orders and are no longer uniform in style. Often the capitals are carved differently and have each some particular design worth noting, but this variety is not carried so far but that they harmonize. Henceforth we must speak of Byzantine as well as Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns and capitals. "Who could tell," continues Procopius, "of the beauty of the columns and marbles with which the church is adorned? One would think that one had come upon a meadow full of flowers in bloom. Who would not admire the purple tints of some and the green of others, the glowing red and glittering white and those too which nature, like a painter, has marked with the strongest contrasts of color?"

Procopius finally speaks of the psychological and religious effect of the great, yet light and graceful, interior upon the beholder.

> Whoever enters there to worship perceives at once that it is not by any human strength or skill, but by the favor of God that this work has been perfected. His mind rises sublime to commune with God, feeling that He cannot be far off, but must especially love to dwell in the place which He has chosen. And this takes place not only when a man sees it for the first time, but it always makes the same impression upon him, as though he had never beheld it before.

At night the interior was lighted by oil lamps. When the crusaders took Constantinople in 1204, there were a hundred such chandeliers, each containing twenty-five or more lamps, and suspended by a silver chain as big as a man's arm. Both silver and gold were lavishly employed by Justinian in the church. The monumental bronze doors in the vestibule bear the names of ninth-century emperors, Theophilus and Michael III.

Other architecture

At Ravenna, where numerous buildings of the fifth and sixth centuries remain, one can study, even better than at Constantinople or Rome, the graceful Byzantine columns and capitals and brilliant mosaics, and the early Christian basilican type of architecture. We have already spoken of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, unique for its time in its Latin cross ground-plan. Somewhat earlier and even more remarkable for its mosaics is the Catholic Baptistery (Figure 12). Its structure is likewise noteworthy, a dome thirty-seven feet in diameter made of a double spiral of terra-cotta tubes fitted into one another at their ends and embedded in mortar, carried by pendentives to the octagonal drum whose walls are only two feet, two inches thick, so light is the dome they have to support. The church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, which stands three miles outside the city in a deserted plain where was once the busy Byzantine seaport, and the church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna itself, are two fine sixth-century specimens of the columnar basilica adapted to Christian use. Both are oblong in ground-plan except for the large semicircular apse which protrudes at one end. Each basilica has at its side a round tower of fortified aspect,

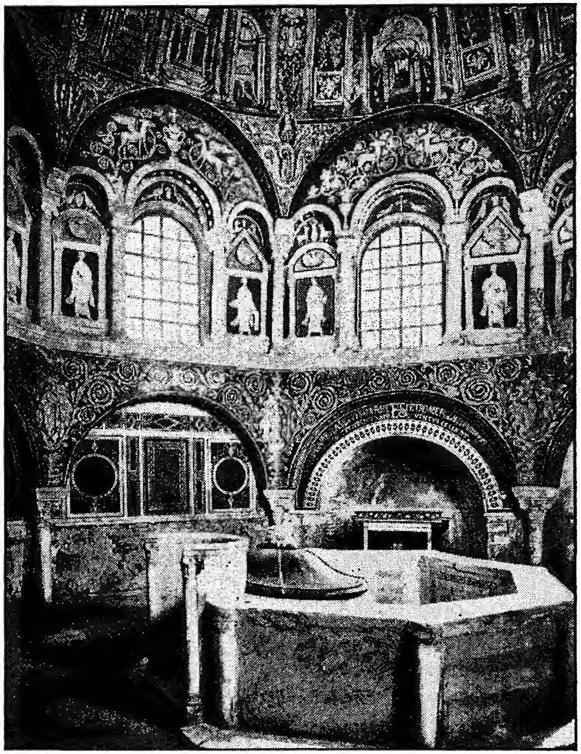


Figure 12

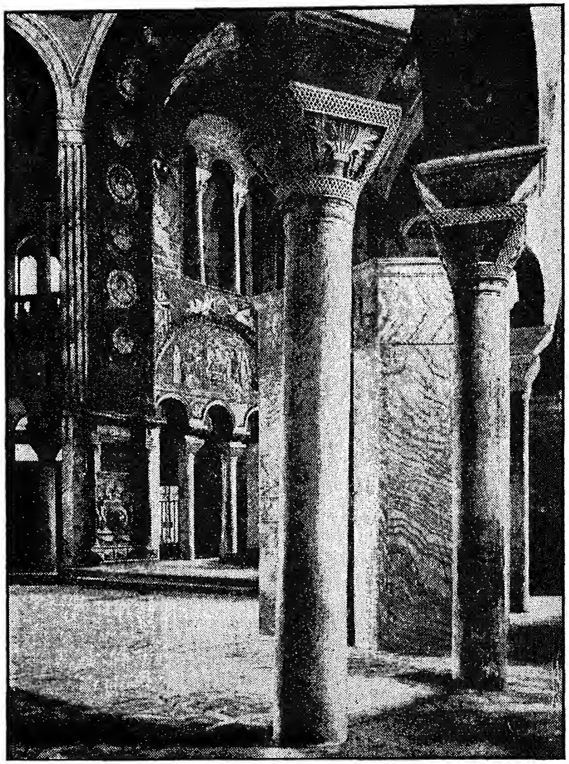


Figure 13

Left, interior of the Catholic Baptistery, Ravenna; *right*, interior of San Vitale, Ravenna which is of later date and not an integral part of the building Their exteriors are very plain, and the low roofs over the side aisles slant in lean-to fashion against the main body of the church The beauty is all in the columns, the capitals, and the mosaics of the interior

Before entering the nave one passes through a sort of portico or vestibule extending across the front of the building and known as the *narthex* The long central nave is separated from the narrower aisle or corridor on either side by a row of slender columns connected by a series of round arches springing from their graceful capitals Upon these slender columns and arches rest the walls of the main body of the basilica and also the roof which those walls support Consequently the walls can be neither thick nor carried to a great height, and the roof must be a light one of wood or tiles Windows cut in the walls above the roofs of the side aisles admit light directly to the nave and form the "clear-story" of the basilica Between and above these windows is space for mosaics But especially beneath them and just above the arches leading into the side aisles is, on either side of the nave, a frieze or strip of mosaic running the entire length of the interior Furthermore, the apse in which the nave terminates is covered by a half dome filled with mosaic

A mosaic is a design or picture made of small cubes of stone or glass of different colors set in the floor or wall or ceiling of a building Such ancient Roman ones as have survived are usually foot-worn patterns or pictures set in stone pavements and seem dull and gloomy compared to those of glistening and gilded glass in Byzantine art It is roughly estimated that the single dome of a Byzantine church at Saloniki (ancient Thessalonica) is covered with 36,000,000 of these tiny cubes, each of which had to be put in its place separately "The structural use of mosaic" has been called "the test of the Byzantine style." In the mosaics at Ravenna much Christian symbolism — the Apostles represented as twelve sheep, the Jordan personified like a river god, the symbols of the four evangelists, the Alpha and Omega, two harts approaching water — is combined with realistic representation of contemporary Byzantine costume — tunics, mantles, dalmatics, and the chlamys of military and official personages, a long mantle fastened on the right shoulder with a brooch and leaving both arms free, although only the right arm is exposed Figures, both individual and arranged together in groups, are stiff but stately and in carefully balanced positions or processions Everywhere the cross is richly jeweled and there is none of that realistic and painful portrayal of the crucifixion seen in later art Only the bust of Christ is shown in a nimbus on the cross in a central position dominating the scene, or a central cross is shown amid a firmament of stars.

> In the cross of Christ I glory,
> Towering o'er the wrecks of time,
> All the light of sacred story
> Gathers round its head sublime

San Vitale, another church of the sixth century at Ravenna, illustrates the round or concentric style of early Christian architecture (Figure 13) It is octagonal in shape, with a central dome surrounded by a lower aisle Here again are to be seen splendid mosaics, including those of Justinian and Theodora, and beautiful capitals in the double Byzantine form of a lower part adorned with floral or other designs and an impost above upon which the arches rest It seems almost a miracle that these delicate and fragile buildings at Ravenna have survived so many centuries of fires, earthquakes, and destructive wars

Economic factors

Constantinople, where the height of houses had to be regulated, was a city of half a million inhabitants at a time when town life had greatly declined in the West The grain from Egypt that used to go to Rome now came to Constantinople Salted provisions — fish, ham, and cheese — were in great demand, but the city also had a good fresh-vegetable market and a large trade in wine Instead of leading westward to Ephesus and Rome, the roads of Asia Minor now converged upon Constantinople Justinian reorganized the system of roads as well as of fortifications, and tried to develop industry and commerce and to establish a trade route to the Far East that would not need to pass through the hostile Persian kingdom

Toward the close of his reign two missionaries brought back silkworms from the East, and the Greek peninsula became a center of silk weaving The drawloom employed in making early Byzantine silks seems, however, to have been invented by the Copts of Egypt rather than by the Chinese The chief manufactures of Constantinople itself were textiles, including silks and silver and gold brocades The finest fabrics, made in the imperial workshops, were reserved for the court and were exported only as gracious presents from the emperor to foreign potentates and barbarian chieftains In the Middle Ages heavy silken stuffs were used which are no longer the fashion.

Byzantine merchants had stations in Gaul at Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Orléans, and traded with the interior of the Visigothic kingdom by way of Cartagena and Barcelona. The German kings of the West did little coining, and the gold "byzant" became the standard coin of the Mediterranean world and an international medium as far east as India.

The emperor owned the gold mines, but Justinian debased the coinage and it declined steadily in quality thereafter until a sudden improvement occurred under Heraclius, after which time it remained stable for three centuries

Land system

A law in the Code of Justinian reveals the existence of free peasants, who were at liberty to move elsewhere provided that they did not remain on the same land for thirty years or more Other evidence, however, indicates the growth of great estates Papyri from Egypt show that administrative powers were being lost by the imperial officials to semi-independent large landowners, a step towards feudalism Later laws of Tiberius II (578–582) disclose the perilous position of the small landholders and the gradual disappearance of free laborers, as well as corrupt government and encroachment by powerful private individuals

Empire after Justinian

Gloom was cast over the latter part of Justinian's reign by a destructive plague which raged for four years and according to Procopius, killed the best and left the worst men Also, as Justinian grew old, he came to care less and less for the things of this world and neglected the army and other departments of the government Under his successors things went from bad to worse While the Lombards were overrunning Italy and the Visigoths were recovering the southeastern coast of Spain, the Persians and northern barbarians nearly destroyed the empire Justinian's immediate successor discontinued the tribute paid to the Avars and rushed into a war with Persia (572–591) Both acts had dire consequences. Sirmium, key to the northern half of the Balkan peninsula, fell to the Avars in 582 The Persians took Antioch and other Syrian cities and captured nearly three hundred thousand prisoners When news came that they had seized a city supposed to be impregnable, containing a vast amount of treasure, the emperor went insane. The interval before the next Persian war was filled with wars with the northern barbarians, and when the Emperor Maurice ordered his troops to winter north of the Danube, he lost his throne During the following reign of terror of the monster Phocas (602–610), whom the army had proclaimed emperor, another long war with Persia began, and the whole empire seemed in a state of anarchy But the arrival of a fleet from North Africa under the command of Heraclius resulted in the overthrow of Phocas and the accession of Heraclius

Heraclius, however, had to face a very difficult situation The Persians captured Damascus and Tarsus as well as Antioch, carried off the holy cross from Jerusalem in 614, invaded Egypt in 618, then overran Asia Minor, in 619 taking Chalcedon which was just across the straits

Heraclius

from Constantinople On the European side the Avars even penetrated the outer defenses and suburbs of the great city In 622 Heraclius came near losing both his life and his capital in an ambush which the khagan of the Avars laid when they were holding a conference just outside Constantinople The emperor, with his crown under his arm, barely escaped inside the walls, and the next year the city mob had to go without its free bread A little later Heraclius became so discouraged that he was on the point of abandoning Constantinople and returning to Africa But the people pleaded with him to remain, and the churches offered their treasures to assist in prosecuting the war He therefore bought off the Avars for the time being, and making Armenia his base, engaged for six years in a series of victorious campaigns against Persia in the East During his absence the Avars, Gepidae, Bulgars, Slavs, and other barbarians again besieged Constantinople from the European side in conjunction with Persian operations from Asia Their small boats, however, were soon destroyed, and convinced that the city could not be taken so long as it remained open by sea, they raised the siege Two years later Heraclius concluded peace with the Persians, who returned the cross and all their other conquests and captives But Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt had suffered terribly in the long wars and now were taxed heavily to pay for them What is more, only a few years were to pass before they would be exposed to the irresistible expansion of the warlike religion which Mohammed had been founding in Arabia In 636 the Arabs occupied Syria and Palestine, before Heraclius died in 641, they were overrunning Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Though the campaigns of Heraclius did not permanently save Jerusalem and his eastern provinces, we must not belittle his achievement For he probably did save Constantinople, which might not have held out had he abandoned it in the depths of its adversity As it was, that great city was to endure for centuries to come, was to serve as a protection to western Europe from attacks from the east, was to set an example of superior civilization to a barbarous world about it in both East and West, was to be a center whence Christian missions would radiate, a preserve for classical culture and Christian art, a mart of trade, a spring of business life in the midst of general economic stagnation To a certain extent the ancient city, if not the ancient city-state, lived on in Constantinople, but in many respects its life and culture had been essentially altered by Christianity, though one would scarcely think of designating that immoral and luxurious metropolis as the "city of God."

Bibliographical Note

The works of Procopius are available in English translations Of general Byzantine histories the various works by J B Bury on the later or eastern Roman empire are fullest and standard, those of Charles Diehl are by the leading French Byzantinist, that of the Russian, Vasiliev, is the most recent On Byzantine art a standard work is that of O. M Dalton, a more recent handbook has been prepared by D T Rice On special fields of art E W Anthony, *A History of Mosaics*, J A Hamilton, *Byzantine Architecture and Decoration*, E H Swift, *Hagia Sophia* In the field of religion A Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, F E Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, F J Bliss, *Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine* There is a recent book on *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* by Nercessian The silk industry is treated by R B Lopez in an article, with interesting illustrations, in *Speculum*, XX (1945), 1–42

VI

Western Europe in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Political, Economic, and Social Conditions

AFTER the fall of the kingdoms of the Vandals and East Goths, the names of those peoples disappeared from the page of history, while North Africa was severed from western Europe and went its own way, first as a part of the Byzantine Empire, then of the Arabic world. Four chief centers of political interest remained in what had been the Western Empire: the growing Frankish power in Gaul, the Visigothic kingdom in the Spanish peninsula, with Septimania or Gothia north of the Pyrenees; the Anglo-Saxons in England, who had been occupying more and more of Britain since about 450, and the Lombards in the Italian peninsula, which they began to invade in 568, coming in from the northeast.

German peoples east of the Rhine

Beyond the northeast frontier of Gaul there were other Germanic peoples who were to play their part in subsequent European history. To the north of the Franks were the Frisians in the Low Countries and beyond them the continental Saxons, both still heathen. The name *Thuringia* is today applied to a region of Germany which is separated from the Rhine by the state of Hesse. The Thuringians had penetrated into Gaul, but Clovis had driven them out and away from the Rhine. His sons defeated them again in their native homeland, but they recognized merely a vague Frankish overlordship and were inclined to reassert their local independence. The same was true of the Alamanni, whom Clovis had forced back into Alamannia, a territory later known as Swabia or Suabia, and out of which a part of present Switzerland was formed.

Bavaria

When the Bavarians were first heard of by that name, about the year 520, they were already occupying the territory since known as Bavaria. They were a rough and warlike peasantry with a few families of high nobility. There was a half-free class, which was made up partly of Roman provincials, and a slave class, most of whom came from the Slavs. The Bavarians were still heathen, worshiping such gods as Woden, Berta, and Eorch, the last a war-god, and believing in the existence of water-sprites, dwarfs, and giants The Bavarians were conquered by the Franks in 555, but the conquest had to be more than once repeated, as they tended to break away again under their own local or tribal rulers

Frankish overlordship

It also becomes evident that it was the policy of the Franks to extend their power over Germany as well as Gaul All the other states set up by the German invaders were either Arian or heathen; hence, after the conversion of Clovis from paganism and his baptism, the Franks were able to pose as protagonists of orthodoxy, which was the religion of most of the conquered population in what had been the Western Empire

The Frankish power which Clovis had built up was, however, weakened under his successors because of the Frankish practice of equal division of the kingdom among all the sons of the previous ruler, who then usually fought and plotted against one another, or were frequently assassinated by someone else One pitiable king made a public speech requesting prospective assassins kindly to postpone their attacks for two or three years longer, until there should be someone old enough to succeed him. After Clovis, under the Merovingian dynasty, as his descendants were called, the Frankish territory tended to divide into three kingdoms ruled by different members or branches of the royal family: Austrasia on both sides of the lower Rhine, the original home of the Franks, Neustria, the region centering about Soissons or Paris which they had conquered from Syagrius; and Burgundy. Aquitania, once the Gallic kingdom of the West Goths, and Bavaria also tended to break away under separate rulers

Merovingian misrule

After the death of Dagobert, who from 629 to 632 ruled the entire Frankish territory, the kings were "good-for-nothings," mere boys who wrecked their lives by early debaucheries in the royal residences, which they seldom quitted, and who died before they were half through their twenties, leaving their weak children to duplicate their empty reigns We need not be surprised that these gilded youths remained for the most part shut up in their palaces, since he who was not strenuous enough to ride a horse, and who insisted on lolling at his ease as he traveled, could find no faster conveyance in those days than a chariot drawn by oxen

This state of affairs suited well enough most of the great landholders and the local officials, of whom the dukes, counts, and bishops were the chief Their main desire was to be let alone. in the case of the landholders, not to be called upon to pay any taxes; in the case of the officials, not to be called upon to turn over to the royal treasury the taxes which they had collected It should be added, however, that the local officials usually amassed large estates for themselves, and that the great landholders made every effort to be appointed local officials, so that the two classes tended to merge into one In any case they were both ready enough to dispense with a king In the country the estate of the great landholder was as prevalent as ever Probably for a time the number of small landowners was increased by the allotment of lands to the conquering barbarians, for it scarcely seems as if all their warriors could have received large estates But these small farmers were unable to hold their own for long, and presently began to "commend" themselves to some powerful local magnate On the whole, the wars and lack of strong government had the effect of increasing the amount of serfdom and, at least among the conquering Franks, the number of slaves

Gregory of Tours

Not much is known about the political, economic and social history of western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries There were hardly any contemporary historical writers after the fall of the Vandal and East Gothic kingdoms. The Franks fare the best in this respect, yet almost our sole account of them is the *History of the Franks* by Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who died in 594 It is strongly partisan both for the Franks and for Roman Catholicism, its language is ungrammatical and sometimes incoherent, but it supplies a good deal of incidental information of economic and social value, as well as the political and military narrative

West Gothic kingdom

Among the West Goths, as among the Franks, kings were murdered at a rapid rate during this period, and the unruly nobles were very obstreperous, although the monarchs tried to discourage conspiracies by atrociously cruel punishments As has been noted in a previous chapter, the Suevi held out in northwest Spain until 585 It was also only towards the close of the sixth century that the Visigothic kings abandoned Arianism and became Roman Catholics It has been asserted that in no part of Europe did the life of the Roman municipality continue so unaltered as in Spain The rule of the West Goths was to end in Spain in 713, in Septimania in 720

The Basques enter Gascony

In 580 and in 587, about the same time that the Suevi were succumbing to the West Goths, the Vascones (ancestors of the modern Basques — we saw in the case of the Bulgars that the letters *v* and *b* were frequently interchanged), who spoke a language quite distinct from Spanish, French, Latin, Gothic, or Suevian, crossed the Pyrenees from the Spanish to the northern side and gave their name to the region south of the Garonne River, a region henceforth called Gascony.

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms

In England as in Gaul the various Germanic tribes and peoples were as ready to fight one another, when their ways crossed and their expansion and conquests conflicted, as they were to drive out or overcome the previous British inhabitants The tendency was for the stronger groups and the abler and more ambitious leaders to gain control over their weaker neighbors But the process had not yet gone very far, and there were no such large kingdoms as those of the Franks, Goths, and Burgundians on the Continent We hear of the Heptarchy or seven kingdoms, as we shall hear later of seven crusades, but this biblical and planetary number is open to suspicion and is probably the arbitrary selection of some historian There were nearer to ten or a dozen small kingdoms, but of their history we have little record. The Angle kingdom of Bernicia or Northumbria, as it was called when united with Deira to the south, reached north to the Firth of Forth, but the rest of Scotland, all Ireland, northwestern England, the Cornish peninsula, and Brittany across the Channel were still in the hands of Celtic chiefs and clans The little Anglo-Saxon kingdoms kept struggling among themselves for supremacy, and now Kent, now Northumbria, now Mercia had its brief moment of triumph But the Anglo-Saxon language was widely established, and few British words have survived in our speech (See map at page 133)

Lombard Italy

The invasion and settlement of Italy by the Lombards was more sudden and rapid than that of Britain by the Anglo-Saxons, and was more partial and less enduring, but was similarly piecemeal in character and marked by localism Neither the Lombards nor the Anglo-Saxons united their conquests at this time into a strong single state The Lombards, it is true, appear as a homogeneous people, but among them the office of king was not highly developed After the death of Alboin, who had led them into Italy, they went for ten years without a king, and were ruled instead by numerous dukes (Latin, *duces*) in as many different districts inherited from Byzantine Italy Much of the peninsula, especially the ports and coastal regions, remained under the control of the Exarchate of Ravenna Then the nobles elected a king again in the north, which on that account has since been called Lombardy, but the duchies of Friuli in northeastern, of Spoleto in central, and of Beneventum in southern Italy remained practically independent, and other dukes occasionally made the king trouble Even in Lombardy the king's power was very limited, and he was often at war with the Duke of Spoleto or the Duke of Benevento In Lombardy the real unit of government was the county, which corresponded to the Roman *civitas* or municipality with its surrounding territory, although the military division into duchies had been superimposed upon this unit by Narses and Justinian.

Laws

The German invaders had retained their own laws and courts, and their customs were now for the first time written down — in Latin The Roman population in cases between themselves were allowed the benefit of their own Roman law to which they were accustomed, and the German king usually had a statement of it made in writing also — generally a crude, meager code compared to the masterpieces of Roman jurisprudence in the days of Ulpian, Paulus, and Papinian Euric (466–484), the most notable king of the West Goths since Alaric and under whom their expansion in Gaul reached its height and their conquest of Spain was begun, published the laws of the Visigoths, our earliest fragments of German legislation The rate of interest provided therein, twelve and a half per cent, was the same as in the late Roman Empire Euric's son, Alaric II, just before he was defeated and slain by Clovis, had issued for the use of his Latin subjects in Gaul and Spain a compilation of Roman law which today is known as the *Breviary of Alaric* The Franks adopted it for their Gallo-Roman subjects. The Salic law was supposedly written down in Clovis's reign, but it is doubtful if any extant manuscripts antedate the ninth century and modern German scholarship has failed to reconstitute the original text The customs of the Ripuarian Franks were put in writing somewhat later About 500, King Gundobad published a code of laws for both Burgundians and Romans, but later added a special code for Romans only. About the same time in Italy appeared the *Edict of Theodoric*, a brief compilation of Roman law No code of Vandal law is extant, but we know of particular legislation by the kings, who also frequently interfered in legal proceedings The Anglo-Saxons in Britain and the Lombards in Italy committed their laws to writing at the end of the sixth and during the seventh century, while the customs of the Alamanni, Thuringians, Bavarians, and Saxons were not reduced to writing until the seventh and eighth centuries In the middle of the seventh century Romans and West Goths in Spain were brought under one system of law at just about the time that they were permitted to intermarry Under this "Law of Chindaswind" the court organization and procedure were Roman rather than German. Documentary evidence was much used and the old German methods of proof were not recognized Torture was employed as in the late Roman Empire

The Lombards had once lived along the lower Elbe close to the Angles on the one hand and the Saxons on the other, and there are close resemblances in their laws At first self-respecting and prosperous freemen were in the majority among these peoples, but after they had settled on the land economic and social inequality developed among them as elsewhere at that time. The Lombard laws of the early eighth century distinguish three classes of freemen serving in the army, namely, those who are to arm themselves only with shield and bow and arrows, those who have more land and can afford a shield and spear and horse, and the richest, who must also wear a coat of mail and perhaps provide other soldiers besides themselves The very poorest freemen, on the other hand, are excused from fighting at all, probably because they can afford no equipment that would render them of any service in battle Instead they are to do carting for the army and work for the leaders while they are away fighting By the time (690–693) of the laws of Ine, king of the West Saxons, there were bondmen of English birth, but he forbade selling them "beyond the seas" Another law of Ine illustrates the continued vitality of early German legal concepts, it provides that if a man coming from afar or a stranger leaves the highroad and journeys through the wood without shouting or blowing his horn to make his presence known, he shall be considered a thief and either slain or redeemed by payment of damages or ransom Similarly in other early German law the outlaw is known as a wolf or woodgoer It is the privilege and duty of anyone who meets him to slay him, for he has no legal rights

Evidence of coinage

The evidence of coinage also sheds some light upon conditions in western Europe at this period Roman coins had been current for centuries among the Germans, and although the leading states established by the barbarians in the West now had mints of their own, their coins, especially valuable gold coins, at first usually bore the head or name of the emperor at Constantinople It was considered abnormal when the Frankish king, Theudebert (534–548), ventured to issue gold coins with his own name and image Indeed, most extant coins of the Merovingian period bear only the name of the master coiner and the place of the mint Such local mints were numerous and they would coin even for private individuals Under the Lombards, too, for some sixty years the only coins which have come down to us were those struck for individuals independently of state control Yet according to the letter of the Roman law, counterfeiting coins or official seals and writing materials was a crime punishable by death The *Breviary of Alaric* ordered counterfeiters to be burned Some of the German laws substituted the cutting off of the hand for such an offense It would appear that, while Roman administrative machinery and forms were often retained, the authority to enforce and control them was also often lacking

Economic life

So long as the Byzantine Empire controlled the Mediterranean, commerce continued and a certain amount of town life and money economy persisted Foreign merchants — Greeks, Egyptians, Syrians — brought in silk, spices, papyrus, and slaves, while local grain and provision dealers despoiled the populace by raising prices in time of famine As late as 716 the Frankish king, Chilperic II, gave the monks of Corbie in Normandy five pounds of cinnamon, and smaller amounts of the precious spice were presented by deacons of Rome to the Archbishop of Mainz and others There are traces of Jewish settlements in many towns of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, church councils at Mâcon in Burgundy in 583 and at Toledo in Spain in 589 forbade Jews to serve as tax collectors. But there is no evidence of economic growth or progress No new towns or suburbs were founded The fact that, after the sack of towns in the period of invasions, their old sites were reoccupied, or that successive churches were reared on the same old ground-plan and foundations, may indicate a dearth of labor and building materials, and be a sign of ruin, abandonment, and resumption, rather than of healthy continuity Sometimes old sites were not reoccupied Roman Mainz was so completely destroyed that the medieval town was built on a different site and was first walled by its bishop in 700 Again, remains of later Carolingian pottery, found between the Rhine and Moselle Rivers, are hardly distinguishable from those of the late Roman Empire, when Roman and German techniques had fused, and this fact may point to a continued production thereof through the intervening Merovingian period, but it certainly does not reveal any artistic or technical innovation, nor any development or inventiveness in ceramics, as changes in style would In short, economic conditions, if not in continued decline, were at best static.

Of anything like industrial organization or the later Byzantine and medieval gilds there are only a few hints Cassiodorus implies that some organization to supply grain still existed in the sixth century, and two letters of Gregory the Great have been interpreted to indicate the existence of a corporation of soapmakers at Naples and one of bakers at Otranto in Italy. "Comacine masters," who seem to have been building contractors or masons or architects, are mentioned in Lombard laws of the seventh and early eighth centuries. At Rome under Pope Hadrian I (772–795) we hear of groups of soldiers, foreigners, notaries, and papal singers. There were still some free traveling craftsmen outside the towns, and some landed proprietors had unfree artificers in their employ

If Byzantine merchants came west with wares, western Europeans went east especially to visit the Holy Land, and in this period guidebooks for such pilgrims replaced the Roman itineraries which had been compiled for military purposes

Society

At first there had been a considerable social distinction between German and Roman The German invaders usually became the aristocratic, fighting, landholding class, though some of them dropped to a lower rank in the economic and social scale, while many of the old Roman senatorial class remained wealthy and powerful Our information is vague as to how much land the Germans took for themselves, from whom they took it, and how it was distributed among them Intermarriage was forbidden except among the Franks and, after 652, among the West Goths But among the Franks the Salic law fixed the *wergeld* of a Frank at twice that of a Roman The East and West Goths treated the Romans more as equals About the king in each state centered a new nobility who derived their privileges from him as a reward for services rendered Otherwise the old social divisions among the Germans and Romans were continued The Jews, whom the Emperor Theodosius in 388 had forbidden to marry Christians, were already a social problem After the Visigothic kingdom became Catholic, they were persecuted in Spain through a long period Theodoric in Italy and the Frankish rulers in Gaul generally protected them

Slovenes, Czechs, Croats

Finally we may note the movements of some non-Germanic peoples in central Europe which were significant for western Europe The Slovenes or Alpine Slavs about the middle of the sixth century spread into western Hungary and inland Austria, where they founded the duchy of Carinthia A century later they occupied about twice as much territory as they do today They met the Czechs in the Danube Valley and were affected linguistically by this contact. Already in 623 the Czechs of Bohemia, led by a Frankish trader, Samo, freed themselves from the Avars The Croats, who had lived beyond the Carpathians, crossed the Danube and established themselves in Dalmatia and extended their rule over some of the Slovenes Heraclius established Serbs south of the Croats. When a tribe of Bulgars in Bessarabia failed to free itself from the Avars, the survivors fled up the Danube to Bavaria, where most of them were slaughtered by order of the Frankish king Dagobert (629–638) Seven hundred survivors finally found a refuge in Italy among the Lombards in the wild Abruzzi, where traces of them are said still to exist

Bibliographical Note

Extracts from the Salic law are given in Henderson's *Select Documents* and in the source-books of Ogg and of Thatcher and McNeal *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* have been edited by F. L. Attenborough There are translations of Gregory of Tours by E Brehaut and by O. M Dalton, of Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards* by W D Foulke, in *Translations and Reprints* A good secondary work is S Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age*

VII

The Papacy and Monasticism

Growth of the papacy

When the emperors legalized and favored Christianity and legislated against heresy, one might fear that they would make themselves heads of the Church Constantine had been responsible for the calling of the first general council, and he came to be known in the East as one of the apostles A Christian writer addressed Constantine's sons as "most sacred emperors," setting them above the rest of mankind and closely associating them with the celestial bodies and "the Supreme God," at the same time that he urged them to eradicate pagan cults In 429 the Patriarch of Alexandria called the emperor the "image of God on earth " In 431 a letter of Theodosius II to the Council of Ephesus spoke of "our divinity" and "our divine letters " But the emperors in the West seem for the most part to have preferred to leave religious matters to the Church itself to settle, and in the East the emperors often failed to control the strife of religious parties when they did try to interfere Councils were now held with increasing frequency and at the same time the Bishop of Rome appears to have increased in importance and power One would naturally expect, especially after the fall of Jerusalem in A D 70, that the leading early Christian community would develop at Rome, the center and the greatest city of the empire Moreover, it was believed from an early date that both Peter and Paul had suffered martyrdom there In the Gospels Jesus often addresses Peter as the leader among the disciples, and in one passage says "Thou art Peter and upon this rock I will build my church. . And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[1] The Bishops of Rome have therefore argued that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome and that they are his successors as chief of the apostles and as head of the Church.

The pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, tells of a fight at a papal election in 366 as a result of which one hundred and thirty-seven persons were killed, but adds that the office was worth fighting for, since it brought with it a large income which enabled the bishop to dress elegantly, to ride in a carriage, and to give banquets that outshone those of the emperor. Damasus, the very pope elected on that occasion, was the first to give us a definite statement of the papal claims and of the doctrine of the Roman Church. An inscription informs us that he erected a new building to house the papal archives. From his successor, Siricius, comes the first extant papal decretal or order issued to the Church at large. Since the popes consistently opposed Arianism, whereas the attitude of many Eastern bishops was wavering, when the orthodox Theodosian dynasty came into power the papal influence continued to increase.

---

[1] Matthew xvi, 18, 19, but two chapters later (Matthew xviii, 17, 18) the same powers are given to the disciples and the Church in general See also John xx, 22, 23

Leo the Great

The last Western emperor of that family in 445 issued an edict ordering other churches to recognize as supreme the authority of the apostolic see at Rome, and justifying that supremacy by Rome's connection with Peter, by the majesty of the city itself, and by a decree of the Council of Sardika a century before. The Bishop of Rome at this time was Leo the Great (440–461), who is often regarded as the first to try to raise that office to something like the power of later times. During the fifth century several quarrels between the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople prevented any single see in the East from acquiring an authority comparable to that of Rome in the West, and gave the papacy a chance to assert its supremacy by interfering in those quarrels. Leo in especial was inclined to make his influence so felt, as we may see illustrated in the story of two church councils.

Two councils

An abbot condemned for heresy by the Patriarch of Constantinople appealed both to the Eastern emperor and to the pope. It is to be noted that the Western emperor had no part in the affair. Contrary to Leo's wish, the Eastern emperor called a council at Ephesus in 449 under the presidency of the Patriarch of Alexandria. Leo, however, wrote out his decision in favor of the Patriarch of Constantinople and sent it to the council by his three representatives. The council did not deign even to read Leo's *Tome*, but deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and further treated him with such violence that he soon died from the effects, while one of the papal legates who protested against the council's action was lucky to escape with his life. Leo had no intention of allowing such proceedings to pass unchallenged; he induced the members of the imperial house in the West to write to Constantinople in his support, and finally secured another council at Chalcedon, near Constantinople, to reconsider the action of the "Robber Council," as Leo termed the recent assembly at Ephesus. Now the Patriarch of Alexandria who had presided at Ephesus was driven from his see, and the questions in dispute were settled on the basis of Leo's *Tome*. Leo, however, was very much offended by the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which he regarded as an attempt to raise the see of Constantinople to an equality with that of Rome.

Schisms in the East

This canon may be taken as marking a growing breach between the Eastern Church and the Western, which was increased in 482 when the Emperor Zeno issued a letter called the *Henoticon*. It was intended to provide a common meeting-ground for all the religious factions in the East, but it was not at all acceptable to the pope at Rome, who finally excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople and thus instituted a schism of over thirty years' duration. In the East itself, moreover, Christian Egypt was already tending toward the formation of a distinct Coptic Church, and the Nestorians, treated as heretics in the empire, built up a strong church of their own in the Persian kingdom, whence they were soon to spread as missionaries to the Far East. They took their name from Nestorius, a patriarch of Constantinople, who was deposed in 431 and who held that there were two persons in Christ, the divine Word and the man Jesus. Another sect which was to originate in the sixth century was the Jacobite, named after Jacob Baradaeus, Bishop of Edessa. Far from believing in two persons, its adherents maintained a single nature in Christ, the divine, in other words, they were Monophysites and were found mainly in the Near East.

Papacy and barbarians

Meanwhile there had ceased to be an emperor in the West, and the pope was freed from the danger that a ruler there might interfere with his ecclesiastical supremacy, as the Byzantine emperor often did in the case of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The barbarian kings in Italy, Odoacer and Theodoric, had little desire to interfere in ecclesiastical matters. For the time being, however, the break-up of the Roman Empire and war and disorder separated the Western churches outside of Italy from papal influence.

Growth of asceticism

The other-worldliness of Christianity has already been emphasized. There are many passages of Scripture which have led men to hate their bodies, to withdraw from the world, to devote themselves to the contemplative life, and to exercise their souls in holiness. But we do not hear much of Christian hermits and monks until the close of the third century. Martyrs had been the heroes of the early Church; but as the chance of winning an immortal crown by being thrown to wild beasts ceased with imperial toleration and recognition of Christianity, ascetics came to be considered the holiest Christians. During the fourth and fifth centuries everyone was reading with awe and admiration the Lives of Saint Antony and Saint Martin of Tours, and many were fired with the desire to imitate their self-renunciation and austerities, and with the hope to triumph like them over the flesh and the devil and to work miracles. The early Christian communities had been composed largely of those whose ordinary worldly life was hard enough, and whose secret meetings and communistic views shut them off sufficiently from the world. But when Christianity became the state religion and the majority of the population became at least nominal converts and the Church began to grow wealthy, many persons began to feel that they must do something more than belong to the Church or even to the clergy, if they wished to be sure of saving their souls. Their method was to flee to the desert, to seclude themselves in tombs and caves, to see nothing of the opposite sex, to eat and sleep very little, to wash even less, in general to avoid doing anything pleasant, to have no property or passions or will of their own, to forget all family and social ties, to spend part of their time in some dull, mechanical operation like weaving baskets or copying manuscripts in order to eke out their scanty existence, and to pass the rest of each day in prayer, in repeating Scripture, and in other acts which would serve to keep their minds fixed on religion. All this may seem to us gloomy and unprofitable, but to these ascetics it seemed the path to perfect peace, happiness, and contentment. The age delighted in stories of the recluse who burned unread a package of letters from his family containing the first news that he had had of them for fifteen years, of the hermit who ate but one meal a week for thirty years, or of the grazing monks who lived on the grass of the fields *à la* Nebuchadnezzar. Historically such accounts are none too reliable. Although the author of the standard Life of Saint Martin of Tours — Sulpicius Severus — visited that worthy during his last years and penned the biography as the saint lay dying, modern historians feel that we know almost nothing of the real Martin. Sulpicius borrowed incidents from Athanasius' Life of Saint Antony and from other books, and further arouses suspicion by protesting too often that he is telling the truth. Yet his work became the model for subsequent saints' lives in Latin.

Eastern monachism

The movement started in Egypt, where Antony (c. 251–356) was the first noted hermit and where Pachomius established some of the earliest Christian monasteries. Antony at twenty sold the property which his parents had left him, distributed the proceeds to the poor, and spent the remaining eighty-five years of his long life as a hermit — the last fifty in a mountain three days' journey beyond the Nile in order to escape from his throngs of admirers. Pachomius founded ten monasteries, each of about three hundred inmates. The monks labored at different trades, such as carpentry, tanning, blacksmith, cobbler, and tailoring, as well as working in the kitchen and fields of the monastery. They learned the Bible by heart and held four daily religious services. They lived in individual cells and had their meals at different hours. The rule of Pachomius strictly prohibited all ablutions except in case of sickness.

Before the close of the fourth century the movement spread into Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Persia. Eustathius and Basil introduced it into Asia Minor and among the Greeks. Symeon Stylites in Syria led a life like that of an Indian fakir, spending thirty-seven years on top of a pillar which was gradually raised from six to sixty feet in height. Basil, on the other hand, organized communities of monks under a more specific rule than that of Pachomius, and one which was more suited to a colder climate. "It is under the rule of Saint Basil that all the monasteries of the Graeco-Slavonic world have lived for centuries, and still live at the present day." Mount Athos, founded in the tenth century, was the most celebrated Greek monastic center, famous for its art and manuscripts.

Western monasticism

Athanasius, the great opponent of the Arian heresy, is also credited with the introduction of monasticism in the West. Later Saint Jerome was a great advocate of the ascetic life. By the end of the fourth century monasteries and nunneries were numerous in Italy. In Gaul the movement was spread by the fame of Saint Martin of Tours (Figure 14), and by the labor of Cassian at Marseilles after 410, where his two monasteries contained over five thousand monks and nuns, while his *Institutes* and *Conferences* were influential books on the subject. Caesarius of Arles drew up a rule for a nunnery founded by his sister in 513. This rule was widely copied in Gaul: a nun must enter for life; other female officials than the abbess were a provost, a schoolmistress, a person in charge of the novices, and a treasuress; no wardrobe was to have a key, only the sick might have meat, but wine was allowed, there was an occasional dessert, and no severe fasts were required. The bishop might not alter the rule. The missionaries, Saint Patrick and Saint Severinus, carried monasticism to Ireland and Noricum; but in Spain and North Africa the movement seems to have been checked by the Visigothic and Vandal conquests. In Ireland entire clans turned themselves into monastic communities with their former chieftains as abbots. The word *monk* or *monachos* originally meant one who lives alone, and at first the admirers and imitators of Saint Martin had grouped their single cells about his and lived without any written rule

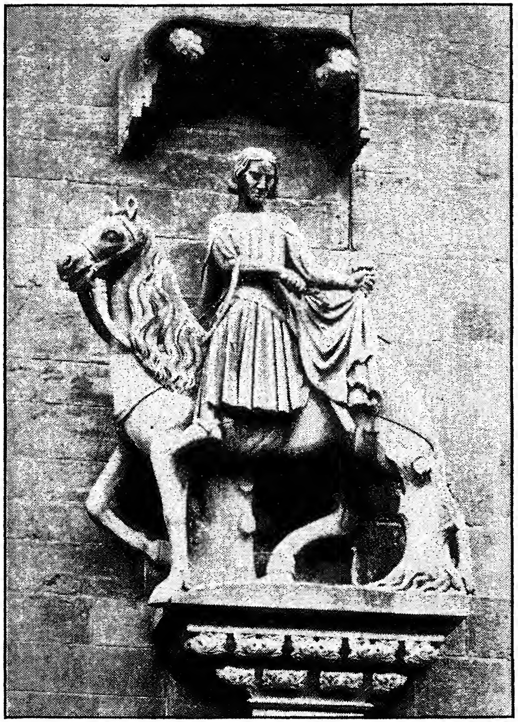


Figure 14

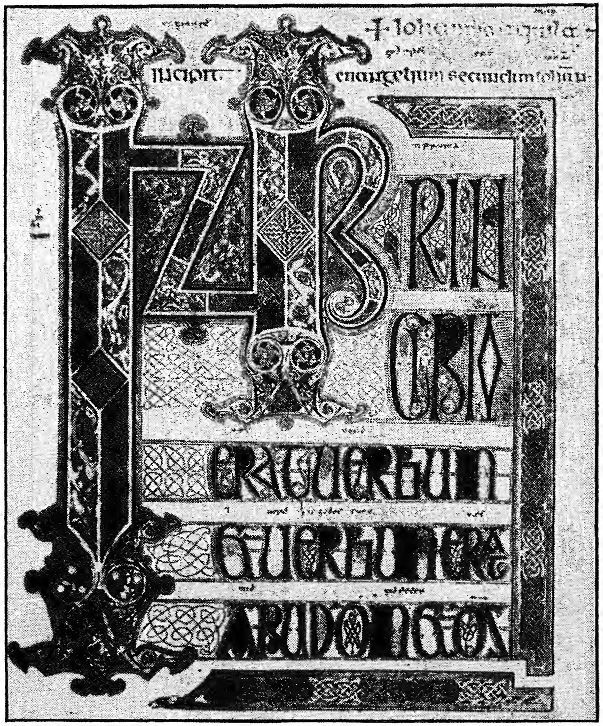


Figure 15

MONASTICISM

Left, Saint Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar (from the Cathedral, Basel); *right*, Gospel of Saint John written at Lindisfarne about A.D. 700

But in the West the community found favor as against the hermit life, and "monasticism" is used to refer especially to life in monasteries, whereas "monachism" is a term covering the life both of hermits and of the members of monastic communities

The motives of those becoming monks soon ceased to be entirely religious. Heavy imperial taxation, the chaotic conditions of the period of barbarian invasion, loss of property, friends, and home, the impossibility of earning a livelihood, the example of others, the comparative quiet, security, and perhaps even comfort of a monastery — all these conditions might impel one to withdraw from a world which had become unattractive Jerome wrote to a Roman lady at the time of the sack of Rome by Alaric, "Dearest daughter in Christ, will you marry amid such scenes as these?" In that same year, when Saint Patrick escaped from slavery in Ireland to the coasts of Gaul, "he journeyed through the desert" for four weeks, and was doubtless glad to end his wanderings and find a refuge at last in a monastery

But the city of God had to go on, though the Roman Empire had become a wilderness; nay, it had to convert lands that Rome had never conquered. After a score of years spent in Gallic monasteries Patrick went back as a missionary to the land to which he had before been carried off as a slave, and labored for thirty years more in spreading Christianity through Ireland. This shows us that monasticism was already preparing men for service, and not merely turning out freak saints like Antony and Symeon. However, the chief advocates of monastic life in that age themselves complained of persons who wanted to become monks but not to suffer hardships, or who wandered about doing as they pleased, yet who pretended to be ascetics In short, monasticism had grown so popular that both good and bad were entering the field.

Decentralization

The barbarian invasions, the break-up of the empire in the West into separate kingdoms and principalities, and the declining state of civilization all contributed to ecclesiastical decentralization and to local differences as to religion It is true that there was still a good deal of intercommunication The controversies of the East in the sixth and seventh centuries had their repercussions in Italy; the old Greek collections of ecclesiastical rules or canon law circulated all over the Mediterranean; works composed in North Africa and the decrees of the Council of Carthage in 525 were promptly utilized by Spanish, Italian, and Frankish compilers. It was Theodore of Tarsus in distant Cilicia who organized the Church in England. But each district in the West had its local liturgy and separate canon law, and produced rules enough not to have to depend upon its neighbors. On the one hand, the papacy conserved the old intact at Rome, where early in the sixth century Dionysius Exiguus drew up a quasi-official collection of canon law that was superior to others in accuracy and convenience; but on the other hand, in Spain new legislation was added, in Gaul each church had its own collection, and in the British Isles local usage and belief were new sources of law. The *Penitentials* from Ireland and England — of which we shall speak presently — were especially original and a menace to the old ecclesiastical system But the making of systematic collections of canon law at the end of the seventh century helped to preserve and maintain the ancient tradition

Gregory the Great

After Justinian, of whose relations with the papacy we have treated in a previous chapter, the next commanding personality and central figure to appear in European history is Gregory the Great, pope from 590 to 604. His father was a rich Roman noble, his mother and aunts were pious ladies who were later canonized; so that Gregory was brought up in a Christian home and given the best education obtainable in that age Jerome and Augustine were his favorite authors, but he was trained especially in the law, and in 573 held the important position of city prefect at Rome. After his father died and his mother retired to a nunnery, he used his inherited fortune to found seven monasteries, six in Sicily, the other in his own family mansion on the Caelian Hill, where he himself now became a monk Fastings and vigils ruined his health, and through later life he was subject to attacks of gout, acute indigestion, and slow fever He became one of the seven deacons in the churches of Rome, and was sent as a papal envoy to urge the Byzantine emperor to rescue Italy from the attacks of the Lombards In this capacity he resided at Constantinople six years, but failed to get help from the emperor, who was busy with the Avars and Persians Gregory did not learn Greek during his stay at Constantinople, but employed his leisure in writing an allegorical work in Latin He was elected pope while Rome was in the throes of the bubonic plague Despite his asceticism, Gregory made many useful friendships with the great both in Church and State; he knew the value of liberal hospitality, and how to make agreeable presents to the rich and powerful as well as to dispense charity to the poor and needy

Through the early Middle Ages, as both imperial and municipal administration disappeared in the West, it became increasingly the tendency for every conscientious and industrious bishop to look after the political and social as well as the religious welfare of his flock. For example, the bishop would take charge of the aqueducts which supplied the city with water. Similarly, Gregory, after he became pope, tried to feed the hungry populace, to relieve the sufferings of the city poor and of the war refugees, to ransom Christian captives, and to allay the ravages of the plague by leading religious processions. The exarch at Ravenna found it difficult because of the Lombards to exercise any close control over the west coast of the Italian peninsula, and the pope's political influence increased in consequence

Gregory also acted as the landlord of large private estates which the Roman Church already owned in Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and even in Gaul, Africa, and Illyricum He was an excellent businessman, with as great a genius for small details as Justinian, and he watched very carefully over this private patrimony of the popes, writing frequently to his agents in distant provinces and demanding full reports and strict accounts from them. While he insisted upon the proprietary rights of the Church, he wished to be just to everyone, to have none of the corruption and oppression that we have seen disgraced imperial taxation, and to be merciful and charitable to the poor and unfortunate. Gregory had serfs, if not slaves, upon his estates, like all the great landlords of this period

Gregory wrote letters not only to his real-estate agents and to the overseers of his serfs and tenants, but also to numerous imperial officials great and small throughout the West, and to the emperor himself concerning these same men He watched and advised them even in their political actions, and constituted himself a kind of imperial minister of the West They took his advice, too, because it usually was sound counsel. When the exarch did little or nothing for central and southern Italy, Gregory stepped in and performed his duties for him

The emperors were too much occupied at home to send adequate forces against the Lombards, and yet would not make peace with them, although the exarch at Ravenna could not protect Rome and Naples Gregory, on the contrary, favored coming to terms with the Lombards In 592, in order to save Rome, he made peace on his own authority with the Duke of Spoleto Next the king of the Lombards besieged the city, but Gregory by a personal interview persuaded him to withdraw and vainly urged the emperor to make peace with him. At last in 599 peace was made When the war was resumed in 601 between the empire and the Lombards, Rome seems to have remained neutral, and Gregory rejoiced in 603 at the baptism into the Catholic faith of the heir to the Lombard throne This, however, did not mean the end of hostilities between the Lombard kings, the Lombard dukes, the exarch, and the pope, which continued intermittently until the Lombards finally captured Ravenna in 751 and then were conquered in their turn by the Franks a few years later

The West Gothic kingdom abandoned Arianism for Catholicism during Gregory's pontificate The pope treated the cruel and unscrupulous Frankish queen, Brunhilda, as the hope of true religion in Gaul; he also wrote cordial congratulations on his accession to Phocas, who became Byzantine emperor by the murder of Maurice and all his family. Less politic, but more fearlessly outspoken against iniquity in high places was the Irish monk and missionary, Saint Columban, whom Brunhilda forced to leave the monastery where he had spent twenty years because he rebuked her grandson for keeping concubines

Papal power under Gregory

Gregory's election to the papacy had to be sanctioned by the Emperor Maurice before he was consecrated, and he duly informed the four patriarchs at Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem of his accession and his adherence to the teachings of the ecumenical councils. However, he abated none of the papal claims in theory and advanced them greatly in practice by his energetic activity throughout the West It was not easy to maintain anything like a general supervision of church affairs in those troubled times, when communication was so difficult, when Italy was thrown into confusion by the Lombards, and when the monarchs of the Franks and Visigoths tried to keep their clergy under their own control Even in Gaul, however, Gregory interfered occasionally in church matters, while in imperial Africa he was able to make his authority generally felt, although even there he had to abstain from judging some cases because of the difficulty in securing adequate information He distinctly advanced, nevertheless, the jurisdiction not only of his own, but of ecclesiastical courts generally. Especially in Italy and Sicily he made use of the stewards of his estates to maintain discipline in churches and monasteries, to fill vacant bishoprics, and to prosecute heretics. The Archbishop of Ravenna, supported by the exarch, refused in practice to take orders from Gregory, but even he admitted the papal claims in theory, writing to Gregory in this strain, "How could I possibly venture to oppose that most holy see which transmits its decrees to the church universal?" and "The providence of God has placed all things in your hands" The Archbishop of Dalmatia, after a long controversy, had to lie prone on the paving stones of Ravenna for three hours and cry out, "I have sinned against God and the most blessed Pope Gregory." The patriarchs of Constantinople at this time evoked strong protests from Gregory by assuming the title, "Universal." Gregory's successors in the papacy during the seventh century seem to have lacked his ability and not to have increased the papal power; but his many-sided influence and forceful personality had set a standard which was not forgotten, especially as it remained recorded in his writings.

Writings of Gregory

Because of his writings Gregory ranks with Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome as one of the four great Latin doctors of the Western Church. Forty sermons are extant of the many that he preached before great crowds. He seems to have preached hell-fire a good deal, and perhaps the rough men of his time needed this. As he sincerely believed that the wars, plagues, and decline of civilization in his day meant the near end of the world, he could refer with the more force to the last judgment. The plain chants which were used in the Roman church service by this time are often called Gregorian, but he did not originate them, and the hymns attributed to him are perhaps spurious.

Gregory, as our next chapter will show, reflected the intellectual outlook and mental attitude of his time and was the first monk to become pope. But he did not, like some Christian writers, advise against the practice of secular medicine, nor did he think that asceticism and zeal for religious observances should be carried to extremes. When a bishop had a hemorrhage, Gregory consulted every doctor in Rome and sent him a written statement of the diagnosis and prescription of each one. He also urged him to drop all fasting, vigils, and public speaking until his health should improve. When certain zealots wished to observe the Sabbath so strictly as not to wash at all on that day, Gregory made the astute reply that he did not approve of bathing as a pleasure or luxury on any day, but that washing as a physical necessity he did not forbid even on the Lord's day. When his missionaries began their labors of converting England, Gregory warned them that they should not expect the heathen barbarians to be at once entirely weaned from their old ways; that they should not destroy the old temples, but only the idols in them, in order that the barbarians might the more readily worship God in places to which they were accustomed; and that the Anglo-Saxons might continue "to the praise of God" the religious feasts at which they had been wont to sacrifice oxen to demons. In short, Gregory invariably showed plenty of common sense in dealing with any practical problem of the time.

Rule of Saint Benedict

In the tenth book of his *Dialogues*, composed in 594, Gregory so praised the monastic rule of Saint Benedict of Nursia (480–543) as to assure its ultimate predominance in the West. Benedict, like Gregory, was of a noble Roman family. After three years of hermit life, he won so many followers that he organized them into communities, but his rule was not promulgated until about 529 at Monte Cassino. The Lombards destroyed Monte Cassino in 580–581, but Gregory's missionaries carried the Benedictine rule to England. It reached Gaul only in the seventh century, and no trace of it is seen in Spain during the Visigothic period. But eventually it was to be universally employed through western Europe, and followed in thousands of monasteries and nunneries.

It was a long time before the Benedictine rule was resumed at Monte Cassino itself Towards the close of the seventh century a monk from Fleury on the Loire abstracted the relics of Saint Benedict from the ruins. In 717 a native of Brescia in north Italy took up the life of a monk at Monte Cassino And finally in 729, Willibald, returning to England from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, restored the Benedictine rule. Pope Zacharius (741–752) returned the manuscript copy of the rule from Rome and asked the monastery of Fleury to send back the relics

Benedict profited both by his own experience and that of others, making discriminating use of various earlier rules, in drawing up this manual for the army of the Church — for ecclesiastical writers were constantly comparing monks and hermits to athletes in training or soldiers under discipline He had begun his own ascetic career as a recluse, and once rolled about naked in a thorn bush, but he evidently came to the conclusion that the best religious life, at least for the average man, was in an organized community where he could practice the virtues of obedience, silence, humility, and service of others. "Let no one follow what he thinks most profitable to himself, but rather what is best for another." The rule is made up partly of general moral and religious precepts like that just quoted, which appeal to the better nature or ascetic enthusiasm of the reader, partly of specific regulations which remind one of a boarding school or military camp. The monks are instructed when they must stop talking, when they must go to bed, where and how they are to sleep, when they are to rise for prayers in the night, when they must be up in the morning, and what schedule of devotional exercises, manual labor, and reading they must carry out during the day Also, whose weekly turn it is to cook and wash or to read at meals, at what hours the meals shall be and of what diet they shall consist, and what clothing the monks are to wear. There is a list, not too long, of penalties for tardiness or mistakes either in the devotional exercises or in other work Then there are careful exceptions made for special cases, for very old monks, very young monks, sick monks, new monks, monks away from the convent on a journey or distant piece of work, priests who reside in the monastery, pilgrim monks or secular guests who may stop for shelter or entertainment, artificers employed at the monastery, and the special monastic offices of cellarer, doorkeeper, and provost

At the head of the monastery is an abbot, elected for life by the monks, whom all must obey, through whose hands all letters to the monks from without must pass, and who is urged to be severe and impartial in rebuking and punishing all offenses The individual monk is to have absolutely no personal property, and the social classifications of the outside world are not to be regarded in the cloisters, where the monks are to rank only by seniority and as they may be promoted or degraded by the abbot Each monastery is to be self-governing and independent except for the episcopal supervision of the bishop in whose diocese it is located, the Benedictine rule contemplates no general grouping of monasteries into orders or provinces, no placing of one abbot above another Numerous writers have united in extolling the rule for its moderation and practicability, its avoidance of the extremes of asceticism found in Eastern monachism, its Roman genius for organization and regulation, its suitability to Western conditions and spirit, its psychological insight and lofty moral standards, its glorification of manual labor which slavery had cast into disrepute in antiquity The reader can easily test these conclusions for himself and learn of the details of the monks' life by reading in English translation this famous document under which lived so many men through many centuries

Monasteries

The monastery had the advantage of being an orderly community in the midst of a disordered world When city, trade, industry, emperors, and kings were all failing to hold society together, and only the great landholder seemed able to keep a certain local area and social group under his control, the Church showed its power to establish close settlements where a number of men lived in harmony and served one another A corporation is likely to have an advantage over the individual especially in economic matters Moreover, public opinion venerated the monastery as the resort of holy men, it was often spared in war, and kept receiving bequests of land and other privileges The monks were not supposed to be primarily agriculturists or preservers of ancient manuscripts; their main business was prayer, praise, and devotion, but they usually did their other work well, since they did it not for a lord, but for the Lord The rule did not explicitly encourage monks to engage in literary or artistic work, it merely prescribed a good deal of hard manual labor and a little reading. Cassiodorus, however, had in his old age, at about the time of Benedict's death, established a monastery to which he gave his own large library and where the monks spent many hours in study and in the copying of manuscripts And as time went on many Benedictine monks devoted more time to such pursuits and less to outdoor work than their rule prescribes. The abbot, who was usually a man of superior training and intellect, would employ the best methods of agriculture and husbandry upon his estates, or see to it that intelligent copying and painting were done in his *scripto-*

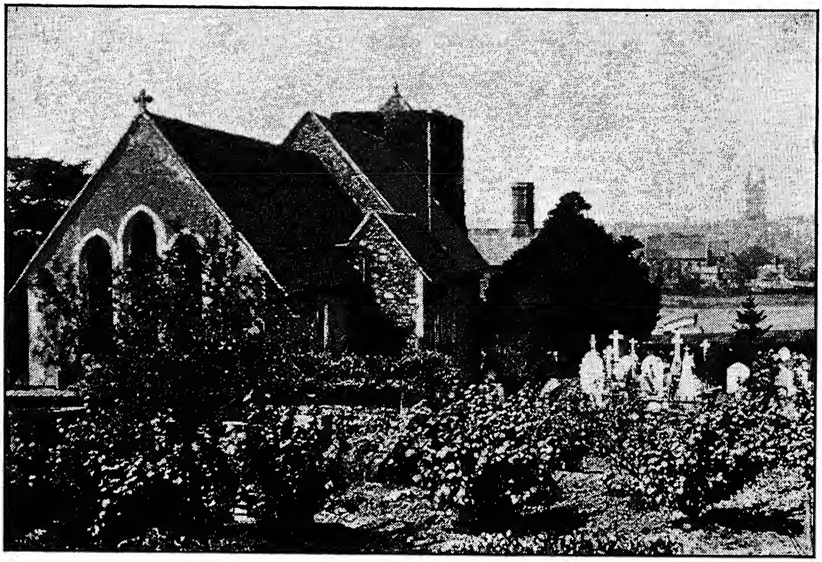


Figure 16

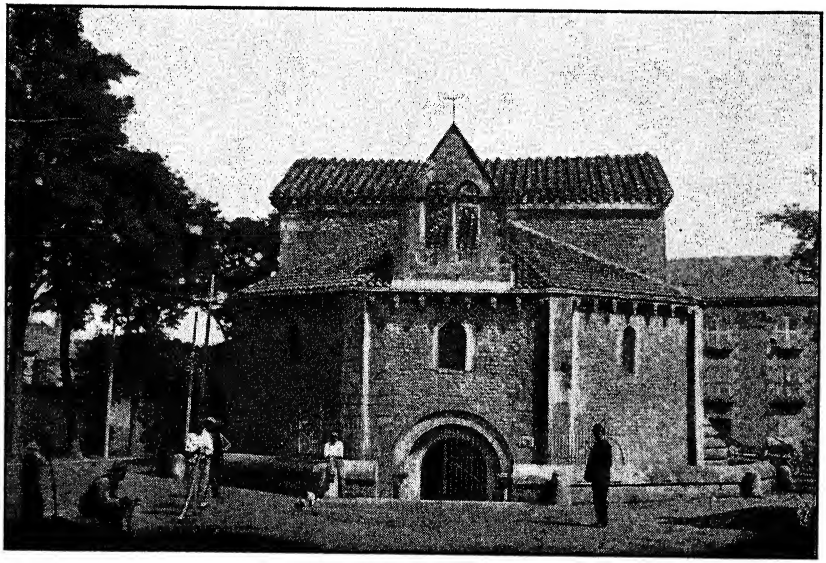


Figure 17

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

Above, the "Mother Church of England," Saint Martin's near Canterbury; *below*, the oldest Christian church in France, baptistery of Saint John at Poitiers *rium*. Thus the monks — or, in later years, the serfs and lay brothers working under their direction — did better agricultural and industrial work than most laymen in the world about them, and while at first the monks did not do much educational or literary work, they did more than almost anyone else at that time. Monasteries were, therefore, of great importance in the economic and intellectual development of the early Middle Ages. Almost the only records of real-estate and business transactions which have come down to us from that time are those of the monasteries, which, it is true, outlived most private houses and families, but whose abbots would seem to have been more systematic businessmen than their contemporaries. Almost the only records of contemporary events that we have for the period are the monastic annals and chronicles. They are meager and unsatisfactory records — a sentence or two per year where today we have a huge file of newspapers. But if we can scarcely call the monkish chronicler a journalist, he was at any rate the only annalist that the age knew. Besides, society had grown stagnant and there was probably not much more to record in a whole year then than happens in the course of a modern day.

The monks were pre-eminently the missionaries of the early medieval Church, and Pope Gregory too gave a great impetus to the spread of Christianity. Moreover, he increased the authority of the papacy by allying it with monasticism and by bringing new heathen lands under its control.

Conversion of Anglo-Saxons

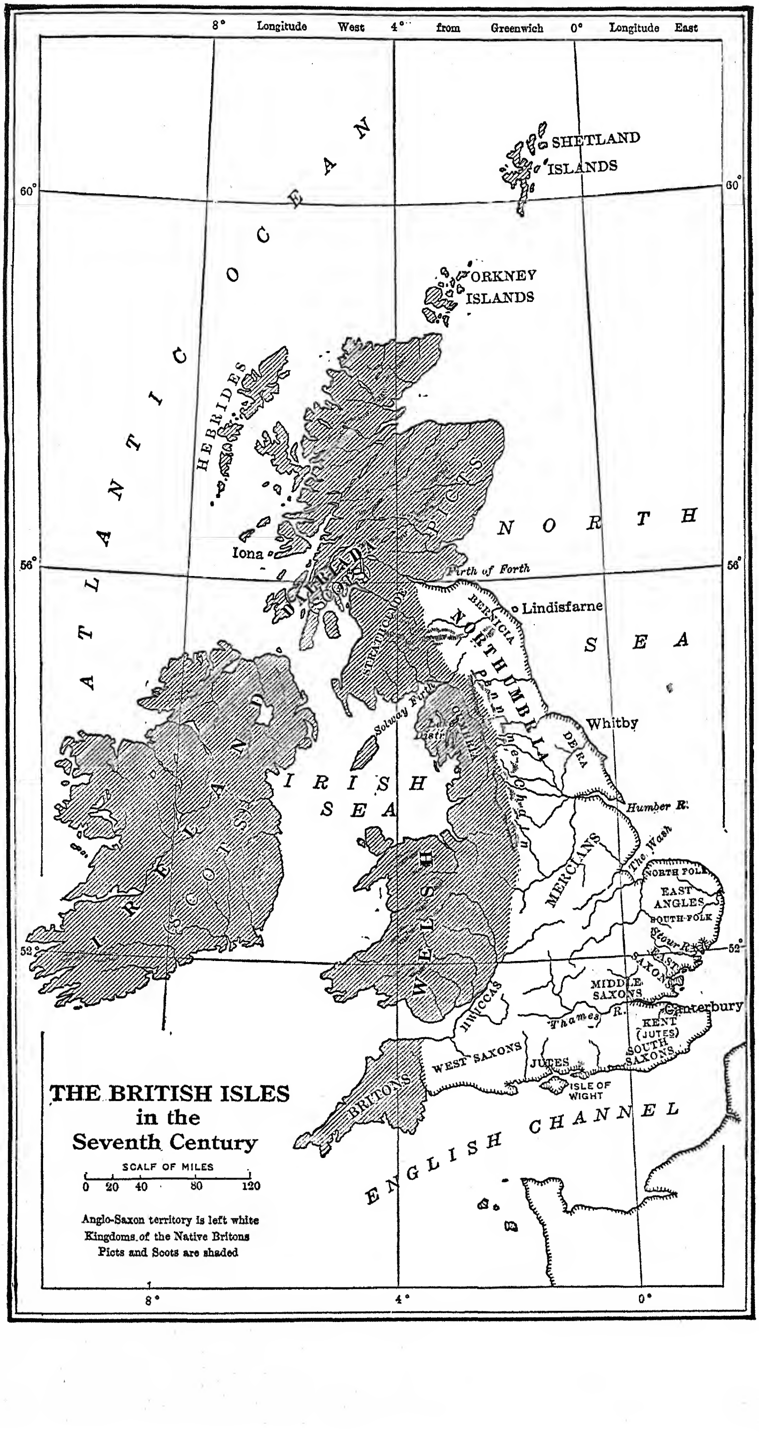
Under Gregory's guidance began the conversion of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes who had been conquering Britain piecemeal since the middle of the fifth century, blotting out the Latin and Celtic languages and the Christian religion. About 600 they were divided into a number of petty kingdoms, and the previous inhabitants of Roman Britain still held Wales and some parts of western England. Gregory, whose custom it was to buy barbarian slave boys and give them a Christian education, had been especially attracted by the beauty of some English lads with light hair and complexions, and determined to send missionaries to their land. In 597, a monk named Augustine landed with forty others in the kingdom of Kent in the southeastern corner of England. Here they soon converted King Ethelbert, whose Frankish wife was already a Christian. Their first church was Saint Martin's near Canterbury, which was still standing from the days of the Roman Empire and which may still be seen today (Figure 16). Canterbury was henceforth the religious capital of England and the seat of an archbishop. Another archbishop came to be located at York in the north.

The emissaries of Pope Gregory were not the first missionary monks in the British Isles The conversion of Ireland by Saint Patrick, while the Roman Empire was falling to pieces in the West, and the peculiar clan monasteries established there have already been mentioned In those monasteries some ancient culture was preserved and even Greek was still studied Over a hundred early Irish manuscripts still extant in Continental libraries testify both to the culture and to the widespread missionary activity of these Irish monks. What writings have come down to us in Old Irish are exclusively religious The Irish monks also surpassed the rest of western Europe at this time in illuminating manuscripts, that is, in decorating them with colored initials, border designs, and illustrations Some of the designs and coloring are thought to have been derived from the technique of metalworkers

Irish monasticism

The Celtic peoples of the British Isles were restless in the fifth and sixth centuries, partly owing, no doubt, to the race migrations that were in process all over Europe Many natives of Britain, driven first by the Picts and Irish and then by the Saxons, crossed the Channel to the peninsula of Brittany Among them monks were prominent, and some of these were Irish About 500 there had been a great migration of Irish tribes, called "Scots," from North Ireland to Scotland, where they founded the kingdom of Dalriada Here about 565 came from Ireland Saint Columba (521–597), who had changed his name from Wolf to Dove in token of his conversion He founded a monastery upon the island of Iona, and then passed on to preach the Gospel among the heathen Picts Other Irish monks went north to such distant islands of the sea as the Shetlands, Hebrides, Orkneys, and even Iceland From Iona they spread their faith southward among the heathen Angles who had invaded Northumbria Here the center of monastic and missionary activity was at Lindisfarne (Figure 15), on the east coast, under the lead of Aidan about 635

Meanwhile another monk named Columban (543–615) had wandered to eastern Gaul — much of Austrasia was still pagan — and had founded monasteries in the Vosges Mountains where his rigorous rule was enforced. It required an excessive number of hours devoted to religious service. Furthermore, Columban did not believe in sparing the rod A monk who failed to say "Amen" after the grace at meals received six blows, while a monk caught speaking alone with a woman received two hundred. He did not, however, forbid the reading of classical literature and was well versed himself in Greek mythology and poetry When he was driven from Luxeuil in the kingdom of Burgundy by Brunhilda, as before mentioned, he entered the country of the Alamanni, but was



THE BRITISH ISLES in the Seventh Century

Anglo-Saxon territory is left white
Kingdoms of the Native Britons
Picts and Scots are shaded

8° Longitude West 4° from Greenwich 0° Longitude East
60°
56°
52°
SCALF OF MILES
0 20 40 80 120
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY ISLANDS
HEBRIDES
PICTS
Iona
DALRIADA
SCOTS
STRATHCLYDE
Firth of Forth
Lindisfarne
BERNICIA
NORTHUMBRIA
Pennine Chain
NORTH SEA
Solway Firth
Lake District
CUMBRIA
Whitby
DEIRA
IRELAND
SCOTS
IRISH SEA
Humber R.
The Wash
MERCIANS
NORTH FOLK
EAST ANGLES
SOUTH FOLK
Stour R.
EAST SAXONS
MIDDLE SAXONS
WELSH
HWICCAS
Thames R.
Canterbury
KENT (JUTES)
SOUTH SAXONS
WEST SAXONS
JUTES
ISLE OF WIGHT
BRITONS
ENGLISH CHANNEL
8° 4° 0°

banished thence in turn because of his violent attacks upon their heathen temples and idols. Then he pushed on into Italy and built a monastery in the Apennines, where he dwelt until his death But his work went on Despite his departure Luxeuil remained the center of monastic life in Gaul His disciple, Saint Gall, had remained among the Alamanni, and founded near the Lake of Constance the great monastery which has been named after him, and which has had a Swiss canton named after it, and in whose library many priceless manuscripts have been preserved Other Irish monks penetrated Germany as far as Salzburg and Wurzburg When all the Frankish kingdoms were reunited under Dagobert (629–639), Saint Amandus went as a missionary to the Basques in the extreme south and to Flanders and Hainault in the extreme north of Gaul Toward the close of the same century a part of Frisia beyond Flanders and the Rhine was conquered by the Franks, and the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord founded there the episcopal see of Utrecht

The Irish monks had not been sent out by the pope, and, owing to their separate development far away from the influence of ecumenical councils and out of touch with the rest of the Christian world, they differed in some of their usages from the Church of Rome, especially in their method of determining the date of Easter each year In England these divergences led to considerable bitterness between the papal missionaries, who soon spread from Kent to the other kingdoms, and the British clergy of Wales and the Irish monks of the north, who in the course of the seventh century visited the South, East, and West Saxons The chief stronghold of Irish monasticism continued to be in the kingdom of Northumbria, and there in 664 the Synod of Whitby finally decided the Easter dispute in favor of the papal party. Thereupon the Irish monks of Lindisfarne withdrew to Iona. From 668 to 690, Theodore of Tarsus, a learned Eastern monk acquainted with Byzantine civilization, was Archbishop of Canterbury, and thoroughly organized and united the Church in England in accordance with Roman usage. This church union came long before there was a united Anglo-Saxon state The monasteries which the Irish missionaries had founded throughout Northumbria were gradually made Benedictine In Gaul, too, the Benedictine rule ultimately supplanted that of Columban, though some monasteries still followed the Celtic customs as late as the beginning of the ninth century Meanwhile, in Ireland itself the south had submitted to the papacy in 636 and the north in 697. The monasteries founded by Columba in Scotland conformed in 717.

In Bavaria, Duke Theodo and part of the people had been converted in 696 by a Frankish missionary, Rupert. From an English monastery went forth in the eighth century a missionary, who, building upon the foundations which the Irish monks and other earlier missionaries had laid, converted many of the Germans to the east of the Rhine and reformed the Frankish Church in Gaul and brought it into closer relations with the papacy This was Winfrith, or Boniface — the name by which he was known after his visit to the pope in 719 With the powerful backing of Charles Martel, the real ruler of the Franks at this time, as well as with the support of the pope, Boniface visited Frisia, Thuringia, Hesse, and Bavaria He reformed the Frankish churches through councils held in Austrasia in 742 and in Neustria in 744 These synods abolished surviving heathen customs, improved the morals of the priests, which seem to have been sadly in need of correction, and systematized the church organization In 747 Boniface secured from the Frankish bishops a declaration of their fidelity to Rome In 752 he anointed Pepin, son of Charles Martel, king of the Franks in name as well as in fact; but that event must await explanation until a later chapter The next year the aged Boniface returned to his first love in the field of foreign missions, Frisia, and in 754 was slain there by the savage heathen natives

Boniface and the Germans

Under the influence of the Irish monk, Virgilius, apostle to the Alpine Slavs, the diocese of Salzburg and duchy of Carinthia remained outside of Boniface's church organization, while Carniola was converted by the Patriarch of Aquileia

To the Irish Church, and especially to Columban, was perhaps due the introduction of the *Penitentials*, or books listing sins with the punishment or penance for each which the priest should require from the sinner Such books of penance existed among the British, Irish, and Anglo-Saxons, and thence spread through the Western Church This specific prescription of acts of penance for their sins to rude barbarians in a brutal age by holy priests, whom they would fear to disobey, has been generally regarded as a beneficial education for them in the essentials of morals and decency at a time when the State was weak and found it hard to keep order and punish crimes

Penitentials

Returning to Rome, we may take note of two important papal records The *Liber pontificalis* in its original and earliest form was compiled at Rome in the early sixth century by an author who seems to have been a personal witness of events from 496 to 530 Biographies of subsequent popes were added a few at a time or one by one Very rarely were documentary sources utilized Most of the writers belonged to the Vestiary of the Lateran and, when too lazy or discreet to narrate events, would depend on entries in their official registers

Papal records

The scarcity of other sources makes this an important one for the relations of the Byzantine Empire with Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries, but of course its viewpoint and sympathies are Roman and papal.

Papal documents continued the forms which the Roman emperors and their officials had employed, and the papal registers took the imperial *commentarii* as their model. The *Liber diurnus*, or *Journal*, was a manual of formulae and rules observed at the papal court in drawing up documents and performing official acts. It assumed its present form, as preserved in two manuscripts of the ninth century and in a third from the monastery of Bobbio, between the late seventh and mid-eighth centuries, and was in use until the eleventh century, but in the time of Gregory VII was supplanted by the papal *Cursus*, introduced by John of Gaeta.

Councils and synods

The last church council in the East which was accepted as ecumenical by the Roman Church was the eighth, held in 869 at Constantinople. Thereafter the problem in the West became how far the councils called by the popes would co-operate or clash with them, and whether the papal or conciliar type of church government would prevail, as we shall have occasion to note in subsequent chapters.

The holding of church councils and synods through this troubled period, not only in the East, where more urban life survived, but also in North Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, is a fact of manifold significance. It shows that there still was peaceful communication, since representatives of the local clergy were able to gather at some central point. It shows that, whereas the absolute power of the emperor had replaced the league of self-governing municipalities which had once constituted the Roman Empire, the bishops who had taken the place of the municipal governments met from time to time on a more or less equal footing to regulate church and Christian affairs by their joint action. Thus they were the source of legislation which was influential then and which informs us today not only as to moral and religious, but economic and social conditions. Finally, church councils offered a suggestion of representative government which influenced subsequent secular development and the later medieval representative estates and assemblies.

Bibliographical Note

For documents bearing on the rise of the papacy, see J. T. Shotwell and L. R. Loomis, *The See of Peter.* Miss Loomis has also translated the *Liber pontificalis.* Helen Waddell, *The Desert Fathers*, translates the early literature of monachism with literary charm. The life of Saint Columban by the monk Jonas is translated in *Translations and Reprints*, II, 7, 2–36, that of Saint Boniface by Willibald, by

G W Robinson, the *Letters of Saint Boniface,* by E. Emerton, the rule of Saint Benedict, in Henderson's *Select Documents* or Thatcher and MacNeal, *Source Book* Of secondary works, H B Workman, *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal,* is succinct and satisfying, the best biography of Gregory the Great in English is Dudden's On *Christianity in Celtic Lands,* read Gougaud or the earlier books of H Zimmer Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism,* has chapters on the household discipline, the monk's day, and other aspects of life under the Benedictine rule

VIII

Transition to Early Medieval Culture

IN THIS chapter on art and literature, philosophy and science, we have not merely to trace the passing, and yet the lingering, of classical culture, and a decline in literary and artistic ability, and in reasoning and ideas. We have also to note, even from the years of the declining Roman Empire, the appearance of new books with new ideas and the nascence of developments which were to continue and be characteristically medieval rather than classical. It is not only that the old hedges and shrubbery wither and are cut down, there also are a number of tender new shoots growing. It was a dark period, we know little of what was going on. But our scanty sources offer now and then an illuminating glimpse, some helpful hints as to the intellectual and cultural change which was in process.

Linguistic developments

The written Latin which has reached us in classical literature was a somewhat artificial medium, formed in imitation of Greek models and differing from spoken or vulgar Latin. The latter spread more or less through the western half of the Roman Empire, where it was subjected no doubt to varying local alteration according to the previous linguistic practice of the province in question, to the settlement here and there of barbarians and retired soldiers, and to other movements and transfers of population. Ultimately this process resulted, in the course of the early Middle Ages, in the transformation of the vulgar or spoken Latin into the Romance languages or various vernaculars of Gaul and of the Italian and Spanish peninsulas, such as French, Provençal, Catalan, Tuscan, Roman, Neapolitan, Castilian, and Portuguese. This seems a tremendous linguistic development to have occurred during an age of decline, darkness, and stagnation. There is very little historical or written evidence for it, but philologists assure us that it is a fact.

Since Christianity took a broad and deep hold in the West only after the great age of Latin literature had ended with Juvenal and Tacitus, it seems probable that the Latin employed in church services and spoken by ecclesiastics would be closer than the classical literary Latin to the vulgar or spoken Latin of the Roman Empire. Services for the Arian Germans were conducted in their own language, but the previous inhabitants of the empire who survived could understand ecclesiastical Latin better than German. As the Roman Catholic Church came to prevail, so did the use of Latin.

The Vulgate

The standard Catholic Latin translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, which had great influence upon medieval Latin, was made around the year 400 by Saint Jerome, who was both a scholar and a man of letters. It was written in a simple, straightforward, and accomplished style which would influence its readers to express themselves directly when they wrote in Latin.

Literary influences

On the other hand, a counteracting influence was exerted by the schools of rhetoric in the late Roman Empire. Many of the church fathers and Christian writers had been trained in these schools. While the rhetorical training gave them a familiarity with and love of classical literature, from which not even the most ascetic could quite rid himself, it also habituated them in trying to express themselves in a strikingly literary or oratorical manner which often became fulsome and overwrought. This style pervaded both Christian imperial legislation and panegyric, Augustine at times gave way to it in *The City of God*. It persists and becomes particularly tiresome in writers of the early medieval centuries who, like Alcuin at the court of Charlemagne, have very few facts at their command and no original ideas whatever, and yet insist upon expressing themselves in the emptiest of language. Fortunately, the real Latin classics continued to be loved and read and quoted through most or all of the medieval centuries, so that medieval Latin was perhaps indebted as much to them as to the Vulgate.

We must, however, recognize that the Middle Ages were interested and influenced by works of the post-classical period and late Roman Empire which strict classicists have been inclined to belittle. This was partly because such works were closer to the Middle Ages in time, partly because they were better suited to medieval intellectual interests and mental attitude, and partly because, as a generation of increasing knowledge and culture requires more specialized and advanced books, so, in an age of intellectual decline, the demand for specialized works falls off and taste turns to books more general in character and easier to understand.

The voluminous Christian writers of the closing centuries of the empire, like Jerome and Augustine and Basil and Ambrose, are called "church fathers" because of their influence upon the thought and usage of the Church then and since. The name "church father" is indeed applied to all early Christian writers, including, after the Roman Empire had fallen, many like Gregory the Great, and the term "patristic literature" is used to cover their writings. Augustine once said, "The authority of Scripture is higher than all the efforts of the human intelligence." This was a hard saying for experimental science or rational philosophy, but represents fairly well the attitude of patristic literature, which is based largely on the Bible and is concerned chiefly with religious matters. Augustine, for example, had little interest in or knowledge of natural science, he more often picked up some of its errors and superstitions than he appreciated its true merits and purpose. A work like his *City of God*, however, digresses on many miscellaneous topics, such as marriage, the stature of the antediluvians, the age of Methuselah, Noah's ark, monstrous races of men, the antipodes, Hebrew as the original language of the human race, Europe, Asia, and Africa, human transformations into animals, the Erythraean sibyl, refutation of astrology, the question of whether Hebrew learning is older than Egyptian, early Christian persecutions, torture, society, international law, and what costume a Christian may wear. From such passages a reader could gather considerable information or misinformation without having to read classical authors. And on almost any page of *The City of God* could be found a quotation from Vergil, although Augustine at times had conscientious scruples about his fondness for the great Latin poet.

Saint Augustine

Moreover, while Augustine was not greatly interested in natural science, he was absorbed in various theological and philosophical problems such as predestination and the position of the State in society. The views which he expressed on such points and his general or total religious and intellectual attitude had a profound influence throughout the Middle Ages.

Of all the works of Augustine *The City of God* was the most influential in the Middle Ages. It became favorite reading of Christians for many succeeding centuries and supplied them with many of their ideas. This epoch-marking and epoch-making book and its author may well be described somewhat further.

Augustine (354–430) had shared the secular life of his times before he became a Christian and a clergyman, and he was well acquainted with many of the leading men of the age. He had studied in the schools of rhetoric and had taught that subject at Milan, he was well versed in Latin culture; he had dabbled in his youth in Manichaeism, astrology, and Neo-Platonism, reading Plotinus in Latin translation, not in the original Greek, but being repelled at that time from the Christian Scriptures by the rude Latin of the copies which he tried to read. His life before he became a Christian had not been beyond reproach, as he had an illegitimate son and more than one mistress. We know so much about him chiefly because he talked so much about himself, being, like Petrarch and Rousseau later, one of those who have penned *Confessions* for the world's eye. In 388 he returned from Italy to Africa, and three years later was ordained a priest at Hippo without having passed through any of the lower orders. He introduced into Africa the practice of having all the clergy of a town live together as monks, although he did not write the rule followed by the later Augustinian Order. In 396 he was made Bishop of Hippo in North Africa. Following the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410, he labored from 413 to 426 upon his reply to the contention of the pagans that this catastrophe had resulted from abandoning the old Roman religion and adopting Christianity. Four years after finishing this work, called *The City of God*, Augustine died in Hippo while that city was successfully resisting a siege by the Vandals.

The City of God

The City of God is divided into twenty-two books, although these do not correspond to sharply defined logical divisions of the thought, as the contents are not very well arranged and there are many digressions. But the main points for us are as follows. The work opens with the assertion that Christianity is not responsible for the sack of Rome and that, on the contrary, its horrors were softened and worse atrocities were prevented by Christian influence upon the Goths. Soon leaving this unpleasant memory, however, Augustine launches forth into Roman history, which, he asserts, shows by many previous disasters that the old gods had not saved Rome from misfortune. Incidentally, he persuaded a Spanish disciple of his, Orosius, to write a very distorted history, *Against the Pagans*, or *Against the Accusers of Christian Times*, to bring out the same point.

Augustine makes many further criticisms of the Roman gods and their worship, describing the vicious Roman stage, the immorality of the gods themselves as set forth in classical mythology and of the rites used in their worship, ridiculing Roman theology for its multiplicity of deities and infinite subdivision of functions among them, denying the belief in oracles and pagan methods of divination, engaging in a passing tilt with the astrologers of his day, and finally affirming that all the deities and divine forces believed in by the non-Christian world are "demons" only in the sense of being evil spirits, fallen angels, and servants of Satan. Having thus disposed of paganism, he declares that one Christian God controls all states and all human endeavor. It was He, not any gods snatched by Aeneas from the flames of a Troy which they could not save, who had raised Rome to power because of the moral and devoted lives of her early patriots Her decline in turn was due to the decay of those pristine virtues, not to the introduction of Christianity, since even before the birth of Christ the Roman Republic had gone to ruin Augustine also insists that Christians do not favor peace at any price, and that the principles of Christianity, if practiced generally by both people and officials, would save the State But he has not yet answered the natural query, Why has God allowed the barbarians to sack Rome now that it has become Christian? He can only say that such an earthly disaster is no death-blow to the true Christian, and turn his readers' attention from the earthly to the heavenly city, from the city of Rome to the city of God, just as we saw the Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, turn his mind from the dear city of Cecrops to the dear city of Zeus

The city of God is not merely heaven, the abode of the Trinity and angels, to which those who have been saved by divine grace may look forward from among the woes of this world as their eternal home It also has an existence here on earth in the spiritual life of true believers Augustine traces its history from creation down through Abel and the story of the Jews, God's chosen people, to the coming of Jesus, the preaching of the Gospel, and the spread of Christianity The Church, in short, is the city of God

The new history

The work of Orosius, *Against the Pagans*, which was inspired by Augustine, was in a sense a world history, although a very partisan one, and was much read especially in the early Middle Ages But much more influential upon medieval historiography and theory of history were two books in Greek from the pen of the earlier Christian writer Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, a contemporary of Constantine, who lived from about 264 to 340 His account of the early centuries of Christian history has won him the title, "the father of church history" Eusebius' two books of universal history, as translated by Jerome and by him continued from 329 to 378, furnished the model of many medieval chronicles Although the narrative displayed Christian interest in listing the deaths of martyrs and the accessions of bishops as important historical events, on the whole its bare statement of events had the negative virtue of freedom from Orosius' venom and his one-sided selection and distortion of material On the positive side, it for the first time viewed history as a unit and entirety, and grouped past events around one central idea, the progress of the kingdom of God and the unfolding in the world of the divine plan Classical historians had written either about some particular war or about their own city or state, and were localistic, patriotic, or nationalistic, and also had tended too much to treat historical writing as an art or a branch of literature.

Eusebius furthermore tried to correlate the chronologies of different peoples by parallel columns of dates, and to unify them by association with biblical and Christian history. "We can say without exaggeration," remarks Monod, "that we owe the development of chronological science as well as the first scientific conception of history to the Church."

Adoption of new eras

As time went on, the tendency in chronological works was to adopt new eras. The ancient Romans had reckoned years from the legendary date of the founding of the city of Rome (*ab urbe condita*, or A.U.C.), which seems to have been about 753 B.C. But Julius Caesar had reformed the calendar, and a new era of Diocletian was counted from the first year of his reign, corresponding to our A.D. 284. It also became customary to state the year of the Indiction, which was a tax period of fifteen years. In the ecclesiastical *computus* of Annianus, composed in 412, on reckoning time, especially the dates of Christian festivals like Easter, he employed the era of Alexandria, which counted from the day of Creation. Creation according to this Alexandrian reckoning would have occurred on March 25, 5492 B.C., rather than in 4004 B.C. as worked out by Archbishop Usher and given in the King James English version of the Bible. Our era by the birth of Christ seems first to have been suggested by Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, in 525 in his book on Easter (*Liber de Paschate*), as more fitting for Christians than the era of Diocletian who had persecuted them. It was not generally adopted until much later. The Quinisext Council of 691–692 still preferred a Byzantine era from the date of Creation, to which was assigned a date equivalent to September 1, 5509 B.C., instead of the March 25, 5492 B.C., of the era of Alexandria. The era of Spain, which prevailed in Spain through the Middle Ages, was supposed to date from Julius Caesar's alteration of the calendar but actually began only at 38 B.C., whereas Caesar was assassinated in 44 B.C. The Dionysian era was criticized by chronologists of the eleventh century as misplacing the birth of Christ from seven to twenty-two years. But it remained in use, although the popes, who began to employ it in the later tenth century, used it regularly only after 1431.

Consolation of Philosophy

Another book which was to have a great medieval vogue was *The Consolation of Philosophy*, composed by Boethius almost exactly a century after Augustine completed *The City of God*. Boethius has once more been accepted by modern scholars as the author of Christian tracts which were ascribed to him in the Middle Ages, including that on the Trinity against the Arians. Yet in *The Consolation of Philosophy*, which was written in prison after his political fall and before his execution on the charge of treason, there is no allusion to Christianity.

Rather it is the swan-song of ancient philosophy, "written in sound, pure Latin prose with occasional interludes of verse" Virtue and philosophy are its main themes, with long discussion of the problem of fate and free will and with frequent reference to the heavenly bodies, which might serve as a counterbalance to Augustine's attack upon astrology Medieval Christianity was broad enough to embrace such a work, and its various features were widely imitated in later writing the allegorical female with torn garments, the prose with interludes of verse, the Platonic dialogue, the discussions of fate, free will, and the stars

Sermons constitute a considerable fraction of patristic literature Perhaps the leading preacher in the West was Caesarius of Arles who died in 542 and whose rule for nuns was mentioned in Chapter 7 Dom Morin, as a result of painstaking investigation spread over fifty years, identified two hundred and thirty-eight sermons as by Caesarius and published them together in 1936 Over a hundred of these were once ascribed to Augustine, others to such leading church fathers as Athanasius, Jerome, and Ambrose It is true that Caesarius borrowed from previous preachers, but he simplified such matter for his ruder audiences and has an unmistakable style of his own, vivid, direct, and personal.

The legend of Alexander

The oldest Latin version of the legend of Alexander the Great, to which we referred in Chapter I, is that by Julius Valerius and is probably of the fourth century A.D There were also Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Persian versions, and the story of Alexander was to become a favorite theme of later medieval romances in the vernacular tongues It was subjected to much later rearrangement and many additions.

Scientific interest

The ancient Romans had been by no means noted for scientific ability, and the church fathers, if not hostile to the sciences, were more interested in other things In the declining Roman Empire of the fourth century there are nevertheless a number of indications of interest in nature and in both pure and applied science. The Eastern audience who listened to Basil's sermons in Greek on the six days of creation were very curious as to natural phenomena, while Ambrose's Latin paraphrase of them indicates that there was a similar curiosity in the West. Firmicus Maternus, a retired official writing on astrology, among persons who will be born under various constellations mentions intellectual pioneers three times, inventors once, those absorbed in the secrets of all arts once, geometricians thrice, other mathematicians six times, astronomers and astrologers fourteen times, medical men eleven times, surgeons once, and botanists twice. Thus the stars seemed to him still to promise a very fair crop of scientists and inventive minds. This astrological work by Firmicus was to be preserved through the medieval period Our earliest manuscript of it dates from the eleventh century, and we know of at least two bishops who were guilty of reading it in that same century

Progress in iron working was made possible by the invention of valves for the bellows, which has been dated in the fourth century The invention of church bells has been attributed to Saint Paulinus (354–431), Bishop of Nola in Campania, after which places the bells were named *nolae* and *campanae*, and the bell-tower, *campanile*

The great astronomical work of Ptolemy was the subject of commentaries in Greek by Pappus and Theon at Alexandria in the fourth century, and by Proclus in the fifth Later Boethius made a Latin translation of it, but this is not extant, perhaps because succeeding generations found it too difficult.

Considerable interest in astronomy, however, had continued to be displayed in Latin writings of the early fifth century The commentary of Macrobius on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* is important for its Neo-Platonism and for its description of the heavens, which last was generally followed in Latin Christendom until the translation in the twelfth century from the Arabic of such astronomical manuals as that of Alfraganus This commentary by Macrobius is one of the treatises most frequently encountered in early medieval manuscripts. Another work of the early fifth century is *The Nuptials of Philology and Mercury, and the Seven Liberal Arts* by Martianus Capella of North Africa It is a textbook on the seven liberal arts grammar, rhetoric, and logic, which make up the *trivium,* or three-lane road, and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, which compose the *quadrivium,* or four-lane road There is an elaborate allegorical introduction full of personifications and pagan mythology. The concluding section on astronomy contains the suggestion that the planets Venus and Mercury revolve about the sun

Applied science

Some idea as to the preservation of technical processes and applied science in this period is afforded by a collection of notes and recipes preserved in a manuscript of the later eighth century under the title, *Compositiones ad tingenda* It describes a glass furnace and tells how to color glass and make mosaics; how to make gold leaf, gold thread, silver leaf, and tin leaf; how to give copper the color of gold; how to dye skins and make parchment; along with directions and preparations for painting and gilding, and description of the herbs and minerals used in these preparations and processes Most of this information may be found in ancient Latin and Greek authors, such as Aristotle, Pliny, Dioscorides, and late Greek alchemists Perhaps all of it comes down from antiquity But we seem to meet here, for the first time in extant works, with the words *vitriol* and *bronze,* with mention of the scum formed on water containing metallic salts, and with the preparation of cinnabar from sulphur and mercury

Medicine

We may next trace some of the steps in this transition to early medieval culture in the realm of medicine At some time during the declining Roman Empire someone rearranged the medical passages in Pliny's *Natural* History according to diseases instead of simples or remedies, in order to make the material more available for ready reference by practicing physicians This compilation, *The Medicine of Pliny,* was in three books The first two followed the top to toe order from headache to gout, which continued to be a favorite medieval arrangement The third book considered ailments not peculiar to any particular part of the body, such as fevers and wounds In a later version in five books, additions were made to the first three books, and two new books were added, one of which is an extract from the old Latin translation of Alexander of Tralles, of whom more will be said presently But before we consider the work of Alexander and of some earlier Greek medical writers, let us remark that a certain Marcellus, who seems to have been a high official under the Theodosian dynasty, wrote about the year 400 a collection of empirical remedies and superstitious procedures such as were to be characteristic of medicine for centuries to come

Oribasius, friend and physician to the Emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363), had made a vast compendium of past medical literature in seventy-two books, of which twenty-five are extant and of which a Latin version, made perhaps in the sixth century, exists in manuscripts of the seventh, ninth, and twelfth centuries Aetius of Amida in Mesopotamia and Alexander of Tralles in Asia Minor seem to have written in the sixth century Paul of Aegina in Greece proper composed his handy compendium of medicine in seven books in the seventh century These men not merely conserved the medical lore of the past and arranged it in a more orderly way than it appeared in the discursive works of Galen, they also described new diseases, new modes of treating old ills, and new medicines Aetius knew of camphor, unheard of in classical times and then still rare outside of India, but a common drug in later medieval Latin works Alexander is said to be the first Greek medical writer to mention rhubarb and tapeworms, and the first practitioner to open the jugular veins Paul made new contributions to surgical practice Aetius and Paul do not seem to have been translated into Latin, but a free and abbreviated translation of Alexander circulated from an early date and was itself translated into Hebrew and Syriac

The first-century Greek work of Dioscorides on *materia medica* existed in a complete literal Latin translation by the sixth century and probably also in partial versions The oldest manuscripts of the Latin herbal of the pseudo-Apuleius are of the sixth century and are rich in magic and superstition The so called *Cosmography* of Ethicus Istricus is a vague, rambling compendium of about the seventh century, with many mistakes in geography and history and an interest in occult science Thus science and superstition, medicine and folklore, interest in the past and in the world about them but a lack of accurate information concerning either, marked the thought of the men of the early medieval centuries

Science and superstition

Even as the Roman Empire was declining and breaking up in the West, new Latin textbooks were being composed which were to be used by schoolboys for the next thousand years From the fourth century date the *Distichs of Cato*, moral couplets which served the purpose of a first reader in Latin, and the Latin grammar of Donatus, which was intended for beginners It was supplemented by the more advanced grammar of Priscian which was written about 500 In the fourteenth-century English poem, *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman,* the sin of Sloth is personified as a clergyman who confesses that he does not know Latin in these words

New Latin textbooks

> I have been priest and parson passing thirty winters . . .
> But I cannot construe Cato, nor speak clerically

Students of the elements of Latin grammar came to be called Donatists, but are not to be confused with the early heretics of that name In the *Pearl of Philosophy,* a general textbook and elementary encyclopedia composed in 1495 and first printed in 1503, there is a picture of the Tower of Knowledge, to the door of which Dame Study is leading a little boy armed with slate and hornbook The ground floor is occupied by the Donatists, in a mezzanine above them Priscian is being studied, while more advanced subjects occupy the upper stories

In the early sixth century Cassiodorus wrote for his monks some little manuals on the seven liberal arts which are much scantier than the treatment by Martianus Capella of which we spoke above The facts are poorly selected, the style is stilted and affected Their chief value is to show how little one needed to know in that barbarous period, rather than what was to be influential in the later Middle Ages

At about the same time Boethius translated some of the more elementary logical tracts of Aristotle and the *Eisagoge*, or introduction to philosophy, of Porphyry. It has been shown (by Van der Vyver) in an interesting study based on the number and dates of extant manuscripts, that in the Latin West the more difficult of the Aristotelian logical treatises were the first to be abandoned and lost sight of; next, the number of Boethian translations in circulation was reduced to a minimum, indicating a further contraction in the educational curriculum and in intellectual caliber; finally, in the later Middle Ages, came a gradual recovery of these texts in the inverse direction While, as stated above, Boethius' translation of the astronomy of Ptolemy has disappeared entirely, his own more elementary arithmetic has survived and likewise his treatise on music The last was still used as a textbook at the university of Oxford in the eighteenth century

Other Latin literature

More purely literary activity still flourished in Gaul in the fifth century, but the barbarian invasions drove some Gallic rhetoricians to Ireland, while Apollinaris Sidonius found a refuge from greasy Burgundian giants at the Visigothic court at Toulouse. It is indeed remarkable that even the German kings encouraged Latin writers at their courts, whereas of German bards we hear little or nothing. Theodoric the East Goth had Cassiodorus as his secretary, and Boethius as his master of offices Even Sigibert, king of the Franks, adopted an Italian, Venantius Fortunatus, as his court poet In 565 Fortunatus, under the slender pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Martin at Tours, crossed the Julian Alps to meet Sigibert in Bavaria He shed, however, about the only ray of Latin poetry to reach us from the Merovingian period His verses, sometimes rhetorical but sometimes ecstatic, tell much of himself and his times, and cover a range of topics from flattery of Frankish ladies and bishops to a life of Saint Martin and an account of the downfall of Thuringia

Gregory the Great

In the preceding chapter we have already had occasion to mention some of the writings of Pope Gregory the Great He often has been represented and usually represented himself as a writer who paid little attention to "grammar"; that is, to literary style. Such apologetic statements are always open to suspicion, however, even when they come from a pope, and in any case show that there were critics then who still esteemed literary style Moreover, we find Gregory himself lamenting the fact that some of his sermons had been published by monks who took down his words at the time without giving him an opportunity "to emend them with care as I intended " Besides fourteen books of letters, Gregory's chief works are the *Pastoral Rule*, the *Moralia*, or commentary on the Book of Job, and the *Dialogues* The first is an eminently practical book, instructing the bishop in the care of his flock and showing a wide acquaintance with human nature. The commentary on Job, written during his residence in Constantinople, is a good specimen of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture so much in favor during the Middle Ages. The *Dialogues* are about the lives and miracles of the saints, and introduce us to a strange world of monks, miracles, demons, and special providences. One had always to be on one's guard against demons as against germs today, a woman once nearly swallowed one who was sitting on a lettuce leaf. Gregory, like the later Calvinists, delights in stories of condign punishment especially dealt out by God to heretics, blasphemers, and the irreverent; in his pages even those who carelessly disinter the bones of martyrs meet with sudden death. The object of many of his anecdotes is to stimulate his readers to venerate the relics of the saints, to accept such beliefs as that the souls of the dead can be saved by saying masses for them, and that the sign of the cross dispels demons even when made by an unbelieving Jew. It should perhaps be said that the belief that bones of dead saints would work marvelous cures was more in accord with the then prevalent doctrine of occult virtues in herbs, stones, and animals than it is with the science of today.

Mental attitude

The frame of mind shown in the *Dialogues* was, moreover, characteristic of all Christian writers of that time. The same atmosphere of the marvelous, the same wealth of miracles — some of which seem childish and others immoral to the modern reader — are found in all the saints' Lives of the period, in the history of the Franks by Bishop Gregory of Tours, of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon, and of the Church in England by the monk, Bede. Among the miracles ascribed to Saint Columban — who died in 615 — by the monk, Jonas, are such as filling a storehouse with grain, curing a finger cut in harvesting, preventing a beer vat left open by a monk from overflowing the pitcher set beneath the spigot, and causing a raven to become conscience-smitten and to return a stolen glove. Gregory of Tours resembled his namesake the pope, not merely in his firm belief in the miracle-working powers of the relics of the saints, so that he sought a cure for every bodily ill at the shrine of his own Saint Martin of Tours, and also in the special sanctity of the persons of the clergy and the property of the Church, but furthermore in his readiness to overlook the most serious faults in rulers provided they supported the orthodox faith.

On through the sixth and seventh centuries literature and learning continued their decline in Gaul under the Merovingian kings, and in Spain under the Visigoths. Gregory of Tours, whose history has already

Isidore of Seville

been described, was the leading writer of this period in the one country and Isidore of Seville in the other. Isidore's chief work is his *Etymologies* (622–623), a jejune encyclopedia in one volume It is a list of Latin words, systematically arranged under subjects but with far-fetched and usually incorrect guesses at their etymology, and then some elaboration of their meaning, which generally takes the form of a stringing-together of excerpts from earlier authors These are often well expressed, but the etymologies are laughable For instance, Isidore says that the vulture gets its name from its slow flight (*a volatu tardo*), and that horses are called equine (*equi*) because those harnessed together in spans are *equal*, being a pair and maintaining the same gait. Dry and ridiculous by turns as this meager display of knowledge seems to the modern reader, it was superior to Cassiodorus' manuals and was the leading work of erudition produced for some centuries in the West. Almost every monastic library contained a copy of it, and even the much fuller encyclopedias of the thirteenth century still cited it with respect

English monastic culture

The monasteries in England not only led to the conversion of the invaders, but were the chief centers of civilization, and, like the Irish monasteries, preserved in the seventh and eighth centuries a higher culture than could be found in most Western lands, Greek was even studied there for a time. Of monastic teachers and writers in England, Bede is the best known He wrote in good Latin his justly famous ecclesiastical history, which comes down to the year 731 and in which he scrupulously indicates his sources, commentaries on the Bible; grammatical treatises, and even some treatises in the field of natural science He also tells us of a poet, Caedmon, who composed paraphrases of biblical story in the Anglo-Saxon tongue When Charlemagne about 800 wanted scholars at his Frankish court, he looked to England for them Irish culture, too, continued for some time, and Bede praised the learning of Ireland in his day. Indeed, the earliest English alphabet was of the Irish-Latin form

Books and writing

Writing and manuscripts had undergone considerable change since classical antiquity. The Greeks and Romans wrote on long strips of papyrus which were rolled up when finished and unrolled again as read To avoid too long and clumsy a roll or volume, only about as much was written on each as a book of the *Iliad* or *Aeneid* or a chapter in a modern book. In the second century the codex began to appear, a bound manuscript of several or many pages, resembling modern printed books or pamphlets in its make-up and outward form. After the fourth century it replaced the roll in general literary use.

Art, which in the form of sculpture no longer adorned the triumphal arch, found a haven within the covers of manuscripts in the form of illuminations or shining colored pictures, as well as within the walls of churches in the form of mosaics Indeed, the influence of the illuminations in a copy of the *Book of Genesis,* which was probably written at Alexandria in the fifth century, has been traced in early medieval mosaics at both Rome and Ravenna, in those of the late twelfth century at Saint Mark's in Venice, in other medieval art, and even in the paintings of Biblical themes by Raphael *The Book of Kells* is a famous example of the school of illumination of the Irish monks, with elaborately developed initial letters and border designs. Such illuminations became the more effective when parchment and vellum replaced papyrus as the material of the codex. (Figure 15)

The Romans had written in capital letters like those cut in stone for inscriptions In the early Middle Ages there developed styles of writing known as uncials, semi-uncials, and minuscules Of the last there were different varieties: Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Visigothic, Beneventan, and later on, Carolingian Small letters were used with only an occasional capital The writing was not cursive and run together, since the pen was usually raised from the page after each letter was formed

Art

Aside from the Irish school, most art in the West was Byzantine or at least showed Byzantine influence It is strongly marked in the oldest extant ecclesiastical edifice in France, the little church or baptistery of Saint John at Poitiers (Figure 17). Although "we are entirely without authentic documentary evidence for fixing the date of its construction," the floor is about eleven feet below the present street level, and it is customary to date the original rectangular structure, measuring 43 by 26 feet, from the fourth century, the three apses from the seventh century, the narthex or portico and the paintings inside from the twelfth century. The *piscina* or baptismal pool in the center — used for baptism by immersion — was closed up in the seventh century

Nothing in a historical museum is more tedious to look at than a Merovingian monument, which commonly takes the form of a shapeless stone with obliterated sculpture of the rudest sort No handwriting is more difficult to read and no Latin worse than those of a Merovingian document. Some artistic iron work was produced in the Merovingian period, but the metal used was not tempered and of poor quality. Pottery was crude and poorly baked compared with that of the Gallo-Roman period. Glass was lacking in basic oxides We hear of some building, but almost none of it was of sufficient beauty or durability to be preserved to us through the ages. In Spain, for instance, where the Visigoths ruled for more than two hundred years, there is not a single building left to illustrate their architecture, just as scarcely a word in the Spanish language can be traced back to their tongue.

Yet, as time goes on, impressive works of art are found elsewhere than at Ravenna. "From the tombs of Venasque, Bobbio, and Pavia we learn that the seventh and eighth centuries, instead of being an age of the utmost artistic degeneration, were capable of producing subtle and thoughtful carved decorations in stone of the finest execution" (Kingsley Porter). In Britain crosses at Hexham and Bewcastle that used to be dated in the twelfth century, because they were thought to be too fine examples of Romanesque art to have been produced earlier, are now dated by inscriptions in A D. 740 and 670, respectively. In Italy the altar of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan is now placed in the ninth instead of in the twelfth century.

Bibliographical Note

The writings of many church fathers, including Augustine's *City of God*, may be found in close English translation in two sets of volumes called *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, and *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. An hour employed in turning the leaves of one or two volumes and reading a bit here and there will be well spent One should beware of the translation of *The City of God* in the Temple Classics, as it omits a great deal, is misarranged, and numbers the books incorrectly. A selection from the letters of Saint Jerome, translated by F. A. Wright, was published in 1933 in the Loeb Classical Library There are numerous English translations of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and of Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy* The *Distichs of Cato* were translated again by W. J. Chase in 1922. Portions of Isidore's *Etymologies* were translated by E. Brehaut in *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages*, 1912. Gregory's *Dialogues* were edited by E. G. Gardner, 1911. Selections from Gregory's writings are given in Robinson's *Readings in European History*, I, selections 28 to 31, 35, 37, from Bede, *Ibid*, selections 38 to 42 (pages 93–105)

A few leading secondary accounts may also be listed G F Browne, *The Venerable Bede, His Life and Writings*, 1919; *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, chapter 19, "Learning and Literature to the Death of Bede", Pierre de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, 1925, M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900*, 1931, H. Nunn, *Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin*, 1922, E. M Pickman, *The Mind of Latin Christendom*, 1937; E K Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages*, 1928, H O Taylor, *The Classical Heritage*, 1901

PART TWO

The Rise of Islam and Arabic Civilization

IX

Mohammed and the Spread of Islam

Arabs before Mohammed

WHILE monks were spreading Christianity in the West, a new Oriental religion arose in Arabia under the leadership of the prophet, Mohammed, who was born about 570 in Mecca, a small trading-town fifty miles from the Red Sea. Of conditions in Arabia before Mohammed we know very little. The Arabs or Saracens had made raids into the Byzantine Empire and had also been employed by it as mercenaries. Most of them led a semi-nomadic life on horses and camels in their desert country, much of which is still unexplored by outsiders. They were somewhat cleaner than the mounted nomads of central Asia, more attached to individual liberty and equality, and also more intellectual. They were clear-headed, positive thinkers and expressed themselves in a Semitic language which was a model of conciseness, yet with a vocabulary lending itself to the drawing of fine distinctions, and with the possibility of further rich development. They could not read or write, but were fond of extemporized poetry, employing either quantity or rhyme, in which they drew a somewhat idealized portrait of themselves as generous, hospitable, truthful, and chivalrous bandits.

> As the warm sun was he in wintry weather,
> 'Neath the dog-star shade and coolness together
> Spare of flank — yet this in him showed not meanness;
> Open-handed, full of boldness and keenness.
> Firm of purpose, cavalier unaffrighted,
> Courage rode with him and with him alighted:
> In his bounty, a bursting cloud of rainwater,
> Lion grim when he leaped to the slaughter
> Flowing hair, long robe his folk saw aforetime,
> But a lean-haunched wolf was he in wartime.
> Savors two he had, untasted by no men
> Honey to his friends and gall to his foemen.
> Fear he rode, nor recked what should betide him:
> Save his deep-notched Yemen blade, none beside him![1]

---

[1] From *A Literary History of the Arabs*, by R. A. Nicholson, by permission of the Cambridge University Press.

There was no central political organization among these people. Although there were some towns and trade, the tribe was the prevailing unit and blood feuds were common between clans. There were, however, some social distinctions and a certain amount of wealth and luxury. Slavery and polygamy both existed and there was a good deal of sexual immorality. The various tribes differed considerably in their degree of civilization. Some had been more or less converted to Christianity or to Judaism; others still adhered to simple and rude rites that were suggestive of primitive man's religion. On the whole, we do not know enough of religious conditions in Arabia before Mohammed to tell how far he was indebted to previous faiths and worships.

Sources on Mohammed

The sources about Mohammed himself are much more satisfactory, although it is hard for Western historians both to appreciate and to discount their Oriental spirit and psychology. The Koran, a collection of the prophetic utterances given out by him from time to time as divine revelations, was put together two years after his death and somewhat later revised in substantially the form that we possess today. Some of its passages had been dictated and preserved, others were supplied by his followers from memory after his death. It contains about two thirds as many verses as the New Testament. From the eighth and ninth centuries come Moslem biographies of Mohammed and collections of Moslem tradition. These are necessary to interpret the meaning of the Koran, which does not date the prophet's utterances or give them in the order of their delivery, but has its chapters arranged according to length. Inasmuch as some parts of the Koran enjoin what others forbid, it is important to know which passage was Mohammed's last word upon the point in question. Also the Koran is full of allusions to persons and things that were probably familiar enough at the time, but that require explanation for later readers.

Personality and teachings

Mohammed came of a prominent family of Mecca, but was early left an orphan under an uncle's care. After suffering some hardships from poverty, he became, when about twenty-five, the business agent of a rich widow, whom he presently married upon his return from a successful commercial trip to Syria. He was of medium height, with a large head and broad shoulders, and was good-looking, with large black eyes, dark brows and lashes, long hair, and a full beard from which his white teeth flashed. His hand was soft and his health delicate. We are told that he disliked strong odors, dirty clothing, and unkempt hair. He spent much time in fasts and vigils, was nervous and hysterical, often in low spirits, and subject to seizures in which he seemed to be in a violent fever. It was during these paroxysms that he was believed to be divinely inspired and that he indited portions of the Koran He probably could not read or write and lacked the common Arabian fondness for poetry He was affectionate and humane by nature, but persevering in gaining his ends His enemies have accused him of gross passion, but his defenders hold that he was always faithful to his first wife, and that of the dozen or more wives whom he had in his later years some were widows of his dead warriors whom he married to protect, while others he married in order to cement political alliances or in the hope of securing an heir to succeed him

It was not until he was about forty years old that the "dreamer of the desert" began his prophetic seances and religious teaching After four years he had won about thirty converts Few of his early revelations are preserved in the Koran, his teaching at first was private and most of his converts were slaves and lowly persons When these were ill-treated by the other Meccans, they fled to Abyssinia, but Mohammed's influential kinsmen continued to afford him protection Near Mecca was held annually a festival which crowds of pilgrims attended, and in Mohammed's time they also came into Mecca to visit the "Cube" (*Kaaba*), a building of that shape containing various sacred objects, images, and paintings To these pilgrims Mohammed often preached, but without much success until finally some men from Medina were impressed by his teaching and offered a refuge to him and his followers. Medina was torn by the feuds of Jewish tribes and was ready to welcome a leader from outside. Accordingly, in 622 occurred the flight, or Hegira, of Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Medina, an event from which the Mohammedan world dates its era The Mohammedan year, as later decreed by the prophet, consists of twelve lunar months, or only three hundred and fifty-four days

Islam

Islam is the Arabic name for the religion founded by Mohammed, and his followers called themselves *Muslimin*, or Moslems. Both words carry the idea of surrender. His ideal was submission to the divine will and a brotherhood of equals, within which there should be no dissension or injury His early teachings emphasized that there is only one God, "the merciful, the compassionate," and that before every man lies a day of reckoning and final judgment. He attacked idolatry. He believed in the existence of Gabriel and other angels, but refused to recognize Christ as the Son of God, although admitting that he was a prophet He stressed the omnipotence and absoluteness of God and would tolerate no mediums or barriers between God and man "Allah could be throned apart in unapproachable grandeur and yet be near to every human heart." Like Gregory the Great, Mohammed seems to have believed that the end of this world was close at hand, though he always refused to set a date. Like Gregory, too, who at Constantinople had strenuously opposed the doctrine that the resurrected body will be impalpable, Mohammed believed absolutely in a physical afterlife For the Arabs, whose ideas of the life after death had hitherto been rather hazy, he drew a vivid picture of the torments of the damned and the sensual delights of Paradise reserved for those who have been true believers "Islam, like medieval Europe, could think of nothing but the unending hereafter with its sharply divided weal or woe" (D B Macdonald)

While, however, he both permitted and practiced the previous Arabian custom of polygamy, he ordered that fornicators should be whipped, and he prohibited the exposing of infants He also somewhat improved the position of women and of slaves in Arabian society. He abolished the practice of burying female infants alive, he decreed that no man might have more than four wives at once, and not more than one, unless he could support them equally Woman's legal status was improved and power to inherit defined, her religious duties and privileges were recognized To a certain extent her social seclusion was assumed, but far from enjoining the prison life of the harem, the Koran does not even explicitly order the veiling of the face. As for slaves, the Koran instructs that when they are able to redeem themselves, they should be allowed to do so, and Mohammed is reported to have said, "Whoever frees a slave who is a Moslem, God will redeem every member of his body, limb for limb, from hell-fire" (F J Bliss)

Mohammed bade his followers wash frequently and "made the use of the toothpick almost a religious ordinance." He further forbade certain articles of food and the drinking of wine By Moslem law, if a man is brought before a judge intoxicated or reeking with alcohol and two witnesses swear that he has been drinking, he is given eighty lashes, if a free man, forty, if a slave In such injunctions and prohibitions Mohammed may in part have been simply perpetuating primitive customs of ceremonial purity and taboo Yet Islam is probably the first religion to emphasize physical cleanliness and to prohibit the use of alcohol. Among Christians even monks were allowed a certain amount of wine every day by the Benedictine rule, although it forbade them to eat meat except in case of sickness Mohammed commanded his followers to forgive those who injured them, not to seek vengeance, and to give alms to the poor. Moslems were to pray five times a day, to attend a public religious service every Friday, and to fast during one month each year from sunrise to sunset of each day. Islam has so many points in common with Judaism and Christianity that Mohammed has been charged with borrowing from both those faiths, but his knowledge of them seems to have been extremely vague.

A marked difference between Islam and most religions is that it recognizes neither sacraments nor priesthood, and draws no distinction of clergy and laymen. Mohammed was "the last of the prophets," and even his successor, the Caliph, as head of Islam had no spiritual powers such as the popes lay claim to. In Islam "all believers are alike in their utter subjection to the unapproachable divine majesty." Between believers and unbelievers, however, a great gulf is fixed, and the average Moslem is as intolerant as any other religious votary. As for heresy, the various conflicting sects within Islam regard one another "as renegades to be killed at sight."

Conquests of Islam

At Medina, Mohammed and his fellow-refugees found it difficult to earn a living and soon resorted to plundering caravans for a livelihood, a practice which they justified upon the ground that the merchants were idolaters and unbelievers. They won great prestige by what seemed to contemporaries their miraculous victory in a series of single combats over the members of a larger band of Meccans who tried to check their pillaging. In Medina, too, Mohammed strengthened his authority and provided funds for his followers by exiling the hostile Jewish clans and confiscating their property. Other individuals obnoxious to the Moslems were assassinated, and once some six hundred Jews who would not accept Islam were executed in cold blood and their women and children were sold into slavery. Thus the new religion began early to take on the ruthless and sordid features of conquest and tribute, and the persecuted prophet rapidly transformed himself into a religious despot and national legislator. Mecca continued to oppose Mohammed with increasing forces, but he weathered her attacks and gradually won the Bedouins of the desert to his side. Finally, in 630, he entered Mecca practically unopposed and in triumph. He pardoned almost everyone, and although he destroyed idols, images, and pictures throughout the city, he preserved the famous "Cube" and left the much venerated black stone embedded in its wall to be kissed by future generations of Moslems from all parts of the globe. For he made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca a feature of his own religion. Mohammed defeated a hostile coalition of Bedouin tribes, and had begun raids upon the Byzantine Empire before his death in 632, but it is doubtful if all Arabia had by that time been converted to Islam.

Islam was, at any rate, supreme by that time in the vicinity of Mecca and Medina, and within a very few years the astonishingly successful expeditions of the Moslems against Syria and Babylonia drew the other Arab tribes out of their deserts into a career of conquest and booty, and also into the bosom of Islam Perhaps the increasing desiccation of their deserts and climate was, as in the case of the Huns, an underlying cause of their emergence The Moslem leader, Khalid, proved a very able general and won a remarkable succession of victories. Persia and Constantinople had just concluded peace in 628, after having fought each other to a standstill, if not to the point of prostration, in a long series of wars Heraclius had recovered Syria and Egypt, but these provinces were out of sympathy with Constantinople in religious matters and found their return to Byzantine taxation oppressive Moreover, in Syria — and this was also true of Babylonia, the part of the Persian kingdom next to Arabia — the mass of the population was Semitic, and so at bottom more in sympathy with the Arabs than with the Greeks of Constantinople or the Indo-Europeans of Persia Within five years after Mohammed's death the Arabs had seized all Syria except Jerusalem and Caesarea They gained Babylonia by a victory in 637 and advanced to the Tigris, where the rich capital Ctesiphon was abandoned to them without a struggle Mesopotamia was overrun in 641, and in ten years more the remainder of the Persian kingdom had been conquered and its independent existence ended Egypt, where the new Patriarch of Alexandria had been persecuting the Coptic Church, was conquered in the years 639–643

The Arabs now showed their superiority to the central Asiatic nomads by scouring sea as well as land Their governor of Syria, who later became Caliph, built and manned a fleet which attacked Cyprus in 649, pillaged Rhodes in 654, and moved on against the islands of Cos and Crete in 655. Meantime by land the Arabs pushed west from Egypt into Tripoli and north from Mesopotamia into Armenia Civil wars among the Arabs themselves interrupted proceedings for a few years, but in 669 their fleet attacked and pillaged Syracuse in Sicily, and the same year they advanced through Asia Minor to Chalcedon, crossed into Thrace and attacked Constantinople, but were repulsed Then each year until 677 they made sea attacks upon the city, but all were failures, and the Arabs also withdrew from Rhodes Nor for the remainder of the seventh century were they able to make any permanent advance into Asia Minor In 716 Constantinople was once more attacked, but as usual weathered the storm. Armenia, however, was permanently lost by the Byzantine Empire and also established a separate church under its *catholicos*, who was independent of the Patriarch of Constantinople

The Arabs did not force their conquered subjects to adopt Islam; they were willing to accept tribute from them instead and tolerated all Christian sects equally Thus some long-suffering heretical communities became free from persecution for the first time. And the tribute was not as heavy as the imperial taxation had been If, however, one turned Moslem, one no longer had to pay tribute and was far more likely to attain political advancement. As a result the Copts in Egypt professed adherence to Islam so rapidly that the amount of the tribute fell off in the course of a few years from twelve to five millions When one had once become a Mohammedan, one could not return to one's previous faith without incurring the death penalty The Arabs themselves did not permanently remain fanatical or puritanical, but were often inclined to good living and to skepticism, and were easy-going in their interpretation of religious rules They also were slow to make any great change in the governmental machinery of lands which they conquered; so long as the tribute came in regularly, they were content to leave Byzantine and Persian institutions much as they found them. The condition of serfs and slaves frequently improved under the Mohammedan rule of this period, and they were often emancipated by their new Arabian masters, especially if they embraced the faith of the Prophet

Because of the opposition of the wild Berber tribes as well as of the Byzantines, it took the Moslems over half a century to conquer North Africa. Carthage did not fall until 697–698, and the western Berbers, whom Justinian had been unable to subdue, were not absorbed by Islam until the early years of the following century. Ancient civilization now rapidly disappeared in northwest Africa, a loss due more to the Berbers than to the Arabs or Vandals, and this once extremely prosperous region became desolate Only the Christian Church lived on in decreasing strength for centuries The Berber tribes, whose mode of life and state of civilization was similar to that of the nomads of the Arabian desert, for the most part accepted Islam, and many of them swept on westward in the wave of conquest

Spain was the next objective of the Moslems A deposed king fled to them for aid against his supplanter. The Visigothic kingdom was also weakened by its persecution of the Jews and by the selfish treachery of the nobles. In 711, Tarik, lieutenant of the Moslem governor of Mauretania, Musa ibn Nusair, landed near the rock named after him Gibraltar (*Gebel Tarik*), and, before the year was out, had defeated King Roderick and overrun half of Spain. Many fortified towns still held out, however Musa now arrived with reinforcements, compelled the towns to capitulate, won another great victory in 713, and proclaimed the rule of the caliph in the Gothic capital, Toledo. In the mountains along the northern coast of Spain, however, Christian communities succeeded in maintaining their independence.

Arabs checked by Franks

After their rapid and easy conquest of most of the Spanish peninsula, the Arabs and Berbers saw no reason why they should not press on farther They began to cross the Pyrenees just about as a great attack was being made upon Constantinople by their co-religionists in the East By 720, they had occupied Septimania or Narbonne, the territory which the Visigoths had still held beyond the Pyrenees Aquitaine, which the Goths had lost to Clovis at the end of the fifth century, was at present under the rule of an independent duke, Eudes, who only nominally recognized the Frankish kings of Neustria and Austrasia and their vigorous representative, Charles Martel, mayor of the palace Eudes unaided for a time held the Moslems in check, but in 732 they prepared a great expedition which defeated him and forced him to appeal to Charles Martel for aid Today one taking an express train from Bordeaux to Paris passes through the towns of Poitiers and Tours This was the route the Moslems took Between Poitiers and Tours they were met by the Franks under Charles Martel and were decisively defeated, probably on the fourteenth of October at Niré (Nerac) near Loudun The Franks, who were accustomed to fight on foot with throwing axe and javelin, sword, shield, and dagger, on this occasion won the battle by forming a hollow square in close array A few years later Charles also prevented the Moslems from entering the Rhone Valley, but, although he devastated Septimania, it was not until 759 that his son Pepin finally drove the Moslems south of the Pyrenees. In such wise the warlike Franks set a limit to the westward expansion of Islam, just as in eastern Europe Constantinople was a barrier which the Moslems could not break down. As the Huns, operating from the east and north, had failed to take Constantinople or to penetrate to the heart of Gaul, so the Arabs, operating from the east and south, met with the same failure

But, unlike the Huns, the Moslems controlled most of the Mediterranean Sea and its shipping, and so cut off the Christian West from trade with the Near East and Egypt The Syrian merchant colonies in southern Gaul ceased to be The papyrus trade fell off, and the West — outside Italy — turned to parchment, made of sheep's skin and membranes, for writing material; however, documents of Pope Benedict III (855–858) were still written on papyrus

The first four caliphs

Mohammed had died without making provision that anyone should succeed him, but his family and followers felt that a successor (*khalifa* or caliph) was essential to direct the generals in the Holy War and to organize their conquests. Of the first four caliphs, "who followed a right course," Abu-Bakr, the first, was one of Mohammed's fathers-in-law, and the second was Omar (or Umar), the ablest of his early converts, who ruled from 634 to 644. He tried to keep all the native Arabs as a caste of warriors, living in camp cities, who should not themselves be landholders but should be supported by the cultivators of the conquered territories. These latter were to pay a head-tax, a high rental, and provide fodder, food, and clothing for the fighters. No non-Moslem was allowed to enter Arabia itself which was to be the "breeding ground for defenders of the faith" and a holy land preserved inviolate.

The Ommiads

In 661 a member of the Ommiad (or Umayyad) family, which represented the Meccan aristocracy and Syrian interests, became caliph and moved his residence from Medina north to Damascus, the ancient Syrian city located in an oasis which forms the meeting place and crossroads of various caravan routes of an immense carrying trade. Under the caliph Walid (705–715) the Ommiad dynasty reached its height, maintaining a court of brilliant culture, with poets and scholars, and erecting imposing mosques at Damascus and Jerusalem. The age of the Ommiads has been called "the genuinely Arab period in the history of Islam," but among the aforesaid poets and scholars was a Christian poet laureate and the Byzantine theologian, John of Damascus. The Ommiads were no narrow Moslems and allowed wide freedom both of thought and of conduct.

Abbasids and Fatimites

Under Walid the Moslems not only conquered most of Spain in the West, but ranged as far east as the borders of India and China. But eventually the Ommiads, to whom there had always been much opposition in the East, and who now became weakened by feuds among themselves, gave way to the Abbasids (750–1258), a Persian dynasty claiming descent from Mohammed's uncle, Abbas. They moved the capital farther east to Bagdad, but the western part of the Moslem world broke away from their rule. The Ommiad Abd-er-Rahman, after five years of wandering, escaped to Spain and was recognized as emir at Cordova. It was not, however, until 929 that Abd-er-Rahman III assumed the title of caliph, and that it is strictly correct to speak of the Caliphate of Cordova. Several independent Moslem states also arose in North Africa, where the Berbers always inclined to establish governments of their own; these were the germs of the modern Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco. Of Moslem conquests in Sicily and Italy in the ninth and tenth centuries we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere. In 909, the Fatimites, so-called from Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed, came into power in North Africa. In 969, they conquered Egypt from the Abbasids, founded the city of Cairo, and henceforth made Egypt the center of their activities, losing most of their power in the West, but adding Syria to their possessions.

Arabian politics

Although great conquerors, the Arabs lacked the genius for lawmaking and empire-building of the ancient Romans. Never having developed a state worthy of the name in their native country, they could hardly be expected to prove equal of a sudden to the creation of a vast empire. Consequently their states seldom held together for a long period. Both Arabs and Berbers naturally inclined toward the unorganized freedom of the desert, except that certain families regarded themselves as aristocrats, and that the Arabs were prone to consider themselves superior to the rest of the population, whether unbelievers or converts to Islam. Therefore, while ambitious and able individuals often made use of the religious fanaticism of the masses to raise themselves to supreme power, and then ruled in the manner of Oriental despots, they had to be on their guard against the aristocracy and against the instinct toward freedom. Mohammed had ratified the relationship of patron and client which already existed among the Arabs, and the Moslem leaders rewarded their followers with grants of land, so that there was in the Middle Ages much the same tendency toward feudalism in the Mohammedan as in the Christian world.

Moslem rule in Spain

The Moslem conquerors usually left the Spaniards their own laws and gave them native counts to collect the taxes and judge disputes. Unbelievers paid a graduated income tax according to their wealth, and all landed proprietors, whether converts or not, were subjected to an impost upon their crops averaging one fifth. In the process of conquest a considerable amount of land had been confiscated from those who persisted in resistance. This was now more widely distributed than before among a large number of Moslem proprietors. Slaves and serfs went with the land as before, but emancipation was to be won more easily than hitherto, especially by those who ran away from Christian to Moslem masters. These changes were not especially objectionable to the majority of the population, and during the eighth century Christian insurrections were almost unknown. As time went on, however, and more and more Christians became converts to Islam, the government treated the remainder with less consideration. The Mohammedan rulers had always controlled the summoning of Christian church councils by the clergy in their dominions, and they also sometimes sold the office of bishop or bestowed it upon persons objectionable to the Church. As the Moslems increased in numbers, there was a tendency to convert the cathedrals into mosques. In the ninth century the Christians were subjected to new and ruinous taxation, and occasionally to such decrees as that all inhabitants regardless of their religion must be circumcised. Indeed, the government, as is apt to be the case in Mohammedan countries, tended to become increasingly despotic.

Revolts and disunion

Moreover, those Christians who had turned Moslems were not satisfied with the small share allowed them in the government, and the Berbers and Syrians in Spain were also jealous of the Arab aristocracy. The result was a series of revolts. Indeed, the Berbers, who had been assigned by the Arabs the less desirable northern regions of Spain, had rebelled soon after the conquest. This revolt had been crushed and, together with a famine of five years' duration, had so weakened the Berbers that the Christians in the extreme north had been able to push them back and recover considerable territory. Between them and the retreating Berbers there lay long unoccupied a wide strip of land which had been denuded by war and famine. Toledo, the old Visigothic capital, is located almost exactly in the center of Spain, so that an Arabian geographer described it as nine days' journey alike from Lisbon on the west coast, Cordova in the south, the Christian pilgrim shrine of Saint James at Compostella in the north, and from Almeria and Valencia on the Mediterranean coast. Through the ninth century it was usually at war with the Sultan at Cordova and in alliance with the Christians of the north. Around Toledo in central Spain various Berber tribes were often at war with one another. In the south, in Andalusia, the real home of Arabic civilization in Spain, all was in revolt against the government of Cordova during the latter half of the ninth century. Bandits abounded and many nobles had turned brigands, so that a trip across Spain was a perilous undertaking. By the beginning of the tenth century the Fatimites were menacing Spain from North Africa.

Tenth-century caliphs

Abd-er-Rahman III (912–961) restored the power of Cordova, put down the rebellious nobles, held Ceuta opposite Gibraltar against the Fatimites, drove back the Christians of the north, took Toledo, and amassed a treasure of twenty million pieces of gold. His police maintained perfect order throughout the land; prices were low and almost everyone could dress well and afford a mule; Abd-er-Rahman assumed the title of caliph and built a new city just outside Cordova with a splendid palace for his harem of six thousand beauties. His successor, Hakam II, was the most learned of the Spanish Moslem rulers. He patronized scholars regardless of their nationality, religion, or irreligion, and founded many free schools for poor children in Cordova. The catalogue of his library is said to have filled two thousand pages. The next caliph was a mere figurehead, and the government was managed by his minister, Almansor, until his death in 1002. Almansor is credited with over fifty campaigns against the Christians of northern Spain, where he made the kingdom of Leon tributary and utterly demolished its capital. He also sacked Compostella and Barcelona. Forty poets accompanied him upon one of these northern expeditions; he constructed many roads and bridges, and enlarged the great mosque of Cordova; but he allowed the orthodox theologians to purge Hakam's library of objectionable works of philosophy and astronomy.

Caliphate of Cordova ends

The old Arab nobility had lost all its influence during the recent despotic reigns, and, when no able successor to Almansor appeared, the power fell into the hands of Berber generals and of the "Slavs." This name was at first applied to the captives from Slavonic Europe whom the East Franks and Byzantines sold as slaves to the Saracens. Then it was used to designate also Italians and others who were captured by Saracen pirates or purchased as children by Jewish slave-traders. Finally it came to denote all foreigners in the service of the caliph, whether as retainers in his bodyguard, eunuchs in his harem, or officials at his court. Abd-er-Rahman III had entrusted many important posts both civil and military to such foreigners in place of the troublesome old aristocracy. Now, after Almansor's death, a period of civil war set in. After bloody conflicts between divers candidates for the throne, in which the Berbers and "Slavs" participated, in which both sides summoned aid from Castile and Catalonia and gave away fortresses and territory to secure Christian aid, and in which Cordova and other cities were sacked and half destroyed, the Caliphate of Cordova came formally to a close in 1031. Cordova and Seville now became republics; Berber chieftains divided up the south, where Malaga and Granada were two of the chief states; and the "Slavs" ruled the east, where the leading princes were those of Almeria and of the Balearic Isles. Toledo again became a separate state; Arab families ruled at Valencia and Zaragoza, and there were yet other principalities.

Spread of Islam results

When we consider how many followers of Mohammed there are today in Asia, Africa, and even in Europe, and in the distant islands of the South Seas, we observe one great result of the events narrated in this chapter. It is also evident that the Byzantine Empire had been reduced by the loss of almost all its possessions in Asia and Africa to a comparatively small and weak state, and that Justinian's ideal of a reconstruction of the old Roman Empire would never be realized. Of the Mediterranean basin, which had been entirely included in the Roman Empire, the whole southern half had been lost. And as the Romans had never gained the eastern half of Alexander's empire, so now the eastern end of the Roman Empire was lost too. North

Africa, whose history had for so long been a part of European history, now goes its own way, and Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor do not concern the West again until the time of the crusades

The spread of Islam was a great blow to Christianity But we have seen that certain heretical sects benefited by it And it was not an unmixed evil for the papacy, since the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, which were the ones to suffer most, had never been under papal control, but were likely to be ruled from Constantinople There was now no danger that the emperor or the patriarch at that city would overshadow the pope Eastern Christianity had suffered most, leaving the pope undisputed head of the Church in the West. The papacy and Islam, therefore, grew in strength simultaneously and independently, and were not until later to lock horns in the crusades

Bibliographical Note

The Koran may be examined either in complete English translations, or in the selections made by S Lane-Poole, *Speeches and Table Talk of the Prophet Mohammed.* On Arabic literature, see Sir Charles Lyall's *Translations of Ancient Arabic Poetry*, or R A Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* and *Studies in Islamic Poetry.* The handiest biography of Mohammed is by Margoliouth, W Muir has told *The Life of Mohammed from Original Sources* On Arabia, besides C M. Doughty's celebrated *Travels in Arabia Deserta,* there are books by D. G. Hogarth and S M. Zwemer A recent authoritative *History of the Arabs* is by P. K Hitti (1940) The standard *History of Persia* is that of Sir Percy Sykes (3d edition, 1930) On Arabic social life, consult A. Goodrich-Freer, *Arabs in Tent and Town*, or P. Kennedy, *Arabian Society at the Time of Muhammad* On the caliphate, see the work of that title by Sir T W Arnold.

X

Arabic Civilization

Courts of the caliphs

Although the Arabs lacked the Roman genius for government, they rivaled the Romans as adapters, preservers, and spreaders of civilization. The courts of Damascus, Bagdad (home of the *Arabian Nights*), Cordova, and Cairo, were renowned each in turn for luxury, culture, and learning. The caliphs were in the main broad-minded and munificent patrons of the arts and letters. Therefore, while in the Christian West civilization had sunk so low that actually monasteries, where men's thoughts were supposed to be centered on another world, were its mainstay, in the Mohammedan Orient and in Spain civilization not merely was preserved, but in some respects progressed. The Moors or Berbers in North Africa remained, on the other hand, in a state of barbarism, and there were backward races waiting in the East who would one day submerge both Byzantine and Bagdad culture.

Language and literature

The Arabic language, even before Mohammed, was suited to literary expression and clear thinking. It was now to become a third great universal language rivaling Greek and Latin. The Koran was not supposed to be translated into other languages and therefore all Moslems were likely to learn some Arabic. Even non-Moslems found it advisable to do so and to use this language, if they wished to engage in business and commerce, to win favor and position at the court of the caliph, or to command the attention of the world of learning. Arabic was the language of religion, of officialdom, and of almost world-wide trade, and in the course of time became the prevailing medium for literature and learning. Even more than race or religion did it form a common bond between the far-flung Mohammedan territories, since comparatively few writers and fewer men of learning were Arabs, most of them being Persians, Syrians, or men of other nationalities who wrote in Arabic, and many of them being not Moslems but Christians, Jews, Harranians, or of other faiths.

In Spain by the ninth century even the Christians had become fascinated by Arabic literature. In 854, an ecclesiastical writer complained bitterly that Latin was neglected, that no one read the church fathers or the Scriptures, or could even compose a respectable letter in Latin to a friend. On the contrary, Christians took delight in the poetry and romances of the Arabs, and even studied their philosophy and theology, not to refute their errors, but to imitate their eloquence and elegance of style. Christians collected libraries of Arabic works, and many were able to write verses as good as those of the Arabs themselves. Our language today shows in a number of words the influence of the Arabs upon our civilization, for example, *mohair* and *mattress*, *muslin* (from Mosul in Mesopotamia), *sofa* and *alcove*, *tariff* and *admiral*, *algebra* and *zero*, *alcohol* and *benzine*, *spinach* and *artichoke*, *sherbet* and *syrup*, are words of Arabic origin. Spanish, of course, has many more words of Arabic origin than English has.

Moslem trade

The spread of Islam brought into close commercial relations countries stretching from India, or even Korea and Japan, in the East to Spain and the Atlantic coast of northwestern Africa. The Arabs lined the west coast of India with trading stations. They supplied distant China with sugar, dates, rose water, camphor, cotton, glassware, and wrought iron, especially weapons and coats of mail. From the Mediterranean ports of North Africa caravans traded with the interior as far as Lake Chad and the great rivers of central Africa. From Egypt and Arabia their commerce extended far down the east coast of the African continent. Ships from Alexandria and Syria thronged the harbors of Almeria and other Spanish ports, and poets, musicians, and singing girls were imported from the Orient to grace the courts of Mohammedan Spain. Over thirteen thousand Moslem coins dating chiefly before the eleventh century have been found in the far northern countries of Esthonia, Latvia, and Courland on the shores of the Baltic Sea, testifying to a considerable trade across Russia. Until the crusades the Moslems "unquestionably controlled the purse-strings of the world" (Beazley).

Bagdad under the Abbasids

Under the Abbasids Bagdad rivaled Constantinople as the mart and metropolis of the world. It was situated on the Tigris a few miles from the site of Ctesiphon, the previous Persian capital, and not far from the ruins of ancient Babylon on the Euphrates. The caliphs constructed as their own sumptuous residence a circular city, somewhat over a mile in diameter and filled with numerous palaces and pleasure-houses, parks and porticoes. Once, to avoid the mosquitoes, the caliph not only built a pavilion upon high ground, but further excluded the insects by an incantation. About this round city grew up various quarters and suburbs until in 978 the whole metropolis was five miles across. There was the Christian quarter with its monasteries, its richly adorned Jacobite and severely plain Nestorian churches. There was the

Harbiyah quarter, inhabited largely by Turkish and Persian immigrants There were the Jews' Bridge, the Suburb of the Persians, the Quadrangle of the Persians, the Shops of the Persian nobles, and the Market of the Syrian Gate, whence branched in all directions streets, courts, and alleys, each named after the province from which its residents had originally come

Trades and occupations

The names of the streets, gates, and bridges of Bagdad also give us a picture of the occupations and wares of the city We hear of the Market of the Perfumers, the Market of the Money-Changers, the Straw Merchants' Bridge, the Fief of the Carpet-Spreaders, the Hay Market, the Gate of the Horse Market, the Tanners' Yard, the Four Markets, the Upper Barley Gate, the Silk House, the Slaves' Barracks, the Road of the Cages, the Fullers' Road, the Gatehouse of the Date Market, the Needle-Makers' Wharf, the Archway of the Armorers, the Cotton Market In one part of the city Chinese goods were for sale, in another the famous Attabi stuffs (whence our expression "*tabby* cat"), woven in variegated colors of a mixture of silk and cotton. Here paper was manufactured of rags at a time when the Western world was still employing papyrus or parchment made of sheepskin as its writing materials Paper was originally discovered by the Chinese and was introduced among the Arabs in the eighth century, when factories were established at Samarkand and Bagdad In Bagdad, too, was a mill with a hundred millstones, said to have been built for an early caliph by a Byzantine ambassador, possessed of engineering skill, who died in 780 There were lanes lined with great warehouses and streets crowded with shops and bazaars — twenty-four shops of weavers of palm baskets, forty-three shops of perfume distillers, sixteen shops of drawers of gold wire, and over a hundred booksellers' establishments Bridges of boats seven or eight hundred feet in length connected the quarters on opposite sides of the Tigris An orphan school — for Moslem rulers often endowed education and provided for the poor — a hospital, an assembly hall of the poets, jails, cemeteries, mosques, and in East Bagdad alone some thirty colleges, were further features of the Paris of the Orient

Spanish towns

This Oriental city life was to be seen on a somewhat smaller scale in Spain, although not much smaller, if we accept the statements of Arabian writers that Cordova, the political and religious capital of Mohammedan Spain, had a population of half a million, over one hundred thousand residences, three thousand mosques, and three hundred public baths. It extended for three miles from east to west and for one mile from the Bridge Gate to Jews' Gate. It was famed for its scholars and merchants, and for the piety, intelligence, social elegance, and discriminating taste in matters of dress, food, and drink, of its inhabitants in general Its crowning feature was the great mosque with its sixty attendants, its thousand columns, its one hundred and thirty candelabras, its beautiful ceilings, arcades, enamels, its mosaics presented by the Byzantine emperor, its pulpit of ebony, box, and scented woods, on whose carvings and paintings six master workmen and their assistants had labored seven years, and its tower near by, whose minaret was reached by two winding staircases which never met until the very top. This mosque was at first flat-roofed, and has been criticized from the architectural standpoint as lacking any plan or structural originality or impressive open space

Other towns of Moslem Spain were smaller than Cordova, yet noted for their commerce or manufactures Almeria on the southern Mediterranean coast had eight hundred silk looms, nine hundred and seventy caravansaries licensed to sell wine, and manufactures of copper and iron utensils Its inhabitants were reputed to have more ready cash and greater stores of capital than those of any other Spanish city. Chinchilla produced woolen carpets that could not be imitated elsewhere. Tortosa was a center of shipbuilding owing to the impermeability of its pines to insects Seville, located on the Guadalquivir below Cordova, exported its cotton — a plant introduced into Europe by the Mohammedans — and olive oil to east and west by land and sea. Other places were noted for their figs and raisins, their drugs and colored earths, their iron industries and their draperies As the cherry and peach had been introduced to the Roman world from the Near East and Persia, so now the cultivation of oranges and lemons was brought by the Moslems to Spain Sugar was also raised there, and so became known from Spain to China at a time when Christian northwest Europe depended on honey for sweetening Mérida, in the northwest of the Spanish peninsula, had been called the Spanish Rome, and many Roman buildings are still standing In Visigothic times it was said to have eighty-four gates, five castles, and the almost incredible number of 3700 towers It fell to the Arabs in 713 but maintained its independence against the caliphs of Cordova. About 900 Rasis wrote, "No man on earth can describe the wonders of Mérida." Today it is a poverty-stricken place with a few thousand inhabitants Mohammedan Spain, in short, seems to have been very prosperous, and we hear of the emir or caliph leaving millions of gold pieces in his treasury at a time when no gold was coined in Western Christendom

The Koran is not favorable to philosophical speculation or to the scientific attitude, and the narrowly orthodox Moslem might hold that to commit the sacred book to memory was a sufficient education, and

Moslem thought

that it contained the entire law and theology of Islam. Nevertheless, learned Greeks, Syrians, and Persians living under Mohammedan rule were not bound by such scruples. And, as a result of contact with Hellenistic or Persian culture, the mental horizon and sympathies of many Moslems expanded beyond the narrow limits of the Koran. Moreover, the Koran itself required interpretation, and so furnished a pretext for further discussion and writing.

Greek influence

It was not until the ninth century that the Arabic-speaking world was initiated into Greek philosophy and science. Then the chief works of the Greek philosophers and scientists were translated into Arabic — often, however, indirectly from Syriac. Hunain ibn Ishak, known to the Latin-speaking world as Johannitius, was a leading translator. He preferred an idiomatic to a literal translation and omitted a verse from Aristophanes, which Galen had quoted, because it was unintelligible to him. Often he searched far and wide for a manuscript of the work which he wished to translate. He was told that there was a copy at Aleppo of one of Galen's works on the pulse, but failed to locate it. After scouring Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt for another work of Galen, he finally found at Damascus a manuscript which contained about half of it, and then an earlier Syriac translation of other parts of it. In later life Hunain revised many of his earlier translations, especially if better manuscripts of the original had come to his notice in the interim. He became so familiar with the style and content of Galen that he was certain that many texts ascribed to Galen were spurious. Greek poetry and other works of pure literature were less often translated into Arabic than philosophical and scientific writings. One reason was that the Arabs already had their own poetry. Another was that they felt that "most of the luster and splendor of poetry cannot be preserved in translation," and that much "of the meaning of a poem becomes distorted through the necessary change in structure" (Rosenthal).

After the leading works of Greek learning had been translated, commentaries were written in Arabic upon these authorities, or compilations were made from them. This was especially the case with the writings of Aristotle, whose philosophy and science gained greater fame and authority in Arabic than ever before. A long list of men of learning who wrote in Arabic has come down to us, too long to include here. They begin at Bagdad in the ninth century and last into the twelfth century in Spain. There was also no little writing in Hebrew. Life in the harem and the position of woman in Moslem society do not accord with Western and modern standards, but it was a poetess and musician, who came from Bagdad to Spain about 900, who wrote, "The most shameful thing in the world is ignorance, and if ignorance were a woman's passport to Paradise, I would far rather that the Creator sent me to hell!"

Averroes

Averroes (ibn Roschid) who flourished in Spain in the twelfth century was the leading commentator on Aristotle He held that Aristotle had not believed in individual immortality, but that there was one active Intellect into which human minds were merged again after death Although this particular Averroistic doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect was condemned by most Christians as heretical, they accepted Averroes in other respects as "the Commentator" *par excellence* on Aristotle

Geography

The Moslem conquests and even an Arabic-speaking world extended across three continents from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus River; the wares of the Moslems reached China, and their coins the Baltic. Arabia itself stretches between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf and south of the Tropic of Cancer to the Indian Ocean The sect of Ibadites "carried their polity, theology, and law to Zanzibar and East Africa " It is therefore not surprising that there were many Arabian travelers and geographers, or that they showed themselves well informed and capable of a cosmopolitan point of view We possess important works by Arabian geographers and tourists of the tenth and eleventh centuries who even penetrated Russia They corrected Ptolemy's measurement of the length of the Mediterranean from east to west, which had been some twenty degrees too short Albiruni's *Inquiry into India*, published in 1031, is an excellent first-hand account of that country and its peoples

Arabic geography continued under Christian auspices Roger, the Norman ruler of Sicily from 1130 to 1154, who introduced the manufacture of silk in Palermo, was especially interested in geography. He collected all the Arabian books on the subject that he could find and eagerly questioned travelers who came to his court and took notes on their accounts Finally the Arabian traveler and geographer Edrisi was given the task of combining these materials into a great work on the geography of the world Roger told him, "I want a description of the earth made after direct observation, not after books " The result was a work finished in 1154 and superior to any previous medieval geography. Indeed, even for Christian countries and to the very close of the Middle Ages, Moslem travelers writing in Arabic rank among our most illuminating and picturesque sources of information

A world-wide outlook was manifested by many writers in Arabic, and they were in a position to compare the peoples of different nations, civilizations, and parts of the earth One said that the Byzantines excelled with their heads, the Arabs with their tongues, the Persians with their hearts, and the Chinese with their hands Another associated the Arabs especially with poetry, the Byzantines with art, the Persians with statesmanship and administration, the Chinese with handicrafts and practical activity, the ancient Greeks with theoretical knowledge, the Hindus with occult lore, and the Turks with warfare and horsemanship

Medicine

Medical works composed in the Arabic language derived their basic theory from Greek medicine but introduced syrups, juleps, and all sorts of remedies and details of practice unknown to the ancients Of general treatments of the whole field of medicine, the most influential — at least for western Europe — was the *Canon* of Avicenna (ibn Sina), a Persian who died in 1037 This massive work is divided into five books, various tractates, and subdivisions of these known as *fen* It is based largely on the writings of Galen but arranges the material more systematically It was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona and was studied and lectured on at the medieval universities for centuries thereafter. Another general work, the *Royal Art of Medicine* of Haly or Ali ibn Abbas, was paraphrased in Latin by Constantinus Africanus in the eleventh century and translated by Stephen of Pisa in 1127 Still a third general work was by Rasis, who died in 923–924 after serving as physician in the hospital at Bagdad and who has been called "the first and most original of the great Moslem physicians" We have a list of over two hundred other works ascribed to him. In the general work, after an introduction to medicine, he discussed human anatomy, the four temperaments and humors (sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholy), diet and drugs, hygiene, cosmetics, regimen and remedies for travelers, surgery, poisons, the treatment for particular diseases arranged in top to toe order, and fevers

Rasis also composed various specialized treatises on such subjects as diseases of the joints, diseases of children, and smallpox and measles, in which he displayed great power of clinical description. A few other instances may be given of specialized medical works in Arabic which were very influential in Latin translation One was the book on medicinal simples of Serapion, another the *Grabadin* of Mesue (Yuhanna ibn Masawaih) on remedies for complaints of particular parts of the body; a third, the treatment of universal and of particular diets by Isaac Israeli (died c.932), "the first Jew, so far as we know, to devote himself to philosophical and scientific discussions" (Husik). This last work was made the subject of elaborate commentary by Petrus Hispanus, who became Pope John XXI (1276–1277), and was printed with Isaac's *Opera* in 1515. Eight of the titles of works ascribed to Rasis are alchemical and show that he believed in the transmutation of metals. None are extant in Arabic, and the Latin alchemical tracts current later under his name are generally regarded as spurious.

The first extant complete medical treatise on the eye is the early tenth-century Arabic work of Ali ibn Isa. It is largely a compilation from previous writings on the subject which are now lost: five Greek works of Herophilus, Demosthenes, Soranus, Galen and Alexander, and the earlier Arabic treatise of Hunain. It shows powers of observation, and much of its therapeutic is still sound. It gives one hundred and forty-one simple remedies and eighty compound medicines for eye troubles. In long and painful operations it recommends the use of stupefying drugs but does not describe them precisely. Latin translations were made of this work but are regarded as unsatisfactory by J. Hirschberg and J. Lippert, who in 1904 published a German translation from Arabic manuscripts.

Care of the insane

Besides general hospitals which sometimes included several wards, there were institutions for the insane at Bagdad and Cairo, and the first such in Christian lands were in Spain and so probably borrowed from Islam. In England in the fourteenth century *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman* still speaks of the insane as left at large,

> Walking witless but with a good will through many wide countries,

although the poet advises treating them kindly as

> Merry-mouthed men, minstrels of heaven, and God's boys.

The founder of the earliest hospital in Cairo used to visit it daily, until a lunatic who had begged a pomegranate from him, instead of eating it, hurled it at him so hard that it burst and stained his clothing, after which experience he refused to visit the hospital again.

Scholastic quibbles

The scholastic disputations of the later Latin Middle Ages and the foolish questions which the medieval schoolmen have been accused of debating had their precursors and models in Arabic learned discussion. For example, in the eleventh century the prevalent opinion among Arabian physicians was that the young of flying birds were of a hotter temperament than chicks of domestic fowls. A Christian of Bagdad who arrived at Cairo in 1049 learned that at the palace of the Vizier a Jacobite Christian from Damascus had contended that the opposite was true, and had baffled the Egyptian physicians by the argument that the chick was able to pick up its own food as soon as it was hatched, whereas the young of flying birds had to be fed in the nest for a long time. Stimulated by this report, the Bagdad man offered other arguments for the chick, although he did so only to prove his own intellectual cleverness, since he really held the usual view But this *tour de force* involved him in an exchange of no fewer than five treatises with a Cairo Moslem, than which Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof found nothing better to publish in 1937 as "a contribution to the history of Greek learning among the Arabs "

Alhazen and optics

Alhazen (ibn al-Haitham), who lived from about 965 to about 1040, has been called "the greatest Muslim physicist and one of the greatest students of optics of all times" (Sarton) His work on optics marked a great advance on the brief ancient treatises in that field by Euclid and Ptolemy. Employing both the experimental and the mathematical methods in masterly fashion, he described the eye better than had been done before, rejected the explanation of vision by visual rays or spirits going out from the eye to the object, and explained the phenomena of reflection and refraction, of twilight and camera obscura. He foresaw the possibility of magnifying lenses and tried to measure the height of the air

Astronomy

In astronomy Alfraganus (al-Farghani) in the ninth century wrote the handiest elementary treatise, while Albategni (al-Battani) in the tenth century, besides astrological writings, composed a more advanced work in which he added his own extended observations to those of Ptolemy and worked out new measurements and tables of the heavens It was translated into Latin twice in the twelfth century, but only the version by Plato of Tivoli has reached us Delambre, the French historian of astronomy in the early nineteenth century, was misled by slips in this version or at least in the Latin text as printed in 1537, but Nallino in 1899–1907 published the Arabic text and a more correct Latin translation based on it Abu-l-Wafa was not Albategni's equal in astronomy but made even greater contributions than he to the development of trigonometry Ibn Yunus, who died in 1009 at Cairo, was of less importance in trigonometry but was a great astronomer In the West in the eleventh century, Arzachel (al-Zarkali) of Cordova described an improved type of astrolabe, known as *saphea,* and edited the Toledan Tables, based in part on new observations of his own in 1061 and 1080 The Toledan Tables were used by astronomers generally until supplanted by the Alfonsine Tables in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries

Mathematics

Arabic mathematics continued along the lines of the Oriental development, which dated far back to ancient Babylonia, rather than in the direction of Greek mathematics, which had been primarily geometrical. Besides trigonometry, writers in Arabic developed more elementary forms of mathematics such as algebra and arithmetic. The very term, *Algorismus*, which was commonly applied to arithmetics by later medieval Latin writers, is a corruption of the name of Al-Khowarizmi, a mathematician who also composed astronomical works. The Hindu numerals which were transmitted to the West through writings in Arabic are still commonly called the Arabic numerals. Al-Khowarizmi solved quadratic equations, while the poet Omar Khayyam solved cubic equations geometrically.

Alchemy

Alchemy flourished in the Arabic-speaking world as it had in the previous Greek-speaking world and in distant China. Most of the Arabic alchemical literature continued to be marked by the fantastic, mystical, obscure, and magical features which had characterized the writings of the Greek alchemists of the third to fifth centuries of our era. Geber is the leading name, but the dates traditionally assigned him, in the eighth century, are obviously too early, while it is disputed to what extent the Latin works produced under his name about 1300 are indebted to Arabic alchemy. An Arabic treatise of A.D. 1034 has some correspondences with the later Latin "Geber." This work describes alchemical equipment and instruments, with accompanying figures, distinguishes between spirits and bodies, and gives their qualities and peculiar characteristics. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of Arabic alchemical activity in Spain and Sicily from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, but it would seem that there was little progress in chemistry in the Arabic world between the treatise of 1034 and the Latin "Geber." In an addition to the *Meteorology* of Aristotle on the congealing of stones, Avicenna called alchemy sophistical and fantastic, but an alchemical treatise was later ascribed to him.

Astrology

A host of writers on astrology in Arabic were translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and later were poured forth from the printing presses almost annually between 1473 and 1551. Albumasar (who died in 886) was perhaps the best-known name, although he really borrowed extensively from Alkindi. Alcabitius in the tenth century composed an introductory work. Others treated of (1) nativities, or prediction of the life of the individual from the hour of his birth; (2) elections, or choice of the favorable moment for action, (3) interrogations, or the answering of questions put to the astrologer, (4) the revolutions of years of the world, that is, the prediction of the weather and chief events of the coming year from the vernal equinox or position of the stars at the moment of the entry of the sun into the zodiacal sign Aries. Albumasar's chief work was perhaps that on great conjunctions of the planets and the historic changes which follow them. The Jew, Abraham Avenezra (c. 1090–1167), treated briefly in Arabic of a great variety of astrological themes, drawing his materials from such earlier authors as those mentioned above, and his manuals became very popular Even able astronomers, as we have seen, also wrote astrological treatises Thebit ben Corat (836–901), who devised a new theory of a second movement of the sphere of the fixed stars, besides that of daily revolution, in order to account for their apparent shifting in the course of time, also wrote of the astrological and magic images engraved on gems and other materials

The style and method of Arabic astrology may be illustrated by an excerpt from Albumasar's chapter on the meaning of comets according to the sign of the zodiac in which they appear

> When any comet appears in Taurus, it indicates wars and sufferings which will occur in the lands of the Christians, and serious diseases in those who dwell under the lordship of Taurus And there will be a shortage of bread there, while other regions remain fertile And there will be dissensions among them, which are produced by the power of that sign, and they will suffer harm from their enemies and also injure each other And there will be dry diseases among men such as scab and itching. And there will be a mortality of cows, and mines will give out and cultures and plants, and the grass in those regions will be destroyed And if the comet comes from the east, it shows that the king of that clime will be thoroughly terrified by his enemies, and the air will be corrupt for a long while, and diseases will increase in the summer time, and there will be a great mortality of cattle And if it is from the west, there will be much rain

The Arabic world was also much interested in various other forms of divination and magic, such as the art of interpreting dreams, amulets, talismans, incantations, fascination, and the invocation or conjurations of spirits and demons Toledo was said to have its schools of necromancy.

Arabic Science Summary

The scientific attainments of the Arabic-speaking world have often been portrayed by modern writers in too glowing colors. On the other hand, the Persian, Albiruni, one of the best informed and most level-headed members of that world itself, wrote in 1031, "What we have of sciences is nothing but the scanty remains of bygone better times" He held that it was impossible that a new science or any new kind of research should arise in his day Albiruni's own accomplishments rather belie this statement, however, since he investigated the number of petals on flowers, the specific gravity of a number of gems and metals, the determination of latitude and longitude, and, in addition to his book on India, wrote on astronomy and on ancient chronology, and gave the best medieval account of the Hindu numerals (Sarton). On the whole, the extant literature — much has perished —

indicates that many writers in Arabic had more of a flair for the occult and for pseudo-science with a romantic tinge than for exact and physical science with a severe method, and that, while certain gifted individuals made real contributions and advances, perhaps the greatest service rendered was to preserve and transmit to the Latin-speaking world a good deal of ancient science, and to act as a go-between from Persia, India, and perhaps China to western Europe

Moslem law

The Koran proved insufficient to solve the many legal problems which arose after the death of Mohammed with the spread of Islam and changing conditions and environment Moslem law was made by jurists who accompanied the conquering armies and who settled in the camp cities Lessons were learned from the courts of Roman law which were allowed to continue, for a time at least, in the occupied territories We have already mentioned the Traditions which supplemented the Koran and of which, two centuries and a half after the Hegira, there were said to be six hundred thousand in circulation, although the extant collections make a much smaller selection The lawyers also argued from analogy, agreement of authorities, and local usage In time there came to be four schools of law to one of which every lawyer must belong and adhere slavishly, not reinterpreting the sources for himself

Art

The Koran forbade sculpture or painting of men or animals as idolatrous, but architecture and decorative design were permissible forms of Moslem art Most structural and ornamental features of Moslem buildings seem of Byzantine origin, but the gypsum arch with honeycomb cells and pendant pyramids like stalactites, and the use of colored tiles and inlay come from Persia The very letters of the Arabic alphabet are beautiful, and from later centuries fine manuscripts are extant, especially illuminated manuscripts from Persia Persia also contributed elaborate decorative design seen in pottery, rugs, and delicate embroidery, as well as in painting A lavish use of color and intricate ornamentation distinguish the buildings of the Moslem period in Egypt and Spain (Figures 18 and 19)

Extent of Arabic influence

Much of the territory embraced by Islam had been desert to begin with. More had suffered from the decline of the Roman Empire and the period of invasions The armies of Islam spread over once fertile and urbanized regions which had been exhausted, disorganized, and demoralized by previous wars, and which were slow to recover anything like their former prosperity during the ensuing period of Mohammedan government or anarchy, as the case might be. Those same armies by their ravages depopulated and left

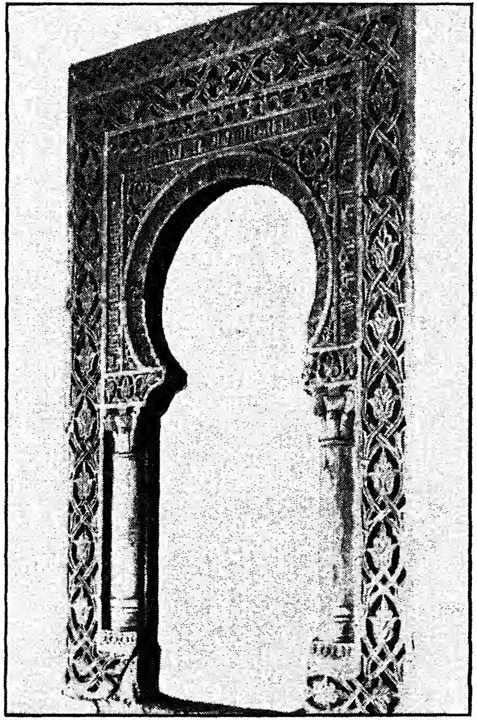


Figure 18

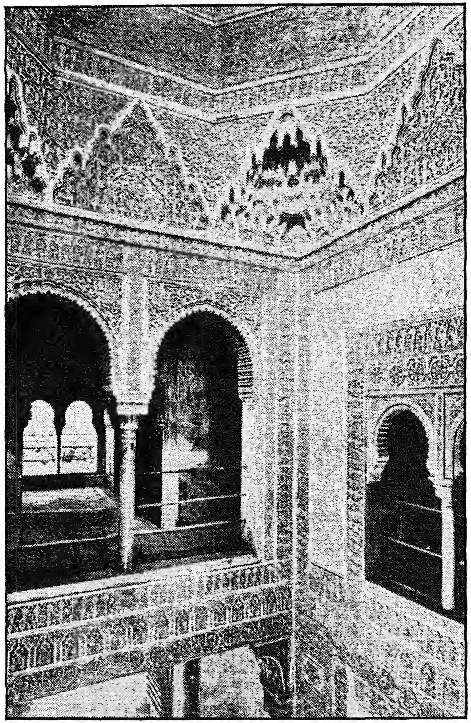


Figure 19

Left, Arabic detail in the cathedral of Tarragona, Spain; *right,* interior of the Alhambra, Granada barren and desolate considerable areas One such region was the northeastern part of Spain, which remained abandoned until repeopled later by settlers from north of the Pyrenees, another was North Africa, whose wheat fields once helped feed Rome but which today can hardly feed itself In the fertile valleys of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, and the Guadalquivir, in towns on trade routes and seacoasts, and in industrial centers, prosperity and civilization continued or revived But the brilliant culture that was focused in a few courts and capitals or scattered among a number of cities over a wide stretch of territory should not blind us to the fact that these centers of Arabic civilization were separated and surrounded by barren wastes, by ruined towns, and by abandoned countryside now become as unkempt and sand-strewn and forlorn as a Mohammedan graveyard in modern Egypt

The Arabic conquests were followed by a decline of civilization in the Near East and Persia, and although civilization seemed to blossom forth again under the Abbasids at Bagdad, the ensuing Turkish and Mongol invasions again made things worse than ever In western Europe the Moslems themselves maintained in the southern half of the Spanish peninsula a culture which was economically and intellectually superior to that of Christian western Europe By controlling the Mediterranean they cut off Western Christendom and reduced it to a lower economic level than before The regions that are today France, Germany, and England were thrown on their own resources, and one is even tempted to think that Western civilization might have revived more quickly if Charles Martel had been defeated But necessity is the mother of invention, and in a later chapter we shall see that these peoples beyond the Alps and Pyrenees, shut off from Mediterranean trade and reduced to an agricultural economy, were to introduce improvements therein leading to social and cultural progress And had Charles Martel been defeated, the papacy would hardly have made with his son that momentous alliance which shaped the course of future history.

Bibliographical Note

Albiruni's *India* was translated into English by E Sachau in 1888 On Arabic civilization in Spain, see the *Cambridge Medieval History*, III, chapter 16, "The Western Caliphate", R Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, E M Whishaw, *Arabic Spain* On Moslem religion, theology, and law, there are various books by D B. Macdonald and Grunebaum's more recent *Medieval Islam*, 1945 Good treatments of special fields are E B. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, H G Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, D E Smith and L C Karpinski, *The Hindu Arabic*

Numerals, Fr. Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 1947, T J de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, 1903, on occult science, Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, I, 641–671, on Moslem architecture, the works of M S Briggs, K A. C Creswell, E T Richmond, and C T Rivoira, on India and Islam, S K Bukhsh, *Studies Indian and Islamic*, or M T Titus, *Indian Islam* On the subsequent influence of Arabic civilization, consult T W Arnold and A Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam.* Avicenna, *De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum* was edited in Latin and Arabic with an English translation by E J Holmyard and D C Mandeville, Paris, 1927

XI

The Byzantine Empire from Arabic Conquests to Crusades

Lack of religious unity

As a result of the Arabic conquests and attacks upon Constantinople itself, the Byzantine Empire was very weak for some time Our sources become very scanty and unsatisfactory for many sides of its history and civilization Often they tell more about its relations with the West than about internal events or relations with the barbarians in the Balkans Attempts of the emperors to procure religious unity by compromises were unsuccessful and only stirred up further religious strife Heraclius, who was of Armenian descent and had attacked Persia through Armenia, had tried to come to an agreement with the Armenian Monophysites by the doctrine of one energy in Christ, although two natures When this doctrine satisfied neither side, an imperial *Ekthesis* of 638 forbade use henceforth of either expression, one energy or two energies, and instead affirmed one will in Christ, just as He was a single person, although with two natures, divine and human. This compromise, suggested by the patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople, likewise failed to produce religious peace Constans II in 648 thereupon removed the *Ekthesis* from the doors of Saint Sophia and posted a *Typos* which forbade any further discussion of one or two wills The next year a papal council at the Lateran in Rome condemned the *Typos* as well as the *Ekthesis* For this the pope was arrested in 653, brought to Constantinople by slow and painful stages, and tried as an illegitimate pope and a traitor to the empire He died in 655 and was regarded as a martyr, as was Maximus the Confessor, the leading theologian in that century, who also had opposed the *Typos*

Constans II

After his ill-treatment of these two clergymen and his murder of a third, who was his own younger brother, shortly after receiving the sacrament from him, Constans II found it advisable to leave Constantinople in 660 for the remainder of his reign. He first visited Saloniki and Athens, then landed in southern Italy with an army made up largely of Armenians. He re-established order in North Africa, but failed to retake Beneventum from the Lombards At Rome, which no emperor had visited for nearly two centuries, he was received with great pomp by Pope Vitalian and made gifts to the church of Saint Peter, but stripped the Pantheon, although it too was now a church, of its tiles of gilded bronze He passed on to Sicily, where he was rejoined by his family, which he had left behind in Constantinople A few years later in 668, at the age of thirty-eight, he was assassinated in his bath His immediate successors likewise came to the throne young and died young Justinian II, who was sixteen at his accession in 685, after grandiose but vain efforts to emulate his great namesake, lost the throne in 695 but recovered it with Bulgarian aid from 705 to 711 The continual barbarian menace is illustrated by two decrees of the Quinisext Council in 692 that annual synods be called by archbishops unless the region is occupied by barbarians, and that clergy who have fled from the barbarians return when peace is restored

Leo III

With Leo III the Isaurian (717–741), who was a successful general, greater political stability was re-established, and an Isaurian dynasty founded which reigned until 802 Leo easily quelled several revolts, repeopled Constantinople after a pestilence, and created new *themes* in Asia Minor, that is, provinces under military rule where an army corps was permanently established

The system of themes

At some earlier date a military reform had been effected by which the extensive use of bands of barbarians under their own leaders, a practice which Theodosius the Great had introduced and Belisarius and Narses had continued, was abandoned for a more unified organization under the direct command of the emperor with a regular division of the various army corps or themes into subordinate military units By the first half of the ninth century there were twenty such themes nine in Europe, nine in Asia, and two maritime provinces A century later there were twenty-nine of them in all The system of themes seems to have resulted in the settlement of soldiers, on their retirement, in the locality where they had been stationed, in the consequent development of free agricultural communities, and in local enlistment from these A later law of the tenth century says: "It is the multitude settled on the land who provide for the needs of society, pay the taxes, and supply the army with recruits "

Iconoclasm

It was in the reign of Leo III that the Iconoclastic or image-breaking movement began The symbolism of early Christian and Byzantine art had altered to more realistic representations of sacred personages and story, which were often superstitiously reverenced by the people Against this there now came a reaction Unfortunately for our understanding of the movement, our sources of information are all hostile to Iconoclasm Perhaps it was suggested by the action of the caliph, who in 723 ordered the destruction of all images in temples, churches, and houses Soon after, certain Christian bishops in Asia Minor took similar action The Iconoclastic edict of the emperor in 726 is attested only by Syrian sources and may have been local in its application But by 729 there were revolts both in the East and in Italy against his new taxes and his Iconoclasm He seems to have ordered the removal or destruction of images from churches and the whitewashing over of pictures, on the ground that veneration of them bordered upon idolatry, and in the hope of conciliating the Nestorians, whose churches had little ornamentation, and the Monophysites, who objected to human likenesses of Christ The Iconoclastic party also felt strongly against the cult of relics of the saints, and was hostile to the monks, who for their part supported the use of images A further possible motive of the emperor was a fear that the Church was gaining too great a hold on the people, accompanied by a desire to reassert his own supremacy in religion, art, and the popular mind The Patriarch of Constantinople retired to private life rather than sign an imperial act of 730 against images; the pope at Rome urged the retention of images in churches But the imperial government persisted in its Iconoclastic policy and in 754 secured the assent of a church council At the end of the century the Empress Irene re-established images, but Leo the Armenian renewed the prohibition in 815, and it was not until the regency of another woman, Theodora, that they were permanently legalized in 842 In practice, however, the sacred icons of the Eastern Church were henceforth paintings rather than sculpture A Western writer in the thirteenth century stated that the Greeks "employ painted representations and paint, it is said, only from the navel upward, that all occasion of vain thoughts may be removed But they make no carved image, since it is written, 'Thou shalt not make a graven image '" Or, as Ladner has put it, "As a lasting consequence of Iconoclasm, sculpture in the round disappeared completely from Byzantine art "

Additional law books

The attempt of Justinian to check further legal commentaries had not succeeded, but the subsequent legal writing had shown a continued mental decline The *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V was a handy manual which simplified Justinian's law books and added popular customary law, provincial Greek institutions, and more Christian influence. The rights of the mother and of the wife were increased On the other hand, new and cruel punishments were introduced. About 890 Leo the Wise issued the *Basilics*, a synthesis in Greek of the *Code*, *Digest*, and *Institutes*, with additions from the commentators of the sixth and seventh centuries He also promulgated one hundred and thirteen *Novels* or new laws

Agricultural regulations

Agricultural regulations of uncertain date (perhaps about 700) are meant for free village communities and show that serfdom was not general, probably much less prevalent than in the West Heraclius had abolished the free distribution of grain in Constantinople, and after the loss of Egypt to the Moslems, its grain supply was no longer available This may have resulted in stimulating agriculture which was carried on nearer to Constantinople and in making the growing of cereals there more profitable than before, and so in promoting the growth of free agricultural communities

The Balkan peninsula

The Bulgars and the Slavs, who defeated the imperial army in 679–680, were a decade later defeated by Justinian II The emperor enrolled in his army the prisoners he took, and cantonned them in Bithynia in Asia Minor The Bulgars between the Danube and Balkan Mountains then consolidated into an organized unit, and, as we have seen, helped Justinian II to regain the throne After 745, numerous Syrians and Arabs were settled in Thrace and are supposed to have spread Manichaeism and the heresy of the Paulicians But there were also seven different racial groups of Slavs in this region The Slavs pressed south into Thrace and Macedonia, and thence west into Albania, Dalmatia, and the eastern Alps, and southward into the Greek peninsula Concerning this great shift of population there is only one contemporary source of the seventh century, but conclusions are also drawn from the relative frequency with which Slavic place names supplanted those of classical times The name *Serb*, for that southern Slavic people, does not occur in our scanty extant sources until the ninth century.

It is also supposed that at this time the Slavs left Dacia in such numbers, in order to migrate south of the Danube, that descendants of the inhabitants of the previous Roman province came again to preponderate in the region which is today called on that account Rumania and which has a speech allied to the Romance languages

In the Greek peninsula the Greek language has survived, but modern Greek differs a good deal from ancient, especially in the vocabulary which contains many Slavic as well as other new words The population ceased to be of pure Greek descent, and as late as the fifteenth century there were still in Laconia, at the very south of the peninsula, people speaking a Slavic dialect. Some of the Greek cities, however, survived all the waves of invasion and kept up their trade with Constantinople.

Between the reigns of Justinian and Charlemagne, Rome remained

Byzantine Rome

pretty much a Byzantine city, full of monks and traders from Syria and Egypt, and with an art "no less Oriental than that of Ravenna, the half-Syrian city on the Adriatic" (Dalton) Whereas the emperors might come from almost any region and stock within the empire, of ten popes between 685 and 741 five were Syrian, four were Greek, and only one was a Roman John Moschus, author of *The Meadow* or *New Paradise*, who traveled throughout the Near East and collected stories in Greek of the lives and miracles of the ascetics of Palestine, Egypt, and Sinai, died at Rome in 619

Early Venice

After Ravenna fell to the Lombards in 751, Venice developed into the chief Byzantine seaport in the northern Adriatic Situated on a number of small islands or banks of mud in a lagoon a little north of the mouths of the Po and Adige Rivers, Venice was secure from attack either by land or sea The original scanty population of fisher-folk was gradually augmented by fugitives from the successive waves of barbarian invasion that swept over northern Italy Theodoric the East Goth sought the aid of these islanders in transporting supplies across the Adriatic from Istria, and Belisarius made use of their boats in the siege of Ravenna In 697 they are said to have elected their first doge, a single ruler for life, in place of the twelve tribunes representing as many island communities The doge seems to have been much like the elected kings of the German tribes He tried to associate his son with himself in the government and thus secure his succession to the office and alter the headship from an elective to a hereditary one On the other hand, many a doge was slain by some rival, much as kings were in the German states in the West, or was blinded in Byzantine fashion, so that the life tenure of the position was often of short duration Charlemagne, although master of Lombardy, had to leave Venice to the Byzantine emperor At about this time, too, the dwellers in the lagoon concentrated their population and made their capital in the central group of islands called the Rialto, which lies halfway between the mainland and the Adriatic beach of the outer islands of the lagoon With this change the definite settlement of Venice proper and its life as a town may be said to have begun In the early ninth century, too, tradition tells us, the Venetians brought the body of their patron, Saint Mark, from Alexandria

The relations at this period between Venice and the Byzantine Empire were close Many of the doges visited Constantinople to receive confirmation in their office and further Byzantine titles, or sent their sons thither to be educated or to be recognized as the future rulers of Venice Also the Venetians were granted trading privileges at Constantinople in return for services which their ships rendered in transporting troops and in naval battles In 991, for instance, they were granted usually low tariff rates and an expeditious settlement of their lawsuits at Constantinople

Sicily, southern Italy

When Pope Gregory II opposed Iconoclasm, the Exarch of Ravenna, who had been driven out by the revolt, tried to have him assassinated, and the emperor tried to carry off his successor to Constantinople Failing in this, he took Illyricum, Sicily, and Calabria in southern Italy away from the pope and placed them under the Patriarch of Constantinople In southern Italy, indeed, during the period from the sixth to the tenth century when it was under Byzantine control, the immigration of Greeks considerably altered the complexion of the population

The Byzantine Empire lost Sicily to the Saracens in the ninth century, and what little territory it still held in southern Italy to the Normans in the eleventh But monasteries of the Greek Church which had been founded in these regions continued long after, while the Greek language continued to be spoken in southern Italy until the early fourteenth century

Peasants and slaves

The period from 850 to 1050 has been called one of "incomparable prosperity" (Diehl) for the Byzantine Empire Basil I founded the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056), ruling himself from 867 to 886 after having been co-emperor for some years with the youthful Michael III the Drunkard, who came to the throne in 842 at the age of six and whom Basil finally found it necessary to put out of the way. We have seen that free village communities were common around 700 The Iconoclastic emperors had tried to abolish serfdom and to recognize only slaves and free peasants who might go where they wished and be released from forced labor Under Basil I the old conditions tended to recur, though he tried to keep the peasant free But he increased the crown lands, and the church estates also grew with donations Those who tilled these lands and also those of large landowners tended to revert again toward serfdom Prices for slaves in the ninth century varied from ten *nomismes* for a child under ten, to twenty for an unskilled worker over ten, thirty for a skilled workman, fifty for a notary, sixty for a physician, and seventy for a eunuch skilled in a trade When Liutprand the Lombard went as envoy to Constantinople in the tenth century, he delighted the emperor with a gift of four eunuchs, he states that the merchants of Verdun made immense profits by selling such slaves to Moslem Spain The legislation of Basil II (976–1025) again favored the free peasant

In the ninth century other cities besides Constantinople were prosperous from trade and industry, such as Corinth in the Greek peninsula and Adana in Cilicia. At Constantinople foreign trade was subject to protective tariffs and foreign merchants to strict regulation. Commercial treaties were made from time to time with foreign states; for example, in 922 with Venice, and in 911, 944, and 971 with Russian princes. Domestic industry was also under strict state control, and first of all served the needs of the imperial palace and army. There were various gilds, of which we learn from the *Book of the Prefect*, dating from the tenth century and discovered in 1892 in a manuscript in the library of Geneva. But the gilds had doubtless been in existence for a long time before. Diehl has described them as "hermetically sealed, minutely regulated, closely watched," with no place for free labor or individual initiative. They were under strict direction of the city prefect, and their members were punished like slaves by being whipped and having their heads shaved, if they violated the gild regulations. The prefect named the presidents of the gilds, approved the admission of new members, who paid an entrance fee, and acted as judge of the infraction of rules. The bakers must consult him whenever the price of grain went up or down, so that the weight of the loaf of bread might be adjusted to correspond in value. The ideal of a just price prevailed, efforts were made to prevent oppression of any sort; specialization was encouraged; middlemen were suppressed so far as possible and sales made directly from producer to consumer. Withholding goods from sale was forbidden. In general, except for the greater power of the prefect, the regulations were similar to those made later by Western town governments. Cabarets were closed at night, and on Sundays and holidays until the second hour.

Byzantine gilds

Was such regimentation a discouragement to invention? At least the Byzantines produced the drawloom and Greek fire, both of which have already been mentioned. Lateen sails, the forerunners of fore-and-aft rigging which makes tacking against the wind practicable, appear in Greek miniatures of the ninth century.

Byzantine literature

In the realm of literature, the period from 650–800 was a barren one, except for hagiography, mysticism, and some fine liturgic poetry. But from the ninth to the twelfth century there was much reading and writing. To a large extent, however, this literary activity consisted in making inventories and digests of past Greek literature. Such a work is the *Myriobiblos* (Ten Thousand Books) of Photius in the ninth century. Suidas composed a famous lexicon about 970. A synthesis of all historians was made in fifty-three books, and many other encyclopedias and compilations were produced. Such books are of great value to the classical scholar, since they record or preserve fragments from many lost works, but they show little new thought or life The titles of some of the tenth-century encyclopedias sound like Chinese ones Some lively historians, among them the daughter of an emperor, Anna Comnena, wrote of their own times In fact, a number of the emperors turned author Then there were narrative poems or epopees, with allusions to recent events, comparable to the *chansons de geste* of the feudal West But as a rule Byzantine literature lacked naturalness and originality and was written in learned classical Greek and not the language of the people Greek culture did not die out at Constantinople, as it was doing in the West, but it was preserved in cold storage

Lack of science

Of Byzantine science during this period there is little trace After 650 there is no one to match the earlier medical writers Even the meager science of the Venerable Bede in distant Britain, based as it was merely on Pliny's *Natural History* and on the writings of Isidore of Seville, has been judged (by Duhem) superior to that of John of Damascus, who had at hand all the resources of Eastern libraries but who was less curious about nature Duhem thought that Bede reflected the naiveté of the western barbarian invaders, John, the senility of Greek culture. He interpreted comets as divine signs rather than as natural phenomena In the eleventh century the Platonist, Michael Psellus, wrote on everything under the sun as well as theology At the age of fourteen he knew the *Iliad* by heart, for a time he was professor of philosophy at Constantinople, with a colleague in law, later he held political posts. For both the politics and the culture of the Byzantine Empire of that time, our chief sources are his history, letters, and treatises on many subjects including demons, medicine, and alchemy. But he was a polyhistor, not a scientist

Theology

John of Damascus, as has been suggested, was more a theologian than a natural philosopher, and as such was later to be much cited in the Latin West. His chief work, *The Fountain of Knowledge*, was in three parts The first part was philosophical and based especially upon Aristotle and Porphyry The second part described a hundred heresies, adding accounts of Islam and Iconoclasm to those listed by previous Christian writers The third part was devoted to dogmatic theology At the Frankish court in the ninth century most Latin translations from the Greek were of religious writings and executed by Byzantine monks.

Architecture and art

In architecture there was nothing in succeeding centuries to rival Saint Sophia. Indeed, the day of immense structures in the East was over (see Figure 21), and the chief original building in this period developed in distant Armenia, whose deserted capital, Ani, a city with walls three and a half miles in circuit, is still marked by

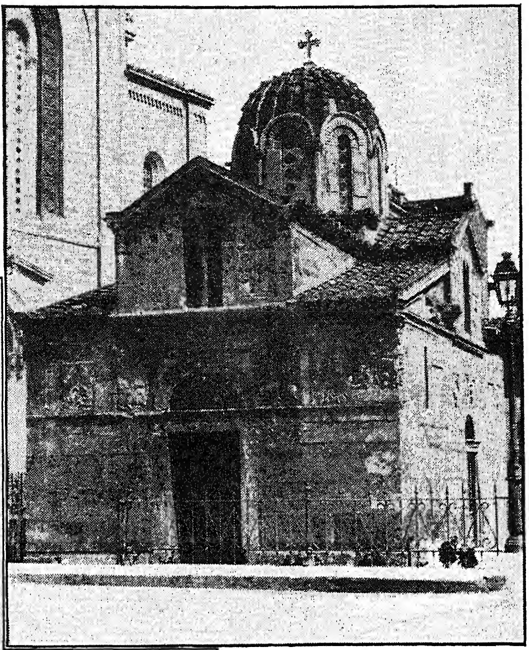


Figure 21

Left, church tower at Zaragoza, Spain; *right*, early ninth century Byzantine church at Athens; note that it is below the present street levels.

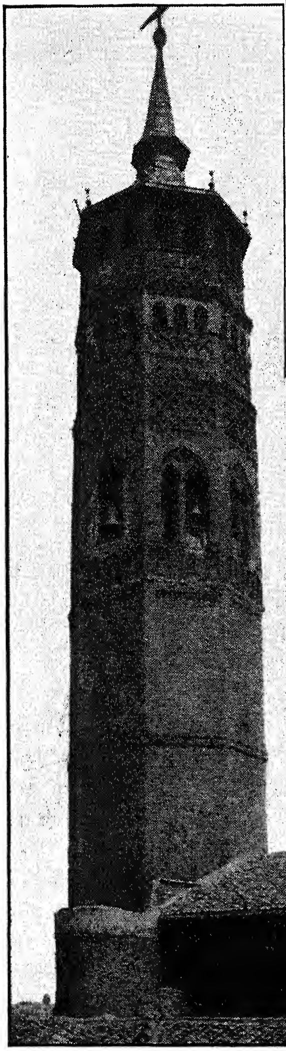


Figure 20

impressive ruins of stone churches, although not a trace of private houses remains

Nevertheless, for several centuries the Byzantine Empire led the world in art Almost all fine work in gold, silver, or bronze, in ivory carvings or colored enamels, that one finds in museums of western Europe as dating from before the twelfth century, is pretty sure to be of Byzantine workmanship The influence of Byzantine architecture, with its concentric plan, its domes and cupolas, its capitals and mosaics, its Oriental tinge, may be seen in southern France and elsewhere, as well as in Italy In the Byzantine painting and mosaic, the faces, costumes, and draperies change to suit the times, and since the motive of art is Christian and Oriental rather than classical, the artists strive to express saintliness rather than physical beauty and emphasize color rather than form Christian symbolism tended to become conventionalized and traditional, but we also find periods of schools of realism and experimentation in the long history of Byzantine painting. Many new decorative patterns appear, drawn perhaps ultimately from Persia Byzantine art suffered from the Iconoclastic movement of the eighth and ninth centuries, after which sculpture was practically non-existent Later, many art treasures of Constantinople were carried off to the West, like the four bronze horses from Chios which are now at the church of Saint Mark in Venice, but which used to stand above the imperial box in the Hippodrome But Kingsley Porter tells us that "modern art may be considered to have begun with the Byzantine renaissance of the tenth century By the eleventh century the renaissance had enflamed the entire continent of Europe "[1]

The Balkans converted

Christian missions had flourished during the reign of Justinian, but during the next two centuries such activity had been more characteristic of the West In the period from 642 to 731, Christianity was spread among the Serbians and Croatians by Latin-speaking clergy The conversion of these Balkan peoples was superficial, however, and the church service in Latin took slight hold upon the masses It was only when the Scriptures were translated into a Slavonic version by the two brothers, Constantine (or Cyril) and Methodius, and when the liturgy also was put into Slavic, that Christianity really became the religion of the people This occurred in the second half of the ninth century under the auspices of the Eastern Church The Croatians, however, soon returned to their allegiance to the papacy In 864, the Bulgarian monarch, Boris I, was converted to Christianity, and, after some vacillation between the Eastern Church and the Church of Rome, finally adhered to the former He later abdicated in order to enter a monastery The first Serbian churches were hardly big enough to hold the priest and altar, the people stood outside in the churchyard, which also served as a cemetery

---

[1] Quoted from his "Pilgrimage Sculpture," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 26 (1922), 1-53, by permission

Symeon of Bulgaria

We may further note the expansion of the Bulgarians who in the ninth century extended their borders to the west and southwest The period from 893 to 1018 is distinguished as the first Bulgarian Empire Boris, the first Christian king, had been obliged to leave his monastic retirement for a time in order to blind his ruling son, who had turned back again toward heathenism Boris replaced him by a younger brother, Symeon, who had been educated at Constantinople and who lived like a hermit, touching neither meat nor wine Symeon, however, was ambitious and tried to conquer Rumania and to become emperor of Constantinople The Byzantine Empire stirred up against him the Magyars, then located in Bessarabia, but he too found allies in the Turks of the Pontus Steppe The Magyars were defeated and driven into Hungary, whence they began a series of westward invasions yet to be recounted Constantinople had to pay the Bulgarians tribute In 904, Arab corsairs further weakened the Byzantine Empire by seizing Saloniki at the head of the Aegean Sea In a second Bulgarian war (913–927) Thrace and Serbia, whose prince was a vassal of the Byzantine emperor, were almost depopulated, but Croatia held out against the Bulgarian advance Before his death in 927, Symeon made an alliance with the Fatimites in North Africa His pious son, Peter, however, made peace with Constantinople, and during his reign the Magyars ravaged eastward as well as westward, and forced both Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire to pay them tribute The Serbians, who had been driven from their country in the recent Bulgarian war, took advantage of this setback for Bulgaria to return to their homes But of either Serbia or Croatia we know nothing more during the remainder of the tenth century

Eastern Europe

The Emperor Constantine VII (911–959), called *Porphyrogennetos* from his birth in the purple room of the palace at Constantinople, has left us numerous writings on agriculture, economics, laws, morals, tactics, and court etiquette, which had become very intricate and complicated In a treatise *On the Administration of the Empire*, he refers to the various barbarian peoples on the northern and eastern frontiers of the Byzantine Empire What is now Rumania and southwestern Russia — in other words, the region from the mouth of the Danube to the Sea of Azov — was then held by the Petchenegs or Patzinaks, a fierce and barbarous people of Asiatic and nomadic origin Northwest of them were the Russians, with the two chief towns of Kiev in the south and Novgorod in the north Northeast and east of the Petchenegs, in what is now eastern Russia, were the Khazars, the only barbarians in Europe who were converted to the Jewish faith West of the Petchenegs lay a territory which was disputed between them and the Magyars of Hungary

Byzantine expansion

In the East, as the power of the Arabs and Bulgarians declined in the course of the tenth century, the Byzantine Empire began to expand again The islands of Crete and Cyprus, the city of Antioch, and a large part of Syria, were recovered from the Saracens, and the frontier was extended to the upper Euphrates Farther north an advance was made to the Caucasus Mountains In Europe, especially during the reign of Basil II (976–1025), all Bulgaria was brought under Byzantine rule Once Basil blinded fifteen thousand Bulgarian captives and sent them home as a warning, leaving one prisoner out of every hundred one eye in order that he might serve the others as a guide Basil's sister married the Prince of Russia, who thereupon adopted Christianity While the Serbs were allowed local autonomy under their own rulers, they were forced to recognize the overlordship of Constantinople, by whose territories they were surrounded on the east, south, and southwest

In 1056, after reigning at Constantinople for nearly two centuries, the Macedonian dynasty died out, and for a generation there was confusion and anarchy in the Byzantine Empire.

Bibliographical Note

To the works noted at the close of Chapter V may be added Chapters 22, 23, and 24 in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol IV, S Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, and an interesting series of articles by Kirsopp Lake on "The Greek Monasteries of South Italy," in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV and V (1903–1904) The agricultural regulations for free village communities have been translated with a commentary by W. Ashburner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 32 (1912), 68–95 On the Slavs S. H. Cross, *Slavic Civilization Through the Ages* (1948), chapters 1, 2, and 3.

XII

The Frankish Empire

We now turn our attention once more to the Frankish kingdoms, which under the lead of Charles Martel had brought the westward drive of the Arabs to a halt, and which were to be the center of interest in the West for the next century or so Indeed, except for the Anglo-Saxons and their adversaries in the British Isles and the Lombards and their rivals in the Italian peninsula, the Franks included within their borders practically all that was left of Western Christendom Christian territory in the West had shrunk to a scanty area limited on the northeast by heathen hordes and on the south by the waves of Mohammedan conquest Moreover, this scanty area was in a rude, inland, and agricultural condition, with no flourishing industries, and with foreign trade either cut off or monopolized by the Scandinavians, who controlled the seas to the north, and by the Saracens and Byzantines, who held the Mediterranean and the routes to the East

Mayor of the palace

We have spoken in a previous chapter of the worthless later Merovingian kings who followed Dagobert But there had to be someone to repel invaders like the Arabs, to protect and control the Church, to keep some order among the great landed proprietors, to see that the local officials did not abuse their offices, and in general to do those things that the kings ought to do, but were now neglecting. The chief official at the Frankish palace, to whom the agents in charge of the royal domains and the other local officials reported, was the *major domus*, or mayor of the palace As Gregory the Great had developed the papal power by his activity as landlord of the widely scattered landed estates owned by the Roman Church, so the mayors of the palace waxed powerful through their superintendence of the Frankish royal domains In the end this steward of the king's estates took the supreme charge of all state business at the palace into his own hands, and he also led the army to war. All this he was enabled to do, not only because of his handy situation at the palace, but because most of the nobility were his supporters and he could count upon their armed aid to crush his rivals

Origin of the Carolingians

Under Dagobert's predecessor, who was originally King of Neustria only, both Burgundy and Austrasia were really governed by mayors of the palace In Austrasia the mayor was Pepin of Landen, or Pepin I, and the other leading man of that kingdom was Arnulf, Bishop of Metz Arnulf's son — for Roman Catholic bishops married in that age — married one of Pepin's daughters and became mayor for a time Pepin's son, Grimoald, tried to supplant a "good-for-nothing" king entirely by his own son, but the other nobles refused and he was put to death But a generation later Pepin of Heristal, or Pepin II, the grandson of Pepin I and Arnulf, became mayor of the palace in Austrasia, and by the victory of Testry in 687 gained control of Neustria also, and ruled over all the Franks until his death in 714

Charles Martel

It had been Pepin's intention that his grandsons should succeed him as mayors, but they were not yet of age, and his illegitimate son Charles, known later as "the Hammer," or "Charles Martel," from his military successes, eventually gained control of all three Frankish kingdoms In order to secure soldiers against the Arabs he seized large amounts of church lands and granted the use of them for life to his followers Such measures brought him into disrepute with the monkish chroniclers of the time, but show his power over the Church, and gained him a strong party of supporters among the nobility The Church in Gaul was badly disorganized at this time, and hardly a council was held between 673 and 742 Both Pepin II and Charles Martel encouraged missionaries to, and kept fighting against, the Germans east of the Rhine, endeavoring to bring the Thuringians, Alamanni, and Bavarians back under Frankish control, making partial conquests at the expense of the Frisians and raids into the territory of the Saxons Thus, while checking the Moslem advance from the southwest, they continued the Christian expansion to the northeast

Pepin III

Charles Martel, who always had acted as if he were king, but who still lacked the title, died in 741, leaving two sons, Carloman and Pepin III Carloman soon went off to Italy to become a monk, leaving his children to the protection of his brother, who took care that they should become monks too Pepin III now decided to renew the attempt at the throne which his ancestor, Grimoald, had made prematurely He first obtained the approval of the pope and then that of a general assembly of the Franks In addition to the old German custom of being raised upon a shield, he was anointed king by Saint Boniface, apostle to the Germans and promoter of papal influence This new ceremony gave to the royal office a sacred character and, as it were, divine approval, and so an added power which the Merovingians had lacked.

Later on the pope himself anointed Pepin and pronounced a curse against anyone who should try to disturb the hereditary succession in Pepin's family, thus establishing a new Carolingian dynasty. But Pepin's resort to the papacy to sanction his taking the crown, and setting up a new dynasty, furnished a dangerous precedent. Later popes might claim the right to depose as well as to appoint secular monarchs, and might pose as supreme international arbiters.

Lombard kings in Italy

The pope had reason to cultivate Pepin's friendship, since he found himself in an embarrassing position both as regards the Iconoclastic Byzantine emperor, Leo III, and the king of the Lombards. At this time the Lombards had an able king, Liutprand. He first took advantage of the revolt of the pope and the Italians against the exarch to make a number of conquests at the expense of the latter. But when the exarch aided him against the independent Lombard dukes in central and southern Italy, he reciprocated by forcing the pope to end the revolt against the emperor. The pope then adopted the policy of joining with the Lombard dukes against the king and in 739 refused to surrender to Liutprand the Duke of Spoleto, who had taken refuge in Rome. When Liutprand advanced against Rome, the pope appealed to Charles Martel. Since, however, Liutprand had just been helping Charles against the Moslems in southern Gaul, Charles refused and the papacy had to abandon its policy of alliance with the dukes of Spoleto and Beneventum. Liutprand was a good ruler for those days and a good Catholic, considerate of the papacy, but he aimed at making himself king of all Italy and the pope was determined that this should not happen. Nevertheless by 751 Liutprand's successor, Aistulf, had conquered Ravenna and put an end to the exarchate. The next year he appeared before the walls of Rome, demanding tribute and recognition of his sovereignty. Both the imperial envoys and the pope himself pleaded with him in vain to grant easier terms and to relinquish some of his conquests. Aistulf was not so easily moved as Liutprand, who had more than once stayed his attack at the pope's personal intervention.

Pepin in Italy

Pope Stephen II (752–757) thereupon crossed the Alps to complain in person to King Pepin, who, if we believe the pope's biographer, prostrated himself before the pontiff and then walked at his side leading his horse by the bridle. By a march into northern Italy Pepin forced Aistulf to promise to restore his conquests and to recognize Pepin as his overlord. But as soon as the Franks had gone home, Aistulf resumed the siege of Rome. Pepin thereupon came south again and forced Aistulf to carry out the previous treaty and to pay a large indemnity besides. But the conquests which Aistulf restored were not given back to the Byzantine emperor or to his exarch Pepin had not twice defeated the Lombard king for their sakes, but from reverence for the grave of the Apostle Peter Indeed, to hasten Pepin's second relief expedition a letter had been sent him, which purported to be dictated by the Apostle Peter himself, and which promised the Franks future success in war and life eternal after death if they came to the pope's relief, but which asserted most solemnly that he would shut them all out of heaven if they did not come quickly

Donations of Pepin and Constantine

Pepin came, and it was to the pope that he handed over the lands which he compelled the Lombards to disgorge These papal territories were still nominally imperial, since the pope had not as yet repudiated the emperor as his civil sovereign, but actually they were the foundation of the Papal States, which endured into the nineteenth century and prevented until then the unification of Italy. Just how much territory Pepin transferred to the pope, and by what right or title the pope held it, is uncertain, since no document has been preserved containing the terms of Pepin's donation, and it is not even mentioned by the pope's biographer, but only twenty years later in the life of Pope Hadrian About this time, however, there came into existence a document called the *Constitution* or *Donation of Constantine* This spurious deed was based upon a legend, also without historical foundation, that Constantine, the first Christian emperor, had been cured of leprosy and converted to Christianity by Pope Sylvester The *Donation* purports to be the resultant expression of imperial gratitude In it Constantine is represented as endowing the Church with his Lateran Palace and with lands scattered over the empire, as showering honors and insignia upon the clergy, and as finally declaring that he will transfer his empire to the East and leave Italy and Rome to the government of the pope. "For where the supremacy of priests and the head of the Christian religion has been established by a heavenly ruler, it is not right that there an earthly ruler have jurisdiction " Such was the document by which the popes traced their claim to temporal sovereignty back to the fourth century It was attacked as a forgery as early as the twelfth century, but was not generally recognized as spurious until the fifteenth.

Other forgeries

Other forgeries of the period were the *False Decretals* of which we shall treat in another chapter, also false *Capitularies,* and some of the charters which monasteries produced later on to substantiate their claims to property and privileges Two further illustrations may be given *The Book of the Epistle,* supposedly a divine revelation to Pope Athanasius at Rome before a great throng in 746, was really composed in Arabic in Egypt between 933 and 939, and then translated into Syriac and Ethiopian. In the later tenth century a famous forger was Pilgrim of Passau, who also figures in the *Nibelungenlied*. He forged five papal bulls and a letter to prove that Lorsch was an archepiscopal see before Salzburg, also three grants of immunity and a papal letter. One reason for the prevalence of forged documents in this period, as we shall see when we come to speak of changes in judicial procedure, was that written documents, especially royal charters, were now accepted as they had not been in the early German courts. Sixty-eight such royal charters ascribed to the Christian kings of the Asturias in the Spanish peninsula between 718 and 910 have come down to us. Of these only nineteen are authentic; for these nineteen, only five originals are extant, and the genuine charters almost all fall within a half century and a single reign, although there were twelve kings from 718 to 910.

Pepin's conquests

Coming back to Pepin, we may note that he continued the expeditions of his predecessors against the Saxons to the northeast, and annexed Frisia. But his chief achievement, aside from his grasping the royal title, founding a dynasty, and interfering in Italy, was the careful and thorough subjection of Aquitaine and Septimania to Frankish rule, a task which occupied him for eight or nine successive years. The inhabitants of Aquitaine, south of the Loire, were still looked on by the Franks as "Romans" and had remained a people pretty much apart. In Neustria too, of course, the bulk of the population was "Roman," but there the Franks had long formed a considerable fraction and were the ruling class. Before his death in 768, Pepin had attained a position of considerable international importance. The Abbasid caliph at Bagdad sought his alliance against Ommiad Spain, and the Byzantine emperor sent several embassies to his court.

Sources for Carolingians

For the period of the three Pepins and Charles Martel the sources are very scanty, leaving us in doubt about many questions which we should like to solve. On the other hand, concerning Pepin's son, Charles the Great, or Charlemagne as he was called in the medieval romances, we are better informed than about the personality and reign of any other barbarian ruler since the Roman Empire. Yearly tables were kept in many abbeys to determine the date of Easter, and in their margins the monks sometimes noted down important events. These "Easter Annals" began at the end of the seventh century, but by the time of Charlemagne had become fuller in their entries. The same is true of the official annals kept at the Frankish court. Einhard, who had attended the palace school, rose to an official position and influence under Charles's son, Louis the Pious, when he composed a *Vita*, or brief biography and character sketch of Charlemagne. Many of Charlemagne's *Capitularies*, or administrative edicts, are extant We also have some documentary and monumental evidence of the literary and artistic activity of his reign

Charlemagne personality

Charles the Great had a long reign from 768 to 814 His younger brother Carloman at first ruled a part of their father's possessions, but died in 771 Charles was a giant both in height and girth and had a jolly face. Nevertheless he could be stern enough on occasion and was not lacking in dignity at any time He took plenty of exercise and was especially fond of swimming and hunting He was a large eater, temperate in drinking, but not in his relations with women, and the morals of his court were correspondingly loose The family life of his father Pepin had been much purer Charles's inexhaustible physical vigor is seen in his personal direction of a military campaign in almost every year of his reign. He was ambitious and autocratic and sometimes even brutal. Yet most of his policies of conquest were inherited from his predecessors, and he was a zealous promoter of Christianity and learning He knew something of the classical languages himself, although he could barely sign his name

Lombards overthrown

Fighting, however, absorbed much of Charlemagne's time and energy, as was the case with all the kings of that age. He fought against Lombards, Bavarians, and Saxons, against Arabs, Avars, Slavs, and Danes. At the beginning of his reign Charles's mother arranged a marriage for him with the daughter of the Lombard king, Desiderius. But Charles after one year divorced his Lombard bride and became Desiderius's bitter enemy. The pope was soon again at war with the Lombard king, and appealed to Charles for aid The result was that Desiderius was overthrown in 774 and that Charles became king of the Lombards in his stead. He was never able, however, to bring the duchy of Beneventum in the south really under his control, although he made several attempts He visited the pope at Rome, kissing every step of the basilica of Saint Peter like a pilgrim, and seems to have renewed the donation of Pepin. The pope, however, did not receive from Charles quite so much territory nor quite so many towns as he had hoped, and Charles himself kept the supreme control over Rome and its neighborhood. Moreover, the Byzantine Empire retained Venice, the toe and heel of the peninsula, and the island of Sicily, while some coastal towns, like Salerno, Amalfi, and Naples, were almost independent of Constantinople. Thus Italy was hopelessly divided.

Already in Spain had begun to appear the divisions that were ultimately to ruin the Mohammedan power there. The governor of Barcelona

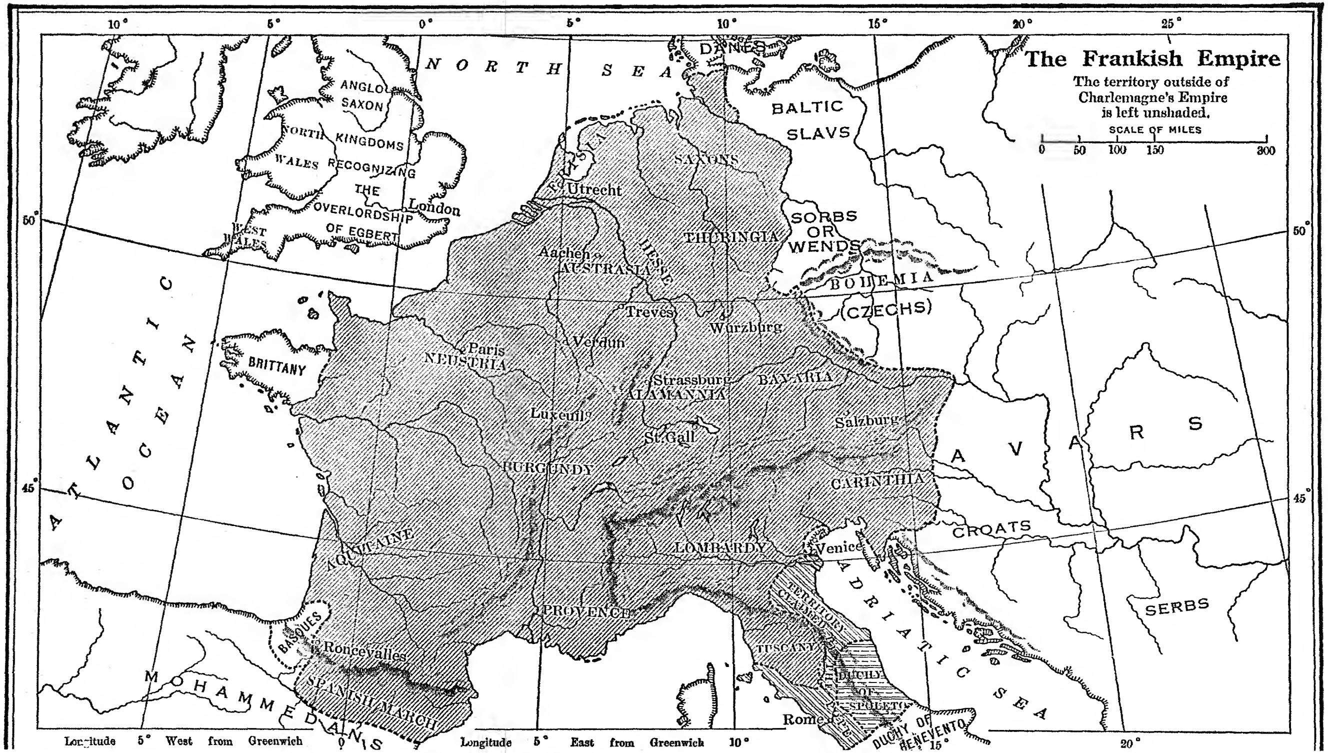
Spanish March

now again sought with Charles the alliance against Cordova which he had proposed to Pepin. As Pepin had occupied Aquitaine and driven the Moslems out of Septimania, the way was prepared. Charles crossed the Pyrenees in 778, but his Arab allies did not come up to his expectations, and after taking some towns, he retreated. His rear guard was destroyed in the passes by the Christian Basques inhabiting that locality. Among the slain was Hruodland, one of Charles's chief friends and lieutenants and the hero of the later *Song of Roland*. Later in his reign Charles was more successful and established the Spanish March, a strip of land extending as far south of the Pyrenees as the important seaport of Barcelona. *Mark* or *march* was the name for a frontier territory. Urgel in the Pyrenees, today a town of little importance, was then a center of culture closely connected with Septimania and the Frankish Empire, as documents of the early ninth century in its episcopal archives and fine Romanesque churches of the ninth and tenth centuries scattered through the diocese still testify. Later on Lérida, located further down the river Segre, with a magnificent cathedral and the first university founded in Aragon (1300), became the intellectual capital. As for the independent Christian states in the northwest of the Spanish peninsula, they seem to have had no contact after Charlemagne with the rest of Christendom until the marriage in 1080 of Alfonso VI of Leon with Constance of Burgundy.

Eastward expansion

To the east, Charles deprived the Duke of Bavaria of his possessions, apparently without much excuse, and annexed them. This brought him into contact with the Avars, whose nomadic empire was now on the decline. After several years of war they were defeated by the Franks, whose territory in this direction extended into Carinthia, which had been settled earlier by the Slovenes. But Charles's hardest fighting was with the Saxons, whom throughout his reign he was constantly crushing and forcibly converting to Christianity, only to have them rebel and force him to begin all over again. His measures for their welfare seem very harsh to us. The death penalty was prescribed for all heathen customs and even for eating meat in Lent. In a single day he had forty-five hundred persons decapitated. Others were transplanted far from their native soil to remote parts of the Frankish territory. But he finally succeeded in incorporating the Saxons in the Frankish state, and Western Christendom reached the river Elbe. Against the Slavs to the east of the Elbe and in Bohemia, Charles also did some fighting, and he had to repel incursions by the Danes or Northmen, whose wave of invasion was now beginning.

The British Isles were the only important Christian territory in the



The Frankish Empire

The territory outside of Charlemagne's Empire is left unshaded.

SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
300
NORTH SEA
DANES
BALTIC SLAVS
SAXONS
SORBS OR WENDS
THURINGIA
BOHEMIA
(CZECHS)
HESSE
FRISIA
Utrecht
Aachen
AUSTRASIA
Treves
Würzburg
Verdun
Paris
NEUSTRIA
BRITTANY
Strassburg
ALAMANNIA
BAVARIA
Salzburg
Luxeuil
St.Gall
BURGUNDY
CARINTHIA
AVARS
CROATS
SERBS
Venice
LOMBARDY
ADRIATIC SEA
TERRITORY CLAIMED BY POPE
TUSCANY
DUCHY OF SPOLETO
DUCHY OF BENEVENTO
Rome
PROVENCE
AQUITAINE
BASQUES
Roncevalles
SPANISH MARCH
MOHAMMEDANS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGLO SAXON KINGDOMS RECOGNIZING THE OVERLORDSHIP OF EGBERT
NORTH WALES
WEST WALES
London
10°
5°
0°
5°
10°
15°
20°
25°
50°
45°
Longitude 5° West from Greenwich
Longitude 5° East from Greenwich 10° 15° 20°

West that was not brought under Charles's rule. Egbert, King of the West Saxons, was for a time a fugitive at his court. Charlemagne helped him to regain his throne, and thereafter Egbert so prospered that he forced the other petty monarchs of the Anglo-Saxon states to recognize him as overlord.

Relations with England

Frankish constitution

Charles not merely fought with his neighbors and increased his territory, he governed with a strong hand within his borders. The Frankish constitution and kingship had had three centuries in which to develop since the time of Clovis. The chief ceremonial officials at Charlemagne's court, who might also assist in state business, were the seneschal, butler, chamberlain, and marshal. This last official had charge of the royal stable. Then there was the chancery where documents were written out and sealed, a labor which was apt to be performed largely by the court chaplains. The state archives were, in fact, kept in the royal chapel. Important action was seldom taken without a meeting of the chief nobles of the realm, including some of the higher clergy. There were no longer general assemblies of all the freemen as among the early Germans, except in so far as the mustering of the army for the annual campaign corresponded to this. But important state business, such as issuing new laws, was transacted not at the mustering but at the meeting of the nobles. Moreover, it was no longer the custom for every freeman to serve in the army, but only those with a certain amount of land. Others combined to support one soldier.

Local government

When Charles deposed the Duke of Bavaria, he did away with the last of the old tribal leaders of the other Germanic peoples absorbed by the Franks, and native dukes were left only in Celtic Brittany and among the Basques. He appointed a few new dukes, but they were exceptional; his regular local officer was the count. The Frankish territories were divided into counties, and in each the count was the royal representative, attending especially to judicial and military matters. Charles appointed whom he pleased, but the term of the office was for life, a dangerous feature likely to result in the office becoming hereditary. Charles also depended a great deal upon the bishops in the localities and instructed his counts to co-operate with them. Newly conquered territory or districts needing to be kept in a state of military preparation for frontier defense were organized as marks under margraves, or counts of the marks (whence the later titles of nobility: Markgraf in German, marquis in French, marquess in England). Sometimes a mark included more than one county and was placed under a duke. The chief marks at this time were the Breton, Spanish, Friulian, Avarian, Sorbian, and Saxon. The lesser administrative officials under the count need not be listed here, but we should note that the people in the localities still kept their folk-courts under the summons and presidency of the count The officials called *missi* were links between the central and local government, who traversed the realm by twos and threes, looking after the king's interests and seeing to it that his local officials were faithful and efficient When sent in pairs, these itinerants were often clergyman and layman

Royal power

The king was not yet accustomed to levy a general money tax or payment in kind upon his people, but this deficiency was largely due to the primitive economic conditions and lack of money, and to the poor communications which would have made it difficult to bring a share of the crops from all parts of the kingdom to the royal palace or granary Instead, the king took plenty of the land of the kingdom for his own use and lived largely on the proceeds of his private estates, which he visited in turn and where provisions were stored up awaiting his arrival He also got the lion's share of booty in war and of fines levied in the courts, and he expected gifts from his nobles when he called them together. However, since they were always looking for lands and offices from him, this source of revenue did not net much Persons who were especially dependent upon the king for protection made a special payment to him

Charles restored to the Crown the exclusive right of coining money, another considerable source of revenue as managed in those days, although gold coinage had ceased in the Christian West, which, until the thirteenth century, used the *byzant* and the *dinar* of the caliphs Charles increased the weight of the silver penny or *denarius* (£ s d standing for *librae, solidi,* and *denarii,* or pounds, shillings, and pence), but he did not mint the higher denominations. In 1904 a large number of gold coins from the time of Charlemagne was discovered at Ilanz, Switzerland; furthermore, we know that his successors often paid the Norse invaders to go away Apparently, then, money or precious metals were not so scarce as one might have expected from the agrarian character of Carolingian economy Gold was occasionally coined in England before the Norman conquest (1066)

Instead of taxes, moreover, the king could demand services of all his subjects. They had to serve or help someone else to serve in the army every year, so that the king could always have a military force at his command. The people also did jury duty without pay in their local courts, entertained the royal agents as these traveled about, and worked at the upkeep of roads and bridges

Whereas among the early Germans there was little legislation, and law was regarded as something ancient and customary, now the king made many new laws Charles in particular issued a vast number of orders and instructions to his officials and rules for the people in his realm as a whole or for some portion of it The new laws did not necessarily alter the old popular customs, but often that was the case. Where the old law had been harsh and primitive, the royal legislation tended to substitute fairer and more civilized methods The king's law, moreover, applied throughout his realm or a given part of it, whereas the old German laws had been for tribes The old law had been personal; the royal legislation was territorial Charles issued sets of regulations for his army, for the care of his private estates, for the *missi*, for the clergy, for the conversion of the Saxons, and so forth His successors, Louis the Pious and Lothair, issued further capitularies These were, however, often temporary administrative measures rather than permanent statute law Charles also had the laws of the different German peoples within his realm written down where this had not already been done

Royal legislation

One of the capitularies touched briefly on the problem of poor relief and of wandering beggars Charlemagne wished each of his vassals to support the poor on his *beneficium* or private holding and not permit them to go elsewhere to beg If they did wander about, no one was to give them anything unless they worked with their hands for it

Judicial procedure

Even in the folk-courts procedure had now altered much from that of the early Germans It was less harsh and more equitable Not only had its formalities been Christianized, but set forms had become of less importance There was also now less self-help by the parties to the suit and more control was exercised by the public authorities The summons to court was now by order of king or count, in the conduct of the trial the litigants did less and the presiding magistrate did more; at the end of the trial the party who had shown better proof received from the court a certificate attesting this fact, though he was still left to execute the sentence himself Evidence now came into use to decide the case instead of merely oath and ordeal Written records were often presented in court, and while a private document had to be verified by ceremonial witnesses and might be opposed by the other side's presenting witnesses or piercing it with a sword as a challenge to the ordeal by combat or wager of battle, a royal charter could not be so contested. Oath-helpers now must hold a certain amount of property and must come from the neighborhood rather than from the kindred It was possible to appeal from the folk-court to the king's court, where still more informal, sensible, and equitable methods of procedure were now in vogue.

Royal influence was further seen in the sworn inquest, an institution which could be employed only by the king, or by his *missi* and counts with his express permission This method was inherited from the late Roman Empire and was employed for administrative as well as judicial purposes It consisted in summoning a number of persons from the locality in question, who were bound by oath to tell what they knew concerning crimes committed there or a corrupt official or any similar matter. Sometimes these sworn witnesses gave their testimony collectively, sometimes they were questioned singly This was a good method for the government in gathering information, but it proved very unpopular among the Franks, because the sworn witnesses were regarded as talebearers upon their neighbors and were liable to be the victims of private vengeance after the royal officials had passed on But the institution survived the fall of the Frankish state and continued in existence in Normandy, whence it was carried to England after the Norman conquest, and there became the germ of the modern jury system in English and United States law

The land system

Life was predominantly agricultural. The land was held mainly in large estates. The king held a great deal; the Church held a great deal, various nobles and private landlords held a great deal. The unit in these large estates was the villa or manor run for the owner by a *maior* or *meier* or *villicus* who kept the records and enforced the landlord's rights Each estate was worked by a number of peasants who were descended from or had taken the place of the slaves and *coloni* of the Roman Empire These were further supplemented by a few artisans who attended to such mechanical work as was necessary, by landless freemen who had commended themselves to the large landholder in order to get land or other means of livelihood from him, or who had begged (*preco*) him to permit them to occupy land which they held during his pleasure on a precarious tenure (*precaria*); and by freemen with land who wished defense in this life or salvation in the next, and had accordingly presented their land to some powerful noble or to the Church, on condition that they be allowed to occupy it for life (*beneficium*). The *beneficium* and *precaria* were often passed on to their occupiers' heirs and so became hereditary, like the holdings of the *coloni*, but the holders also tended to approximate the servile position of the *coloni*, and all alike came to be called villeins, or men of the villa. The commended man, too, had usually been granted land on condition of service and payment to the lord

Many influential persons, lay and ecclesiastical, individuals or corporations like monasteries, obtained grants of immunity from the Carolingian government. By such a grant the king renounced his right to collect taxes, administer justice, and send his officials into the lands of the individual or monastery in question. They thereupon began to exercise these profitable acts of government themselves and thereby further increased their power over the tenants upon their estates. Repeated incursions of Northmen, Saracens, and Magyars broke off communications more and more and left each locality in isolation to look after itself. The villa or manor, especially if it had a few artisans among its tenants, was more or less self-supporting and self-sufficient, raising enough crops and animals to feed and clothe the tenants and to entertain the lord and his retinue when he visited it. Most of the tenants were bound to the soil, and were required to patronize the artisans of the manor, to observe other monopolies and privileges of the lord, and to cultivate his demesne land along with their own. Having said this much, it is only fair to warn the reader that our two chief and almost sole sources for the land system in Carolingian times are the *Polyptychon* of the abbey of Saint Germain-des-Prés, at Paris, edited by Longnon in two volumes in 1886 and 1895, and the capitulary *De villis*, which, it has recently been argued, was not issued by Charlemagne for all his royal estates, but by his son Louis in 794 for those in Aquitaine.

Charlemagne and Church

The City of God was a favorite book with Charlemagne, and he aimed to make his empire a state of which God would approve and in which God's will should rule. Half of his capitularies deal with the Church and many more of his measures have a sanctimonious tinge. He regarded himself, however, and not the pope or other clergy, as the supreme instrument of the divine will, and, like Justinian, he intended to rule in matters both of Church and State. His idea was that he should both issue the orders and see to their execution, while the pope could pray for his success and carry out his commands. Charlemagne knew less of theology than Justinian, but he nevertheless managed to have his way. We have seen that from Clovis on the Frankish kings kept a close control over their bishops and abbots, and that Charles Martel had not hesitated to appropriate church lands to his own purposes. It was therefore nothing unusual for Charlemagne to control the appointment of bishops and abbots, and, if need be, their possessions; but he also superintended their education and morals. One of his capitularies instructs bishops, abbots, and their advocates, vicars, and hundredmen to live a godly life in accordance with the rule. The secular clergy are not to keep hunting dogs, hawks, or falcons. The monks are told to have nothing to do with secular business, to shun worldly affairs, strife, controversy, drunkenness, feasting, and lust. Rumors of scandalous doings in monasteries had reached Charlemagne's ears and saddened him He declares, "Certainly if any such report shall have come to our ears in the future, we will inflict such a penalty, not only on the culprits, but also on those who have consented to such deeds, that no Christian who shall have heard of it will ever dare in the future to perpetrate such acts " Charlemagne intended to direct church doctrine as well as to discipline the clergy and convert the heathen In 787, when the Byzantine Empress Irene and her son Constantine VI called an ecumenical council at Nicaea which restored images — just what the pope wanted — Charlemagne insisted that the decrees of the council were heretical and that the pope should excommunicate Irene Charlemagne saw the value of the Church as a means of cementing his diverse possessions together, he used the clergy as political assistants, but, on the other hand, his secular officials helped collect the church tithes, and his control of the Church was in the main exercised through ecclesiastical machinery When he decreed the death penalty for Saxons caught in heathen practices, he made the exception that any such person who fled to a priest and confessed his sin should have to do only such penance as the priest ordained The fact is that Charlemagne made little distinction between ecclesiastical and political matters He ran both at once, and in his reign Church and State, king and pope, were in cordial partnership As Gregory the Great had advised the statesmen of his day, not because he had any particular right to do so, but because of his superior energy and sagacity, so Charlemagne, because of his strong will and ability to get things done, managed the affairs of the Church without raising serious papal objections The Roman liturgy, in the amplified form which it took on under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious in Frankish territory, was adopted in the eleventh century by Rome itself.

Weaknesses of papacy

There were two weak points in the position of the pope quite apart from his relations with the Byzantine emperor, the Lombards, and the Franks The office was elective, giving opportunity for disorder, corruption, and violence whenever a new pontiff had to be chosen. Then the populace of Rome often made life very uncomfortable for a pope whom they did not like Such were the troubles at home that the papacy had to put up with all through the Middle Ages, no matter how independent it made itself of outside interference nor how large a territory it had under its own rule as papal states Indeed, if some one like the Byzantine emperor or the king of the Lombards controlled all Italy, he would probably see to it that the election of a pope proceeded in an orderly and decent manner, though he might influence it himself, and he would be strong enough to make the Roman mob behave It has not always proved an unmixed blessing to the papacy to be left free from outside interference and protection This was now shown to be the case

Just before Charlemagne's accession there had been a shocking struggle for the papal chair, with murders and atrocities The conspiracies and assassinations continued until the election of Hadrian I and the coming of Charlemagne to Italy Charlemagne, like Pepin, was called by the popes "Patrician of the Romans," and was regarded as the protector of the city of Rome and the other papal territory When Hadrian died in 795, his successor, Leo III, sent to Charlemagne as his overlord the keys of Saint Peter's grave and the flag of the city of Rome as tokens of his homage and fidelity Charlemagne's response was to warn him to be a good pope This he was not, and after four years of his harsh rule the discontented Romans gave him a sound beating and forced him to flee to Charlemagne for succor Charlemagne stood by him and sent him back to Rome, where the year following an assembly of Franks and Romans decided that he might free himself from the accusations against him by swearing on the Gospels that he was innocent On December 23, Leo so cleared himself

Charlemagne crowned emperor

Two days later on Christmas Day, 800, as Charles knelt in prayer at Saint Peter's, the pope placed a crown on his head and did him reverence in Byzantine style, while the assembled populace hailed him as "Augustus, crowned of God, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans " Charlemagne's possessions might well be called an empire, since he was king of the Lombards as well as king of the Franks, and also ruled over other lands and peoples Moreover, the Byzantine Empire now held nothing in the West except southern Italy and Sicily Charlemagne's territory bore slight resemblance, however, to the Old Roman Empire, since he had nothing in the East and did not have Africa, Britain, or much of Spain in the West. On the other hand, his empire included a good slice of German territory between the Rhine and Elbe which the Romans had never been able to conquer However, Rome was still a magic name with an eternal heritage, and for Rome once more to have an emperor was an event destined to exert a great future influence, as we shall see For the present the new title made little change in Charles's government, which was already both as autocratic and as theocratic as it well could be His subjects now kissed his knee and toe after the Byzantine usage, in 802 he exacted a new general oath of allegiance; that was about all Frankish Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) remained his residence and capital

Strange to say, Charlemagne seems not to have been pleased by his coronation He told his biographer, Einhard, that although it was the day of Christ's birth he would not have entered the church had he known what the pope intended to do Some recent historians, like Halphen, have refused to accept this statement, holding that the coronation ceremony must have been prearranged and this remark was a later invention aiming to conciliate the Byzantine Empire But one suspects that it would be easier to fool modern historians than the Byzantine court Possibly the remark should be interpreted as merely an expression of modest shrinking from so great an honor, possibly he had even more ambitious schemes under way whose realization was prevented by the pope's officiousness, possibly as a result of the pope's act he feared hostile complications with Constantinople, with which he seems to have been at that time negotiating and planning a marriage Finally, in 810–812 he concluded a treaty by which Constantinople recognized him as emperor in the West and he ceded Venice and the Dalmatian coast to the Byzantine Empire Possibly he did not wish to be crowned by the pope and would have preferred to assume the title himself or to receive it from the hands of the Byzantine emperor as the latter's colleague At any rate, in the year before his death, he and his Franks themselves performed at Aachen the imperial coronation of his only surviving son, Louis. Louis, however, who gained the epithet, "the Pious," by his obsequiousness to the clergy, was recrowned by the pope after his father's death; and his son, grandson, and their two successors all went through the same ceremony, so that a series of precedents established the claim of the popes to crown, if not to make, emperors

Charlemagne and learning

Charlemagne perceived the value of education in both Church and State. He established a school at his palace to train men to do his work He wished the clergy to know enough Latin to be able to read the church service, to write a respectable letter, and to interpret the Holy Scriptures with understanding This was asking a good deal of the Frankish Church at that time, and he had to call in as teachers monks from England and scholars from Italy — countries where there was somewhat more culture An ordinance in which Charlemagne exhorts his bishops and monks to lead exemplary lives has sometimes been incorrectly interpreted to imply that he established universal elementary education for slave as well as free-born But it would be truly extraordinary for a monarch suddenly to decree universal education, in a land plunged in ignorance, by making an incidental remark or two in an "admonition" to the clergy So important a measure would at least call for an elaborate law devoted to it exclusively, and would have needed a whole set of capitularies ever really to enforce it In any case, Charlemagne says nothing of the sort to his clergy He does not bid them educate serf as well as free; he does tell them to bring up for the Christian ministry not merely boys of servile origin, but also the sons of freemen, and to maintain schools where such boys may learn to read, so that in later life they may copy the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal without making mistakes At least one bishop of Charlemagne's time went farther than this, ordering that in every village and on every large estate within his diocese of Orléans a school should be established where any Christian father might send his children to learn their letters without payment of a fee This incidentally suggests that some fathers were hiring masters to educate their children A church council at Mainz in 813 similarly recommended educating children either in monasteries or by priests outside

"Carolingian Renaissance"

There is little evidence for a Carolingian Renaissance — an expression introduced by J. J. Ampère in 1839 — and what there is comes mostly from the period after Charlemagne. It is true that the pope had sent Pepin some hymnals and textbooks written in Greek; that a revision of the Salic law from the time of Charlemagne is in better Latin; and that Charlemagne himself is said to have spoken Latin and to have understood Greek, although he could barely write his name With his reign, however, there appears a round handwriting, known as the Carolingian minuscule, which is superior in legibility and regularity to the previous Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Visigothic, and Beneventan scripts. But Alcuin, imported from England to grace the court and palace school, was a jejune mind and writer. Lupus, abbot of Ferrières from 846 to 862, and Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, were both ardent students of the classics Two reigns after Charlemagne, John the Scot of Ireland or Erigena, a remarkably fearless and original thinker for his time, became head of the palace school and translated from the Greek some theological treatises incorrectly attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite who heard the Apostle Paul preach at Athens But most of the Dionysian corpus and legends of the saints had been already translated from the Greek under Louis the Pious by Byzantine monks It has been asserted that the great majority of works of classical Latin literature extant today are preserved in manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries, and that the recovery and use again of works of an advanced character dates from about 1000. But by that time the Carolingians were no more

Charlemagne's contribution towards the development of modern literature is even more uncertain. He is said to have ordered that the tribal songs of the Germans should be collected and that a Frankish grammar should be written, but no such works have come down to us Our earliest considerable specimens of the growth of modern languages come from the time of his grandsons, two of whom when combining against a third exchanged oaths of fidelity in languages which each other's adherents might understand and which show us early stages in the development of the French and German languages When literature in the modern languages first really began, in the centuries after the break-up of his empire, it looked back on Charlemagne as one of the heroes of old along with Caesar and Alexander, and the ruler, Charles the Great, whose true historical importance was already in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries no longer appreciated, was relegated to the realm of romance as Charlemagne

Charlemagne in literature

And in fact Charlemagne's reign in most respects looked backward rather than forward. His small octagonal cathedral at Aachen, which is still standing, copied the plan of San Vitale at Ravenna and imported columns from Ravenna, Treves, and Rome for its interior decoration — a task to which contemporary artists were doubtless unequal. In 862 Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims dedicated the new cathedral there which had been begun by his predecessor, but this Carolingian church was completely destroyed by fire in 1210. Charlemagne did not try to alter much the crude economic conditions of his age, and he probably never dreamed of social reform His coronation as Roman emperor seems a political retrospect rather than an advance toward the modern type of state He showed little consideration for what is today called the spirit of nationality; he forced Lombards and Bavarians and Saxons and Spaniards under his autocratic rule, and then was ready to divide arbitrarily among his descendants the briefly realized unity of his empire. We shall see that the decline of his empire, more than its creation, marked a transition toward modern history, and that his inability to subdue the Northmen and the Arabs hastened that day more than did his conquest of the Saxons

Charlemagne in history

While the conception of imperial Rome was to endure and another attempt to realize it was to be made later, Charlemagne's empire began to disintegrate, directly his commanding personality disappeared It was only an accident that its unity was preserved when he died He had planned in accordance with Frankish custom to divide among his three sons the territories which he had been at such pains to unite, but only one son survived him, Louis the Pious, who ruled alone as emperor from 814. Louis's sons kept pestering him to partition his realm among them and he did so several times before his death As early as 817 he made Lothair his associate in the imperial office; gave to

His empire disintegrates

Pepin, Aquitaine; to Louis, Bavaria, and to a nephew, the Frankish possessions in Italy. In 829 Charles received Alamannia. In 833 the sons tried to get rid of their father, who was too gentle for that age, by shutting him up in a monastery, but he recovered the throne and lived on until 840. Meanwhile Pepin had died and there had been new divisions of territory and more revolts. Lothair succeeded his father as emperor, but his brothers defeated him at Fontenay and he had to sign the Treaty of Verdun in 843. This left him in possession of only a long central strip of territory, extending from Rome to the North Sea and including both the papal city and the Frankish capital Aachen. It also embraced Lombardy, Provence, most of Burgundy, the original territories of the Salians and Ripuarians before Clovis's conquests, and Frisia, north of these. Roughly speaking, he controlled central and northern Italy and the Rhone and Rhine valleys. From Lotharingia, as Lothair's territory north of the Alps came later to be called, has come the modern name Lorraine, now applied to a much more restricted area. Louis, King of the East Franks, ruled Germans exclusively — the Saxons, Thuringians, Alamanni, and Bavarians, and for that reason has often been distinguished as "Louis the German" by modern historians, but of course was no more so than his Frankish brothers. Charles, King of the West Franks, had most of Neustria and Aquitaine with their predominantly Latin population. He had only nominal control over Aquitaine, where his nephew Pepin was king. The Spanish March, Septimania, and Brittany were quite independent of him. Passing over various treaties and territorial readjustments of minor importance, we find that in 870 the one surviving son of Lothair had only Provence and parts of Italy left as his "empire." By the Treaty of Mersen his uncles had divided Lotharingia, Louis taking the lion's share including Aachen. When Lothair's son died in 875, the Frankish Empire was practically at an end. For a few years from 881 to 887, Charles, who had ruled the East Franks since the death of his father, Louis, became emperor, and in 884 the West Franks accepted his rule because the other available Carolingian was but five years old. Charles proved quite unequal to his imperial task; he did not govern at all, and at last was deposed. Thereafter the different sections which had once been combined under Charlemagne subdivided into even smaller parts than before. The feudal age was at hand.

Bibliographical Note

There is more than one English translation of Einhard's life of Charlemagne. Selections from the Capitularies are given in *Translations and Reprints*, III, no. 2, and VI, no 5 For the *Donation of Constantine*, see Henderson, *Select Documents*, 319–329 The Coronation of Charles the Great constitutes the first problem in Duncalf and Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History* Chapters 5 and 6 of Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* and the closing chapters of Volume II of the *Cambridge Medieval History* deal with this period A recent work on Charlemagne is in French by A. Kleinclausz, while a sane appraisal of the Carolingian renaissance is in German by Erna Patzelt, *Die karolingische Renaissance*. On the German colonization of Austria, see Leeper, *A History of Medieval Austria* (1941), pp 103–116.

XIII

The Northmen and Other New Invaders

INTERNAL weakness was one important cause of the breakup of Charlemagne's empire, but a new series of invasions from all sides hastened the disintegration and greatly increased the confusion The overland advance of Islam had been checked, but through the ninth and tenth centuries Sicily and southern Italy and the coasts from Naples to the Rhone were assailed from the sea by Saracens from North Africa and elsewhere On the east the Wends beyond the Elbe and the Czechs in Bohemia, both Slavic peoples, made inroads; and in the southeast appeared a new terror, the fierce Magyars, representing another wave of the mounted nomads from Asia But most destructive and dangerous of all to Western Christendom seemed the invaders from the north, the cruel heathen Northmen, the Vikings, who came by sea like the Saracens in their swift, long boats which could penetrate far up the rivers, and who then rode about the countryside on horseback plundering like the Asiatic nomads (Figures 22 and 23)

The Viking character

The character of one of the Northmen, as set forth in a saga of later date, will sufficiently illustrate their spirit and standards; the reader may detect some resemblances between the Viking and the Arabic warrior described in the quotation on page 155. "The grimmest of all men was he in his wrath, and marvelous pains he laid on his foes. Some he burned in the fire, some he let wild hounds tear, some he gave to serpents, some he stoned, some he cast from high cliffs" Yet we are further assured that he was not only "before all men for heart in battle," but that he was the "gladdest and gamesomest of men, kind and lowly, exceeding eager, bountiful and glorious of attire." The Vikings were firm believers in wizards, ghosts, and other supernatural forces, and in their wanderings to distant coasts and strange places they often encountered — in their opinion — both the magic of men and the weird powers of nature. Such things often frightened them, but they had, or pretended to have, a fierce contempt for mere death or physical pain. At bottom the heroes of the sagas were usually either soldiers of fortune who hired themselves out to the highest bidder, or shrewd traders who drove sharp bargains and seldom let mere love of adventure out-

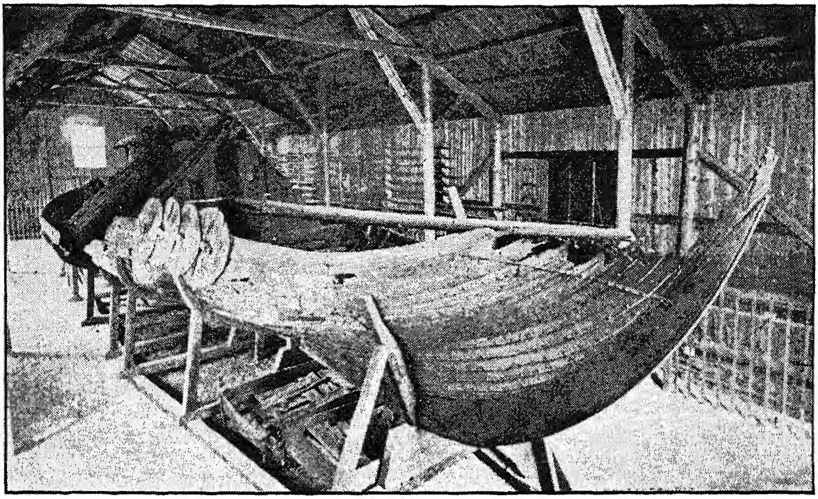


Figure 22

A Viking boat, preserved at Oslo

weigh the prospect of substantial gain, just as the mere prospect of personal danger could not hold them back from profitable plundering or trading ventures. Such was the Norse character as reflected in literature not written down until after the period of which we treat in this chapter. But as late as 921 a Moslem traveler tells of human sacrifice and burial by cremation in a Scandinavian trading post on the Volga.

Conditions in Scandinavia

The Northmen were the Teutonic ancestors of the modern Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, and inhabited the Scandinavian peninsula, where there was good hunting and fishing, but a rather barren soil. They had, however, by this time developed a settled agricultural society. But the nature of their peninsula and its coast line indented by deep fjords tempted them, like the ancient Greeks, to a life on the sea of trading ventures and piracy. Rugged rocks, too, like the mountains of Greece, combined with the arms of the sea to isolate the small fertile areas and pasture lands from one another, to hinder the rise of large states and encourage the growth of personal freedom. Unlike the marbles of Greece, however, these rugged rocks were too hard to quarry easily, so that even forts had to be built of wood. There seem to have been two chief social classes, a large number of free small landowners who formed the citizen body, and their personal dependents or servile agricultural laborers. In the main, the institutions of the Northmen were not unlike those of their kinsmen, the earlier German

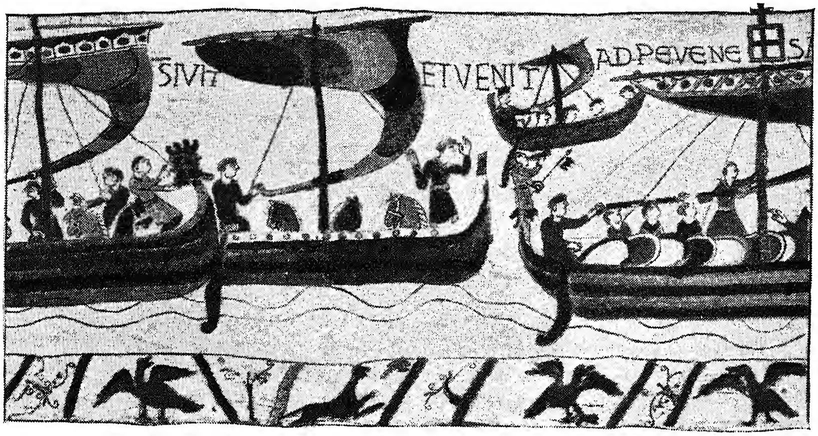


Figure 23

Transporting men and horses (from the Bayeux tapestry)

invaders, which have been described in a previous chapter, where too we have seen that what we know of the religion and mythology of the heathen Germans is gleaned chiefly from the *Eddas* of Iceland.

By the time of Charlemagne the population had so increased in the Scandinavian peninsula that existence became difficult, and chieftains warred upon one another in the hope of winning more land for their followers. Those who were defeated and driven out, or who left home voluntarily to escape starvation or dependence, took to the sea and to plundering more prosperous lands. At home economic and social inequality increased, and the most successful of the chieftains developed into kings. By the middle of the ninth century, Gorm the Old ruled in Denmark, Eric in Sweden, and Harold Fair-Hair in Norway. When these kings began to tax and tyrannize over the free yeomen, many of these joined the stream of emigrants. As this more peaceable and agricultural class added itself to the earlier outlaws and freebooters, the expeditions and invasions of the Northmen into other countries began to show a change from mere piracy and plundering to more systematic conquest and settlement.

Ravages of the Northmen

The Northmen had begun to attack Charlemagne's empire at the close of the eighth century, and he not only had to fight them on his northern frontier, but wept to see their long galleys in the Mediterranean. Soon they came across the North Sea every year in their ships with sails striped with gay colors and with the high bows and sterns fashioned into the beaks and tails of fantastic monsters (Figure 23). Then they rowed — for their vessels were propelled by both sails and oars — up all the rivers from the Elbe to the Garonne, reaching the very heart of what is now France and Germany as well as frightfully harrying the coastal regions These heathen spared not even churches and monasteries, they burned towns and so devastated the country that the peasants hardly ventured to raise any crops They burned the church of Saint Martin at Tours which neither Huns nor Arabs had been able to reach, and they sacked even such inland cities of southern France as Limoges The chroniclers of the time were in despair at the sad state of Christendom and at the same old cruel tale of pillage and slaughter which they had to set down year after year

The incapable successors of Charlemagne were seldom able to catch these invading bands, or to defeat them if overtaken, for they fought furiously in their helmets and coats of mail behind their long shields with spear, sword, or battle-axe The later Carolingians often adopted the policy of paying them to go away, but this practice only made more invaders come the next year When the Northmen besieged Paris for the fourth time in 885, Bishop Gauzelin and Count Odo defended it manfully and made every effort to secure from outside an army to relieve the city But when the Emperor Charles at last arrived, he merely bought off the Northmen and allowed them to spend the winter in plundering Burgundy It was largely on this account that he was deposed, and the incident illustrates the failure of the central government to check the invaders and the fact that the people of each district must look for protection to their local officials and great men such as the count and the bishop

Normandy settled

Through the ninth century, then, the Northmen repeatedly ravaged Frankish territory and sometimes passed the entire winter there, but the only region where they seem to have made permanent settlements on any large scale was on the lower course of the river Seine From this position they threatened the interior, and the King of the West Franks, whose capital was at Laon in what is now northeastern France, found it advisable to detach the district about Paris as a march against them The first count of this march was Robert the Strong The ruler of the Northmen on the lower Seine — or Normans as we may now begin to call them — during the last quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the tenth century, was Rollo (876–927), a somewhat legendary figure whose exploits are recorded in the later French *Roman de Rou* He made Rouen his capital, and in 911 or 912 he was definitely granted Normandy by the Carolingian king of the West Franks, Charles the Simple While Normandy was the only large area conquered by the Northmen from the Franks, they probably made smaller settlements in a number of places and were gradually absorbed into the native population, and everywhere converted to Christianity.

Northmen in Britain

In the British Isles the Northmen made numerous settlements and conquests. The Norwegians went to the Orkney and Shetland and Faroe Islands which lie to the north of Scotland, to Caithness and Sutherland on the northern coast of Scotland itself, to the Hebrides and the west coast of Scotland, and to the eastern coast of Ireland. Meanwhile the Danes devoted their attention to England. Both these movements had started before 800, and the famous monastery of Iona on the west coast of Scotland was sacked in 795. In England, as on the Continent, two stages of invasion are distinguished; the first, from about 787 to 855, a purely destructive one of plunder and rapine, the second, of occupation. The monastic culture of the north was practically blotted out by the heathen Danes, and they brought to an end the Angle kingdoms of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. They overran and occupied the entire north and east of England. But the kingdom of Wessex in the southwest, which had already become the strongest Anglo-Saxon state under Egbert, was left to struggle successfully against the Danes under its gallant, learned, and truly Christian king, Alfred the Great.

Alfred the Great

Alfred, who ruled from 871 to 901, united all the rest of England against the Danes, reorganized the Saxon army, and revived the navy. He drove the Danes out of Wessex and recovered London. A line drawn approximately from London to modern Liverpool was made the frontier between the West Saxon Kingdom and the Danelaw, as the territory where Danish customs and institutions prevailed was called. Under Alfred's son and grandsons the Danelaw was gradually reconquered and all England united under one ruler. The Danes had done at least the one service of obliterating the petty kingdoms in the territory they had occupied, and Kent, Sussex, and a part of Mercia had forgotten their differences and accepted a West Saxon king. The Danes also brought England into closer trade relations with the rest of Europe than before, and were more inclined to town life than the country-loving Anglo-Saxons. Their armor was a military improvement, and they brought in a large class of freemen to a land where, for a century or two before, the weak had been falling under the domination of the strong.

The Anglo-Saxon state

Alfred and his successors organized their new territory as they occupied it. The land was divided into shires, divisions similar to the Carolingian counties, and the shires were subdivided into hundreds, wapentakes, and other local units. These shires still exist today with the same names and boundaries, though no longer of the same administrative importance. Each hundred had a court which met monthly and the shire had its superior court which met twice a year. The chief official in each shire was the ealdorman (whence is derived our word "alderman"), some leading noble of the locality whose ancestor had perhaps once been its king. The bishop also had considerable authority. The ealdorman presided at the shire moot or court, and led the quota for the army furnished by his shire. Alfred had revived against the Danes the old German custom that all freemen should serve in the army, although he allowed them to take turns so that some might be tilling the fields. It is to be noted that the ealdorman was not so much the king's representative as was the Carolingian count, but was more akin to the tribal dukes of whom Charlemagne had tried to get rid. The Saxon king had another representative in the shire called the "sheriff" (shire-reeve), but he was as yet a rather humble individual, who collected the royal revenues from the king's private estates or the proceeds of justice, but who was not comparable to the ealdorman in dignity. Under this system of government, parts of England retained in their shire and hundred courts many distinctive local customs, and even the same thing was called by different names and perhaps done in a slightly different way in different places. In the Danelaw many institutions which derived from the earlier kingdoms of the Angles or from the Danes survived after Alfred's great-grandson, Edgar the Peaceful, had become king of all England, and similarly in Kent many Kentish customs were still followed. In other words, Alfred's successors did not attempt to force West Saxon customs on all England, but left much local freedom and autonomy.

If local institutions were the strong point of the Anglo-Saxon state, its weakness lay in the lack of close connection between the central government and the localities. The kings made laws and issued administrative regulations similar to the Frankish capitularies. To advise them they had their Witan of prominent nobles and clergy similar to the Frankish assembly of magnates. Their system of succession was more favorable to a united monarchy than the Frankish, for while the Witan had the right to elect and even to depose the king, their choice was limited to one royal family, and the land was never divided among several children. The Witan was not likely to depose the king, since he filled it with men whom he had raised to the nobility because of their services and fidelity to him. But the English kings had no *missi* to carry their power to the localities and no method like the sworn inquest for getting information from and concerning the localities.

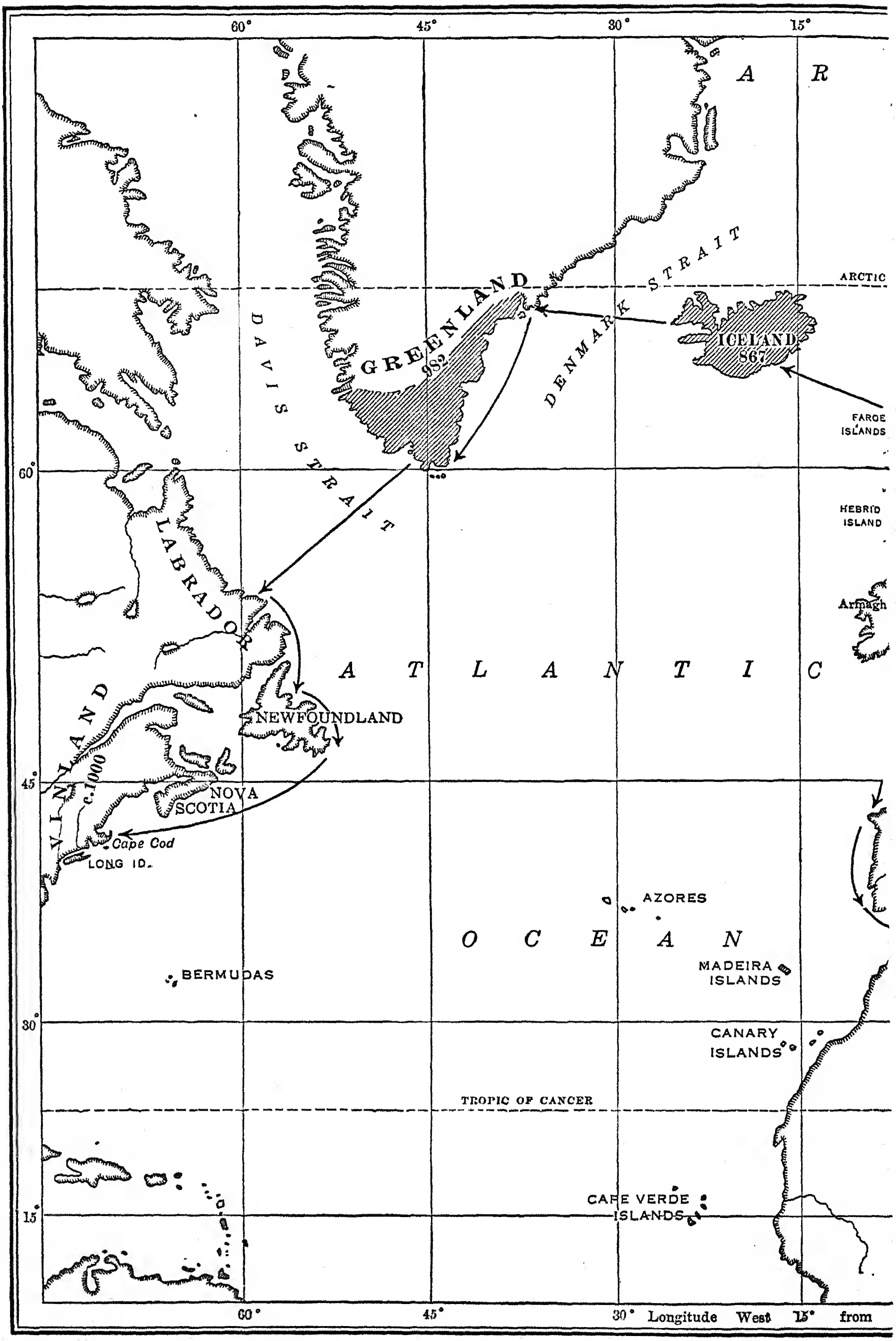
After Alfred had made peace with the Danes, he tried to restore religion

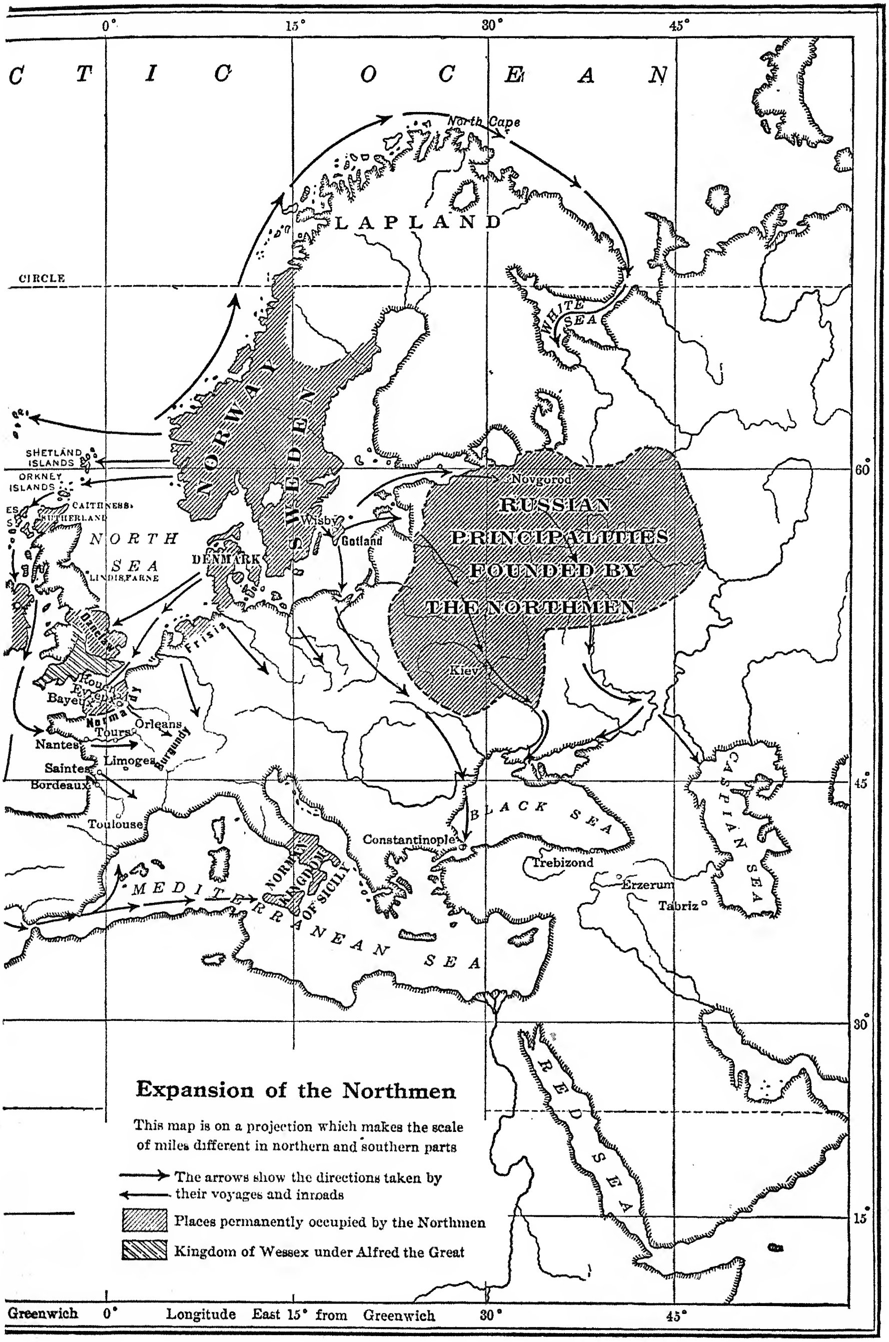
Anglo-Saxon literature

and learning in his realm. He had to send to the Continent for monks and to Celtic Wales for teachers, as Charlemagne earlier had been forced to seek his scholars from England and Italy. Alfred, however, went a step farther than Charlemagne. He encouraged the development of literature in the language of the people. He "wondered extremely that the good and wise men who were formerly all over England, and had learned perfectly all the books, did not wish to translate them into their own language." So he himself translated into Anglo-Saxon Orosius' *History*, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, and Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Charge*. It will be noted that these Latin works which Alfred selected for translation had all been written since the sack of Rome by Alaric and displayed a Christian or early medieval attitude. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the oldest historical work written in a modern language, if we may regard Anglo-Saxon as the first stage of the English language. Probably first compiled from earlier Latin annals, it was re-edited and expanded in the middle of the ninth century, and again under Alfred. After his death it was continued at different places and kept up to date in its entries until long after the Norman conquest. We still possess today manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, written in England in Latin and in Anglo-Saxon, which show that Alfred's efforts to stimulate learning and literature were not without results. From no other country in western Europe have we before the twelfth century so many manuscripts dealing with medieval natural science and medicine. The *Leech-Book of Bald and Cild*, composed in the tenth century, has been called "the first medical treatise written in western Europe which can be said to belong to modern history" (Payne). It takes a good deal from Pliny and late Greek medical writers, but introduces native herbs, popular medicine, Teutonic or Celtic folklore with a Christian veneer, and not a little magical procedure.

Voyages of the Northmen

But from the constructive government of Alfred and his successors and from the culture of later Saxon England we must turn back again to the wild invaders. If we would appreciate thoroughly the tremendous vigor and power of expansion, the adventurous spirit and the fearless enterprise of the Norse Vikings, and their ability to cover vast distances by land or sea, we must follow them, not only along the coasts of Gaul and of both Christian and Mohammedan Spain and to the Irish Channel or the Mediterranean, but yet farther afield and afloat. Before the ninth century was over they had sailed around the North Cape of Europe and along the shores of Lapland to the White Sea; they had colonized Iceland, and had sighted Greenland, which was at first more appropriately called "White Shirt" from its robe of snow.


60°
45°
30°
15°
A R
ARCTIC
GREENLAND
982
DAVIS STRAIT
DENMARK STRAIT
ICELAND
867
FAROE ISLANDS
HEBRID ISLAND
Armagh
60°
LABRADOR
A T L A N T I C
NEWFOUNDLAND
VINLAND
c.1000
45°
NOVA SCOTIA
Cape Cod
LONG ID.
AZORES
O C E A N
MADEIRA ISLANDS
BERMUDAS
30°
CANARY ISLANDS
TROPIC OF CANCER
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
15°
60°
45°
30° Longitude West 15° from


0°
15°
30°
45°
CTIC OCEAN
North Cape
LAPLAND
CIRCLE
WHITE SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
SHETLAND ISLANDS
ORKNEY ISLANDS
CAITHNESS
SUTHERLAND
NORTH SEA
LINDISFARNE
DENMARK
Wisby
Gotland
Novgorod
RUSSIAN PRINCIPALITIES FOUNDED BY THE NORTHMEN
Kiev
Danelaw
Frisia
Rouen
Evreux
Bayeux
Normandy
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Burgundy
Limoges
Saintes
Bordeaux
Toulouse
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
Erzerum
Tabriz
CASPIAN SEA
RED SEA
60°
45°
30°
15°
Greenwich 0° Longitude East 15° from Greenwich 30° 45°

Expansion of the Northmen

This map is on a projection which makes the scale of miles different in northern and southern parts

→ ← The arrows show the directions taken by their voyages and inroads

▨ Places permanently occupied by the Northmen

▧ Kingdom of Wessex under Alfred the Great

In the tenth century they made settlements in Greenland, and about the year 1000 visited the coasts of what they called "Vinland," which seems to have been either Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, or New England Thus they became deep-sea sailors before the introduction of the mariner's compass and discovered America five centuries before Columbus The world, however, was not yet ready to profit by this discovery, and the Northmen themselves seldom visited Vinland and apparently founded no lasting settlements there

Northmen in Russia

While Norwegians thus pushed on farther and farther into unknown seas, Swedes were crossing and recrossing the great expanse of Russia Here too they first appeared as small bands of plunderers, called *vaeringjar*, or Varangians (more properly, Waringians) By using Russia's great network of rivers they penetrated the interior easily and made their way to the Black Sea A writer in Arabic records that early in the ninth century a fleet of five hundred vessels came out of the Volga into the Caspian Sea and ravaged the western and southern shores to the utter amazement and dismay of the previously prosperous and peaceful population Here and there the Northmen seem to have established fortified trading stations and to have lorded it over the Finnish, Slavic, and nomad populations As early as 839 they had visited Constantinople, returning through the Frankish Empire They were established at Kiev in southern Russia about 850 The oldest Russian chronicle tells us that in 859 the Slavs refused to pay any more tribute to the Northmen, drove them away, and tried to govern themselves Disorder and civil war resulted, however, and they then sent to the Varangians or Russ (Rōs is the Slavic name for Swedes) for a king This first ruler of Russia was named Rurik and had the title of Grand Prince. His capital was at Novgorod Two of his followers set up another kingdom at Kiev, but his successor absorbed it An Arabian geographer of the ninth century estimates the number of Russ or Northmen in Russia at one hundred thousand, and Arabian historians say that by 900 the Black Sea was called the Russian Sea The Swedes were also found upon the shores of the Caspian Sea Ere long they threatened Constantinople and were paid tribute to leave its environs unmolested In the later tenth century they served in the famous Varangian imperial bodyguard.

In 989 Vladimir of Kiev, who had married a sister of the Byzantine emperor, accepted Christianity and brought Russia into the Eastern Church rather than under the papacy The Bible had already been translated into the Slavic tongue in the previous century, and this version was now employed in Russia, where the Northmen themselves soon became Slavicized Many Anglo-Saxon coins and also a large number of

Arabic coins dating between 850 and 1000 have been found in Sweden and Russia. Indeed, in all, over one hundred thousand Oriental coins have been found in Russia, Scandinavia, Iceland, and Greenland, showing that the Northmen carried on a great trade with the East across Russia. We still possess commercial treaties which they made with the Byzantine emperor. To the markets of the South and East they brought furs and crowds of Slavs, or slaves — for such seems to be the origin of the word — and took away with them articles of luxury, silks, gold, and silver. Such objects of personal adornment and luxury may still be seen in profusion in the national museums at the three Scandinavian capitals, but many of them represent the workmanship of native artists — brooches, beads, and bracelets — and not trade or plunder from other lands.

Saint Olaf

The leading figure in the conversion of Scandinavia, Saint Olaf, son of Harold of Greenland, was no recluse monk but a wandering warrior. As a boy of twelve he visited Sweden and Gotland, then fought in Finland, then went to Friesland and to England, where he fought with Ethelred against Swein, King of Denmark. After four years in England he crossed the Channel to Normandy, Brittany, and the Bay of Biscay. After a foray up the Loire River plundering Poitou and Touraine, he joined with Ethelred's sons in an unsuccessful invasion of England, where Swein's son, Cnut, was now ruling. As King of Norway, Olaf tried to convert Iceland and Greenland and abolish such pagan customs as eating horseflesh and exposing infants. He also tried to occupy and Christianize the island of Heligoland. But Cnut then conquered Norway from him and forced him to flee to Novgorod. He was offered the rule of Old Bulgaria on the Volga, but instead crossed Sweden to make a last attempt to regain the throne of Norway. He failed but was regarded by Norwegian national feeling as a martyr, and his son, Magnus, regained the crown when Cnut died.

Influence of the Northmen

Fiends of destruction as the first Vikings had seemed, and fatal as their incursions had been to government, religion, economic prosperity, and monastic culture in the lands they invaded, when once they began to occupy the land permanently they displayed a remarkable capacity for adapting themselves to the customs of the countries where they settled. In England they formed one nation with the Anglo-Saxons, in Normandy they adopted the language and manners of the Romance peoples and became French of the French, in Scotland and in Ireland they were absorbed in each case by the native population, in Russia they were Slavicized. Those who stayed at home in Scandinavia did not develop any high culture of their own, although by the eleventh century they had become Christians like their fellows in other lands Indeed, their vigor both physical and intellectual seems to have declined with their conversion Subtle craftiness, says Beazley, was replaced by lack of foresight, and the old pagan "fierce contempt of life" and "unflinching pursuit" of wealth gave way to peaceful Christian virtues This change was, however, perhaps due to other causes, such as the emigration of the most ambitious and energetic — and the most lawless and unscrupulous — to foreign lands Those who colonized in other countries not merely took on whatever culture they found there, they also contributed something, as has already been shown in the case of the Danes in England In general we may say that the Northmen made the following contributions to the countries they invaded and settled (1) their vigorous blood, seafaring instincts, and spirit of enterprise, which we may see still at work in later movements such as the Norman conquest of England, the Norman conquests of Sicily and southern Italy, and the crusades, (2) a commerce and connection with other lands which tended to break the isolation and broaden the civilization of the regions with which they came in contact; (3) a capacity for organization and government which shows itself in their founding of the principality of Russia, of the duchy of Normandy, of the republic of Iceland, and later in the Danish and Anglo-Norman monarchies in England, and in the Norman kingdom of Sicily and southern Italy

Saracens in Mediterranean

While the Northmen were sailing up the rivers which empty into the North Sea, the English Channel, and the Bay of Biscay, Mohammedan pirates raided the Mediterranean, and the shores of southern Italy are still lined with the ruins of towers built to guard against them In 827, when they were called in by Christian rebels, a native Berber dynasty in North Africa began to wrench Sicily away from the Byzantine Empire Palermo, on the northern coast, was taken in 831 and became the Moslem capital; most of the island was subjugated by the middle of the same century; then came a lull before Syracuse, on the eastern coast, was destroyed in 878, and the conquest was not complete until 902 Long before that, however, the Saracens had entered Italy. The Duke of Naples called upon them in 837 to relieve that town from a siege by the Lombard Duke of Benevento. A few years later the Neapolitans returned the favor by helping the Saracens to conquer Messina in the extreme northeastern corner of Sicily Meanwhile the Moslems were making conquests in Italy, especially since Benevento had split into two halves which kept fighting each other Moslems from Crete took one side in this strife and Moslems from Sicily took the other side They also pushed far up the Adriatic Sea and defeated the Venetians. They made Bari in Apulia their headquarters, and from that point overran southern Italy pretty much as they pleased. In 846 their fleet entered the seaport of Rome, plundered the suburbs, and broke open the graves of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in their churches outside the walls. Three years later a similar expedition was defeated by a fleet from Italian towns of the west coast, assisted by a storm, and a wall was built around the quarter beyond the Tiber to protect the basilica of Saint Peter and the Vatican Palace.

From 847 to his death in 875 the Emperor Louis II, son of Lothair, led frequent expeditions against the Saracens, but failed to drive them entirely out of Italy, chiefly for the reason that the petty lords who now divided the old duchy of Benevento between them did not co-operate loyally with him. In 871, acting in unison with a Byzantine fleet, he captured Bari from the Moslems, and the Byzantine Emperor Basil, who continued the struggle after Louis's death, at last expelled them from the east coast and southern end of the peninsula. But they still held posts farther up the west coast from which they often plundered central Italy, until Pope John X finally got rid of them in 915. In Sicily their rule endured into the eleventh century and Palermo became a center of prosperity, refinement, and learning comparable to Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova. But the state was weakened by the jealousies between the Arabs and Berbers.

Incursions by the Magyars

Toward the close of the ninth century the nomadic Magyars entered the plain of Hungary, whence the Avars had disappeared soon after Charlemagne. The Magyars are still found today in Hungary. Again and again during the first half of the tenth century they swept over Bavaria, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia, they frequently ravaged Lombardy beyond the Alps, and their devastations in Gaul sometimes carried them as far as Spain or Flanders. It was the business of the kings of the East Franks to stop these invaders, but for many years they failed to do so. Arnulf (887–899) made an alliance with them. Louis the Child (899–911) was defeated by them and forced to pay them tribute. They invaded four times during the brief reign of Conrad I, who had many other wars on his hands. Many monasteries in Austria and Bavaria now disappeared entirely. Henry I (919–936), whose authority was restricted to Saxony and Thuringia, gained immunity for those districts for a number of years by paying tribute. By 933, however, Henry felt strong enough to refuse to pay tribute any longer and defeated the Hungarians; but in the early years of the reign of his successor, Otto I, they continued to invade Germany and even Gaul, until at last Otto defeated them decisively in 955 in the battle of the Lechfeld After that they settled down in Hungary, their conversion to Christianity is especially associated with the name of their first king, Saint Stephen (997–1038)

Condition of the Slavs

The unhappy Slavs during the ninth and tenth centuries were still more invaded than invading, harassed as they were from the east by the mounted nomads and from the north by the Swedish slave-traders The mortality in the slave trade at that time was even greater than in the later African slave trade with America About nine Slavs died on the way for every one who was sold as a slave Yet they continued to increase in population They had already freed themselves to a considerable extent from the domination of the Asiatic invaders In the Balkan states the nomadic element became absorbed in the Slavic population. In Carinthia, Bohemia, and Poland the enslaved peasants had revolted against the rule of the Avars and founded native dynasties, although by Charlemagne's time Carinthia had a German duke The Wends between the Elbe and Oder, and the Czechs in Bohemia were now able to defend themselves, and also made inroads into German territory Conrad I had wars with them, Henry I created marks to strengthen his northeastern frontier against them and founded Meissen and Brandenburg, and finally Otto I was able to take the offensive against them. The Magyar invasion and settlement of Hungary had the important result of driving in a wedge which thenceforth permanently separated the Slavs to the south of the Danube from those on the northeastern frontier of Germany. Prince Miesko of Poland was converted to Latin Christianity in 966

Bibliographical Note

Selections from old Norse literature are given by H. G. Leach, *A Pageant of Old Scandinavia*, 1946, while many interesting details from the sagas are given in text and footnotes by Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, II, chapter ii, which may be subdivided into the following sections pp 17–48, Russia, Iceland, and Greenland, 48–74, voyages to Vinland, 74–83, discussion of their reliability, 84–101, Saint Olaf, 103–111, career of Harold Hardrada On the Vikings the second chapter of Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, T D Kendrick, *History of the Vikings*, A Mawer, *The Vikings*, a popular account, or his more scholarly Chapter 13 in Volume III of the *Cambridge Medieval History*. On *Viking Civilization*, see the work of A. Olrik, and Mary W. Williams, *Social Scandinavia*. The best history of Norway is by Gjerset, for Sweden there is A. A Stromberg or Hallendorff and Schuck, for Hungary, Louis Leger, *A History of Austria-Hungary*, chapter 5, "Formation of the Magyar State," or Leeper, *A History of Medieval Austria* (1941), chapters 11, 12, 13, for Russia, Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia*, especially I, 6–21, Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (1948), and S H Cross, *Slavic Civilization* (1948), chapters 4 and 5. C A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, analyzes the sources More recent treatments of the Vinland voyages than that of Beazley are Daniel Bruun, *The Icelandic Colonization of Greenland and the Finding of Vineland*, and Thórdarson, *The Vinland Voyages*, translated by T J Walters Other treatments of special topics are S H. Cross, "Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia," *Speculum*, 21 (1946), 505–514, George Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, J F Payne, *English Medicine in Anglo-Saxon Times*, and C. Plummer, *Life and Times of Alfred the Great*

PART THREE

The Development of Medieval Latin Civilization

XIV

Economic Recovery and Social Progress

Seeds of new civilization

So FAR our story, despite some highlights and great achievements, has been largely one of war, invasion, and depopulation, of tribal wanderings over the face of Europe, of economic and social decline, of a continued loss in urban life and increasing nomadization, of the passing of classical civilization or its lingering only in the greatly altered forms of early medieval, Byzantine, and Arabic culture. But all the time under this troubled surface had been quietly sprouting the seeds of a new civilization. As Aristotle said of old, there can be no generation without preceding corruption, and no corruption without succeeding generation. We have already traced the change from civic religion and tribal custom to Christianity and Islam, from pagan festival and war god to asceticism and monasticism. In this chapter we examine the economic forces which produced a new European civilization, which repopulated western Europe, resuscitated urban life on a greater and healthier scale than ever before, and gave impetus to social progress. Perhaps climatic change and decrease or increase of rainfall played their part. At any rate, the center of interest passed from the sunny Mediterranean and from the sandy plains and fertile river valleys of the Orient to northwestern Europe. The "incomparable prosperity" of the Byzantine Empire from 850 to 1050, and of the caliphs of Bagdad and Cordova, was now to pass to northwestern Europe.

The characteristic basis of the new economy and civilization was to be the development of power, of labor-saving devices, and of machinery. We have seen that antiquity depended mainly on manpower and especially on slave labor, that it was unacquainted with many mechanical devices, and that such labor-saving inventions as the valves for bellows and the drawloom came only in the fourth century, or later.

Improved farming methods

The lighter plough was characteristic of the Mediterranean basin. After a field had been ploughed in one direction, it was ploughed again at right angles to the previous furrows. Also the lack of rain in summer made spring sowing unprofitable. Therefore what is known as the two-field system was normal in raising grain on arable land. That is, every other year half of the

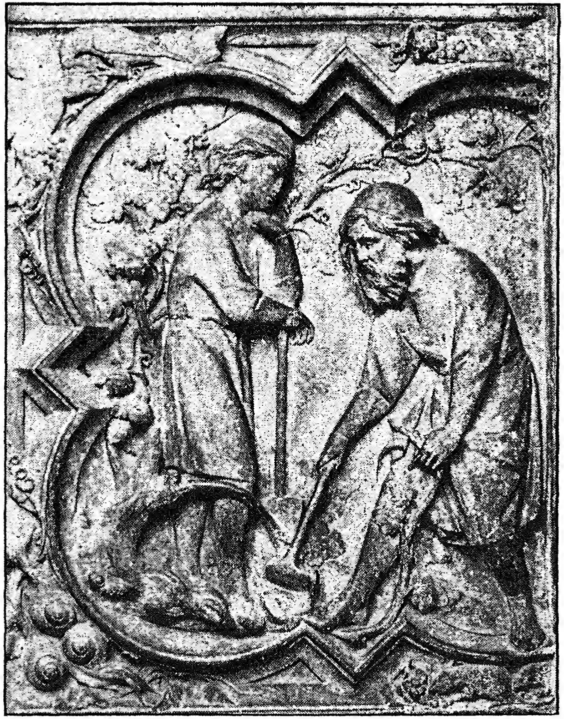


Figure 24

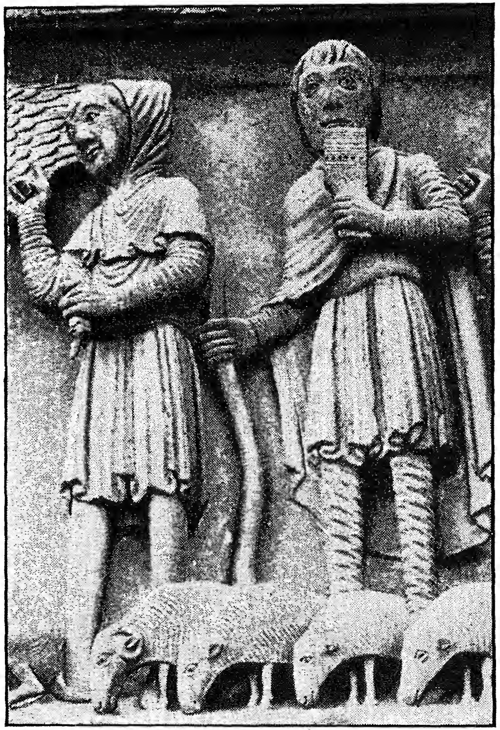


Figure 25

COUNTRY LIFE

Left, Noah planting a vineyard (from La Sainte-Chapelle, Paris); *right*, shepherds (from the cathedral of Chartres) fields were allowed to lie fallow in order to recover their fertility, while crops were sown and raised on the other half. The fallow land, however, had to be ploughed twice to root up weeds and to let air into the soil.

In the north, on the other hand, the heavier wheeled plough, drawn by an eight-ox team — cattle were much smaller then — was used among the Anglo-Saxons in England. Because this plough cut so deep into the soil and was so powerful, it could be employed alike on rich plains, heavy river-bottom land, and poorly drained areas, and it made the additional criss-cross ploughing unnecessary. It therefore became customary to plough a long furrow before turning the team back. This practice resulted in great open fields divided into strips a furrow long (or furlong), four rods or twenty-two yards wide, and an acre each in extent. These strips, separated by paths or balks, belonged to different individuals in the community or settlement who, when harvest came, would receive the crops from their particular acres. It seems evident, however, that there was co-aration, that is, all the strips in the great open field were ploughed at one time by common action of the peasants, some of whom owned only a share in a plough and provided only one or two oxen for an eight-ox team. Such open fields, partitioned into long strips, may still be seen in parts of Germany, northern France, and England. While the arable land was thus divided in strips among the lord and peasants, they used in common the pasture for their cattle, the meadows for hay, and the forest for firewood in the shape of dead sticks and to feed their pigs on its acorns.

With the heavy wheeled plough, the open fields, and long furrows, was associated the three-field system, which, however, seems to be mentioned regularly only from the time of Charlemagne on. By this system each open field was left to lie fallow only every third year, being planted in the other two years with wheat or rye and a spring and winter sowing. This reduced the amount of fallow land and increased the output of crops, yet was labor-saving in requiring less ploughing, since fallow land was ploughed twice and in the three-field system this would need to be done only every third year instead of every other year. The harrow, a heavy frame with iron teeth which was used to break the clods of soil on ploughed land, was a medieval invention.

It has been explained in Chapter I why horses, because of the ancient method of harnessing them, had hitherto been utilized so little for drawing heavy loads or for ploughing. In the sixth century, when the Goths were besieging Belisarius in Rome, they employed yoked oxen to pull the heavy towers on wheels which they had

Transportation, power

constructed for storming the walls of the city But Belisarius, mounting heavy catapults or crossbows on the walls, shot all the slow-moving oxen dead long before they could bring the towers up to the walls Thus oxen rather than horses were used as draft animals, until an unknown inventor of perhaps the late Carolingian period devised the horse collar which is still in use and which rests on the animal's shoulders leaving its throat free to breathe and thus enabling it to exert its full strength A span of horses could pull three or four times what it could before But a team was not necessary, as it was with the yoke A horse could be harnessed singly to a plough or cart, or three or four horses could be harnessed in a line tandem Hence this invention resulted not merely in making the horse as a draft animal and in increasing to that extent the available power other than human, it was also a boon to the small cultivator and landholder who now could use a single horse, where before he would have required a yoke of oxen or would have had to combine with others in supporting a team of oxen Individual action and enterprise were now more feasible

But there were still further possibilities Horses can draw loads much faster than oxen This meant that the peasant could reach a more distant market and dispose more readily of his surplus crops Lords no longer needed to travel slowly from manor to manor consuming on the spot what had been produced there and stored up against their arrival They consequently would dispense with payments in kind and forced labor, and be ready to commute these for payments in money, which they could spend when, where, and as they pleased The peasant could get the money by selling the produce at a neighboring town or market Towns would develop which were more than mere agricultural centers; nobles would reside in them or at least spend their money there, traders, artisans, and money-changers would flock thither Another invention greatly improved the horse as a road animal the iron horseshoe fastened to the hoof by iron nails Lefebvre des Noettes called attention to the fact that these do not appear in equestrian statues and other representations of horses on extant monuments until after Charlemagne Other methods of protecting the hoof had been tried in antiquity, such as plates which clamped on, as old-fashioned skates used to do, but these were clumsy and unsuccessful The number of smiths would increase, now that they had horses to shoe as well as armor to forge or repair Finally, from the twelfth century on transportation was further facilitated by replacing the old, narrow, solid Roman roads, which had been built primarily for foot soldiers, by broader highways constructed of small or broken stones on a loose foundation of earth or sand, which could expand and contract with heat and cold and could be repaired more easily and were better suited to vehicular traffic

We saw that the first public water mills at Rome dated from 398, that Belisarius devised ship mills in the Tiber to take their place, when the Goths cut off the water supply, and that a Byzantine ambassador in the eighth century built a great mill with many millstones for the caliph, which was still in working order in the ninth century Water mills were widespread in western Europe and were usually found under the control of lords, lay or ecclesiastical, who perhaps had built them in the first instance, and who now found in them a steady source of revenue by charging the peasants and others for their use Presently men forgot that flour and meal had once been ground by hand, so that in a manuscript the verse of the Bible, "Two women shall be grinding corn; one shall be taken and the other left," is illustrated by a picture of a water mill beside which one female figure is swooning while another is bringing in grain Water power was also widely used for other purposes, such as fulling cloth; so that Fuller and Miller have become common names like Smith.

Windmills, which are so useful in flat regions where there is little waterfall, are first heard of much later than water mills, and perhaps too late to be associated with the early stages of economic recovery and the development of power Al-Masudi refers to them in Persia in the tenth century, but with the fans revolving on a vertical axis We next find them in Normandy, England, and Brittany at the close of the twelfth century, although they probably had been invented or introduced some time before If the idea was borrowed from Persia, it was improved upon, since in the West the arms turn a horizontal axis

Such new inventions can seldom be dated accurately The first literary mentions or pictorial representations of them are apt to be late and casual, describing them as an accomplished fact already familiar to everyone. Thus the earliest Italian reference to a windmill is said to be Dante's comparison of Satan waving his arms to "a mill whirled by the wind" But of course the poet would hardly use such a simile unless his readers were already accustomed to the sight of a windmill

New processes paper-making

That inventions and industrial processes which the Arabs introduced from the East were often substantially improved upon in the West may be illustrated in the case of paper-making In Moslem Spain an important paper-making center was Jativa, which is located a little south of Valencia and inland, but the oldest paper manufacture in Christian Europe was at Fabriano in Italy about 1269–1276 Other Italian cities, like Bologna (in 1293), Cividale, and a little later

Padua, Genoa, and Treviso, followed its example But the mills of Fabriano were most successful in developing the process during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and in perfecting the technique Like the mills of Jativa, they produced a paper made of rags of linen or hemp, but from a paste better beaten and better masticated by metal mallets worked by water power, glued with gelatine, having short fibers, and marked with filigranes The long-accepted legend of a paper made of cotton by the Arabs has now been destroyed by microsopic examination made by botanists It was, rather, the new processes which distinguished the paper of Fabriano from that of the Arabic world and of Jativa, where the paste had been beaten by hand with wooden pestles, glued with starch, and constructed of long fibers

Prosperity and progress

Other medieval labor-saving devices which cannot be precisely dated were the spinning wheel, which took the place of the classical distaff and spindle in making thread, the rotary grindstone and other machines turned by cranks, the employment of wheels indented with teeth and of gears; the wheelbarrow, so useful in both building and agriculture, the harrow, and such other rustic tools as the flail and scythe But regardless of exactly when any particular invention may have been made, it seems evident that there was a marked general movement in the direction of labor-saving devices and new processes, and that it began in the agricultural world of the disrupted Carolingian Empire This trend must have been the outcome of local enterprise and individual effort put forth in the almost total absence of any central government or controlled economy. With it went a steadily increasing population, the emancipation in whole or part of the servile class in the countryside, the rise of merchants and artisans and the revival and continued growth of towns. The net result was a great economic and social advance "Germany under the Hohenstaufens," says Schmoller, "experienced a period of prosperity and progress with which only the nineteenth century is comparable" Land in the Rhine and Moselle Valleys was worth seventeen times as much in the thirteenth as in the tenth century "At no time in the Middle Ages was agriculture more flourishing or the peasants better off than the twelfth and thirteenth centuries" (Eileen Power) Already in the eleventh century historians were speaking of a middle class (*mediocres*) as well as of the poor (*pauperes*) and the powerful (*maiores*)

"Villa" was still the name in most of medieval France for a large estate, as it had been in Roman and Carolingian times, but in England the Norman word "manor" came to be used. The villas or manors varied greatly in size; not all of them were large enough to support a lord Some lords had several manors, and some had hundreds The *mansus* or *hufe* was the usual unit of land measurement on the Continent, to which roughly corresponded the *hide* or smaller *virgate* in England, but these expressions seem not to have indicated any exact area, but to have varied in different places and according to the fertility of the soil In some parts of Europe the population was too sparse or the country too difficult for large estates cultivated by serfs, and we find single houses and farms But the villa was the rule Normally the lands divided among the serfs aggregated more than the *mansus indominicatus*, or demesne lands reserved by the lord A local or manorial court was commonly held on each estate to administer its affairs, enforce the law, and settle disputes between the peasants.

Economy of the manor

An English manor in Oxfordshire in 1195 contained fifty-four oxen making up nine plough teams of six oxen each, six draft horses, twelve cows and three bulls, twenty-four sows and three boars, and two hundred and forty-nine sheep The oxen, horses, cows, and bulls cost four shillings each; the pigs, three; and the sheep, six pence These were rather high prices for the time An ox, horse, cow, or bull could usually be bought for three shillings, and sometimes for less, while sheep sold for four pence between 1163 and 1183

Emancipation of peasants

In the declining Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages men had sought protection and the means of subsistence from others and had commended themselves to the great and powerful Now an opposite tendency became evident. Men felt able to feed, clothe, and defend themselves, and sought freedom from their lords Individual serfs ran away from their masters and entire communities rose in revolt or bargained with their lords for their collective freedom There were traces of this movement even in the tenth century. We hear of an estate in Limousin in central France whose peasants were serfs in 900 but soon became "hereditary tenants" whose consent was asked when the *mansus* was transferred to a new lord in 958 In 997 the peasants of Normandy made an organized though ineffectual revolt against their masters, and a few years later the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto III, issued a law to check the attempts of the unfree classes to escape from their servile position In Gascony and the Pyrenees rural communes with elected consuls, popular assemblies, and common use of pasture and forest are already found in the eleventh century and probably existed even earlier. By 1100 Brittany, Normandy, and Poitou were almost completely free In Leon and Castile this was the case by the thirteenth century. As the expansion of Western Christendom brought new soil under cultivation and the owners of these new estates offered favorable terms to attract tenants and labor, the lords of the older manors found it advisable to improve the lot of their peasants if they wished to keep them In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the practice spread rapidly among manorial lords of emancipating their serfs in return for a considerable lump payment by the peasantry In fact, so attractive to the lords was this prospect of the immediate payment of a large amount that they sometimes forced charters of emancipation upon communities of serfs who had not asked for them The peasants of course could not have made such a lump payment unless they had already amassed a considerable amount of cash by selling their produce in open markets

The granting of a charter of emancipation did not mean that the peasants would no longer work for, and pay rents to, the lord But now such rents and services were stated and fixed in the charter, the lord could not henceforth exert arbitrary power over the peasants and demand payments and labor from them at will They could move about freely, marry outside the manor without paying fines, and perhaps sell or bequeath their land Usually, however, they continued to attend the manorial court Finally, we must remember that many peasants were not emancipated, especially in the less progressive portions of Europe, and that, on the other hand, some peasants had never sunk to serfdom, but had remained free through the early Middle Ages

Fuller freedom in towns

If peasants whose lands lay exposed to ravaging and plunder could thus acquire at least some measure of freedom, the inhabitants of walled towns would obviously acquire far more Their denser population enabled them to organize more effectually, their trade and industry gave them more money with which to buy concessions Indeed, it was the existence of walled towns, where runaway serfs could find a hiding place and an opportunity to engage in other than agricultural labor, that helped to make possible the emancipation movement among the peasantry. On the other hand, where the countryside became so overpopulated that many of the younger generation could not find land or employment, they might migrate to the towns more in search of work than of freedom

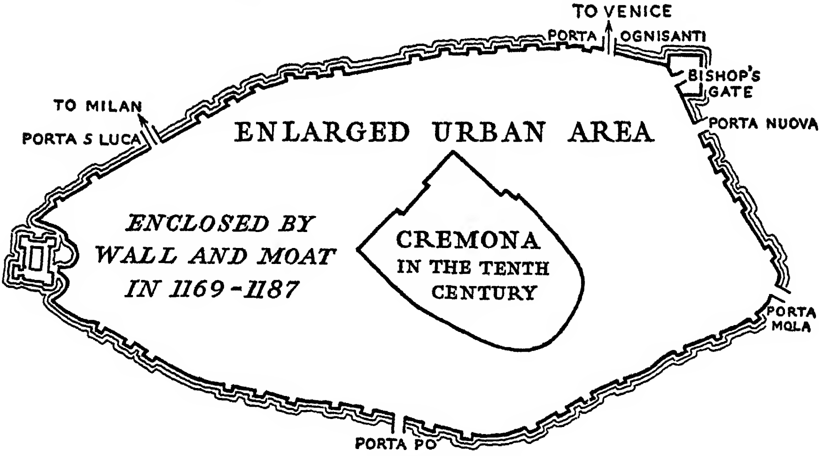
Development of towns

We have seen that municipal and urban life of the classical type greatly declined in the later Roman Empire, that conditions did not improve in the West during the sixth and seventh centuries, that Moslem dominance in the Mediterranean then cut off northwestern Europe from the rest of the world and reduced it to an almost purely agricultural economy, and that the Northmen had plundered and burned most settlements of any size and wealth, including monasteries Such fortresses and refuges as kings or local lords had erected for defense against the Northmen, and which were called *burhs* (later, boroughs) in England, were centers for troops and perhaps temporary shelters for refugees from the neighborhood, but were not towns in any truly residential or economic sense, although, like the earlier Roman fortified military camps, they sometimes furnished the nuclei for towns which developed later

But now came the growth of true town life on a large scale What had been an occasional market held outside the old walls became a permanent business section incorporated within the new walls Suburbs also grew up outside the walls and were ultimately added to the town itself This development may be illustrated by the case of Marseilles, which since early Greek times had been a flourishing trading center, but from the seventh to the tenth century decreased in size, many houses and other buildings being abandoned It was sacked in 838 and again in 848 by the Saracens In 904 a *castrum* or fortress was built as a defense against such attacks and as a place of refuge for the diminished population, which was now too scanty to man the old walls But in 1031 and 1040 as a result of economic recovery the old city was repeopled and suburbs also arose requiring a second wall The outer walls were twice more extended to include the growing town, first at the close of the twelfth century, and again during the thirteenth After that there was no further change until 1666 The extent to which population had increased through the eleventh century may be inferred from the statement that in the year 1094 during an epidemic in Regensburg 8500 persons died within twelve weeks' time, while on a near-by villa more than 1500 died in six weeks In north Italy the city of Cremona in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries increased to about seven times its previous area

Growth of commerce

Agricultural economy was gradually replaced by commercial Genoa, for example, which in 958 was still an agricultural community, with perhaps a little fishing and piracy on the side, in the next century joined its shipping with that of Pisa to sweep the Moslem corsairs from the western Mediterranean Venice, for its part, cleared the Adriatic of pirates under its doge, Pietro Orseolo II (983–1008) In 1017, the German chronicler Thietmar records, four Venetian vessels laden with spices were shipwrecked — an indication that the Venetians were already engaged in passing on wares from the Far East to lands north of the Alps By the twelfth century we find a Genoese in two years' time (1156–1158) tripling his initial capital by three successive contractual ventures. These contracts of 1157 between a mer-



GROWTH OF THE CITY OF CREMONA IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

chant and a money-lender are our first extant medieval commercial writings The crews of Genoese vessels, however, were still part-time peasants, and even in the thirteenth century many a naval campaign was postponed or interrupted to permit the sailors to attend to the vintage or the fig and olive crops at home

While some towns bore the names of Roman and Carolingian times but had outgrown the ancient site and become business and industrial cities instead of mere administrative, military, or religious centers, others are now heard of for the first time. For example, out of some five hundred French towns only eighty were in existence in Roman Gaul Some names attest the fact that the towns developed about a monastery, such as Westminster (originally a borough distinct from the city of London), Munster and Munich in Germany, Saint-Gall in Switzerland Saint Omer in Artois, near the seaports of Boulogne and Dunkirk, and on the medieval frontier of France and Flanders, owed its name to Saint Omer, bishop of Thérouanne (637–667), who had been a monk at Luxeuil Another monk from Luxeuil, Saint Bertin, founded an abbey there in 640 which came to be named after him In 846 a *castrum* is mentioned at Saint Omer, and in 870 a market was set up north of it The bishop maintained a secondary residence at Saint Omer, and a town grew up about it which eventually absorbed the older settlement around the monastery of Saint Bertin

Gradually there grew up a native merchant class, men who devoted much or most of their time to buying and selling At Tournai, however, all persons other than clergy, fighting men, peasants, and manorial officials were called merchants (*mercatores*) They found it advisable to band together for mutual support and protection and to form within each town a merchant gild or *hanse* of all the businessmen — a sort of medieval chamber of commerce Since such an association increased the town's prosperity, the lord was generally willing to grant its members some special privileges, such as personal liberty, exemption from agricultural labor and payments, freedom to leave the manor for purposes of trade, protection on their journeys, and trading privileges in other places under the lord's control In return they would make payments to him from their business profits instead of rendering their previous services In the twelfth century, when Normandy and England were under the same ruler, the merchants of Rouen were granted a virtual monopoly of trade between Normandy and Ireland, and several special trading concessions in England The names *gild merchant* and *hanse* were found only in northwestern Europe In Italy the active body of citizens was called *popolo* from the old Roman *populus*

A merchant class *hanses*

Privileges of townsmen

As it became increasingly evident that the growth of towns contributed to the general economic welfare, kings and lords began to found new towns and to offer various privileges to attract settlers, such as a building lot, or a house and lot at a low fixed rent and permanent tenure, personal freedom, at least after residence for a year and a day; freedom from tolls and forced labor or their limitation to a few cases, freedom from military service and from having to entertain the lord, the right of local justice in the court in the town itself The charter of Beaumont in the Argonne was adopted by hundreds of other settlements This place in 1182 received from its lord permission to elect officials with powers of high justice These officials were, however, to turn over to the lord a part of the fines and other proceeds of justice and to collect various other dues and taxes for him The townsman usually came really to own his property in the modern sense, since he could lease it, sell it, or leave it by will to others than his direct heirs. Obviously such offers for new towns imitated and perhaps sought slightly to exceed the customs and privileges which townsmen enjoyed or were striving for elsewhere in towns already in existence These privileges also served as models for other new foundations or were granted as well to older towns They further indicate a rapidly increasing population, the ability of the countryside with draining and agricultural improvements and improved transportation to feed many towns as well as itself, and also the desire of many persons to emancipate themselves from the restrictions of peasant life by moving to a town, as well as the existence of a growing class of merchants and skilled artisans A poet of the time tells of a new town where eight hundred families came to live, of whom one hundred devoted themselves to commerce, one hundred to fishing, one hundred to various crafts; one hundred more were bakers, another hundred kept taverns, and the rest seem to have cultivated gardens and vineyards

Clothmaking Flanders

The increasing population needed to be clothed as well as fed Consequently clothmaking and textile industries were widely developed A chief center for them was Flanders, which had a wool-producing country close at hand across the Channel in England and which was itself advantageously situated on other trade routes After the barbarian invasions of the third century the Flemish towns decayed and were fortified Through the Merovingian period their economic life remained on about the same level as under the Roman Empire until they were ruined by the Normans But now they grew rapidly and after 1100 had to extend their walls widely to include the new urban areas

Ghent may be taken as a particular example In 851 the first settlement around the abbey of Saint Bavon was wiped out by the Northmen but revived in the last quarter of that century about Saint Bavon and Saint Peter The descendants of the founders (*viri hereditarii*) rented land to newcomers During the tenth century there was trade with Germany in fish, wine, and building materials, and after 1000 a fair at Saint Bavon In the eleventh century the merchant gild was formed When the walls were extended in 1194, they included eight times as much as the original fortified area Flanders as a whole became more thickly studded with towns than any other part of Europe, except perhaps Lombardy. Arras, the capital of Artois, whence artesian wells take their name, gave its name to tapestry hangings, long famous but manufactured no more, such as Polonius hides behind in one of the scenes in *Hamlet* Cambrai, the chief city of an ecclesiastical principality, still manufactures cambric which was invented there in the fifteenth century. Arras had been abandoned by its bishop in favor of Cambrai from about 600 to 1100 but had grown up again about the abbey of Saint Vaast. This unfortified settlement was sacked by the Northmen in 880, 881, and 883, but then was walled and after 1000 enjoyed a rapid development of the cloth industry. Lille (originally L'Isle, whence comes the expression "lisle thread"), Valenciennes, once noted for its lace, and Douai were then located in Flanders and Hainault, although that region is now a part of France rather than of Belgium. Baldwin IV of Flanders walled Lille about 1030, Baldwin V made it his residence and about 1055 built the collegiate church of Saint Pierre and enlarged the

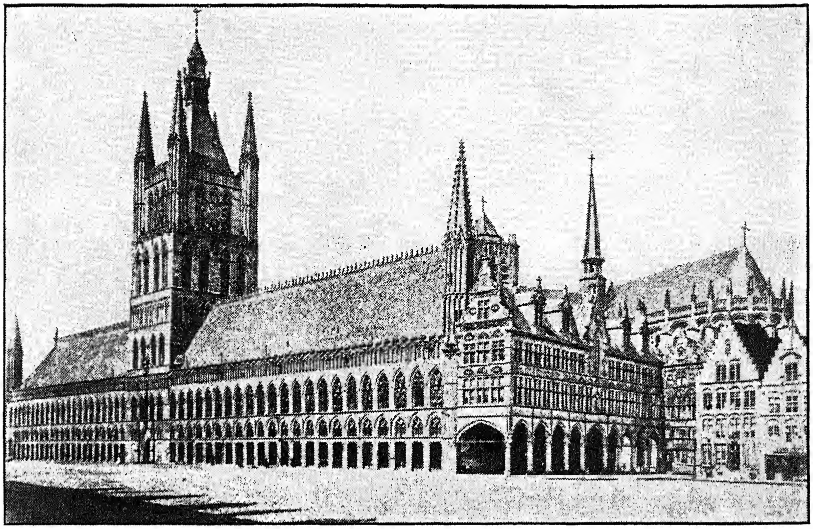


Figure 26

Cloth hall at Ypres, built 1200–1304, 435 feet in length, tower 230 feet high; destroyed in World War I

walls to include it. A number of new towns with harbors were founded by the counts of Flanders in the course of the twelfth century. By 1200 there were some forty towns in Flanders alone, of which Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres (Figure 26) were the chief, rivaling such Italian cities as Venice, Genoa, and Florence.

Foreign trade of Flanders

Before 1100 the Flemings had a fair of their own at Thurout, and went beyond their borders as far as Coblenz on the Rhine to secure wool for their cloth manufactures. Early in the twelfth century Italians were found in Ypres, and by the close of that century a flourishing trade went on with England, France, Spain, and Portugal. In the case of the three last-named countries the trade chiefly followed land routes. The most frequented path led from Bruges by old Roman routes via Tournai, Douai, and Arras to Bapaume. This town, today an insignificant little place, was then the chief center for the collection of customs duties between Flanders and the rest of France, owing to its situation at the crossing of two ancient Roman roads from Arras to Rheims and from Cambrai to Amiens. From Bapaume the route proceeded through Péronne, Roye, Compiègne, Paris, Orléans, where Joan of Arc later saved France, Tours, with its shrine of Saint Martin, Poitiers, where the oldest Christian church in France stands, Limoges, famous since the twelfth century for its enamels, Bordeaux, and Bayonne to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. There two routes branched off to Burgos and Lisbon and to Barcelona and Valencia, respectively. This trade developed from pilgrimages to the shrine of Saint James at Compostella in northern Spain, and as a result of the part taken by the Flemish in expeditions of 1147 and 1189 to aid the Portuguese and Castilians against the Moslems of Spain.

Other industry, labor

As we have already implied, Flanders was not the only region where cloth was manufactured Before the twelfth century closed, merchants from Troyes, Provins, and Lagny were present in Genoa, selling cloth made in Champagne and buying Mediterranean wares Other improved industries were dyeing, the decoration of pottery, copper, pewter, and wooden utensils, and leather-making Nails were made in Hainault, cutlery in Namur, Dinant was famous for its copper pots, pans, and other hardware; Liége, for its armorers and swordmakers

Boissonade, in his book on labor in medieval Christian Europe, calls the period "one of the most brilliant and fruitful . . of the historic past, during which labor has taken one of the most decisive steps towards well-being, justice and liberty." Already by the early twelfth century, gilds of artisans in specific occupations and crafts were being formed to supplement or diversify the original more general gild merchant.

Bibliographical Note

On agriculture, E. Barger, "The Present Position of Studies in English Field-Systems," *English Historical Review*, 53 (1938), 385–411, on the peasants, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, chapter 24, on emancipation, Luchaire, *Social France*, pp. 404–428. On labor, P. Boissonade, *Le travail dans l'Europe chrétienne au Moyen-Age*; on horses and harness, Lefebvre des Noettes, *L'attelage, le cheval de selle à travers les âges*, on fulling mills, *Economic History Review*, XI (1941), 39–65, on paper, André Blum, *Les origines du papier*; on Technology and invention, Lynn White, Jr in *Speculum*, XV (1940), 141–159, on towns and trade, Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*.

XV

Feudal Organization and States

WITH the disruption of Charlemagne's empire and the period of renewed invasions from all sides, we are no longer able to follow the fortunes of one ruler or of several fair-sized kingdoms, but find ourselves in the complicated tangle of feudalism, with its overlapping areas, its conflicting claims and titles to land and power, its minute subdivisions of sovereignty, its thousands of lords Feudalism in the strict sense of the word denotes the relationships which existed in the Middle Ages, especially from the ninth and tenth to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, between the members of the fighting and landowning class In a broader sense it also covers the life of the subjugated peasantry upon the land dominated by the warriors, and all the other economic, social, political, and intellectual results and accompaniments of feudalism in the narrower sense.

Meaning of feudalism

As the Frankish state disintegrated and central government and common action ceased to exist, the pieces out of which Charlemagne and his predecessors had put together their empire fell apart again according to old geographical, tribal, and racial lines, or followed more recent divisions Local officials and great landholders again became a law unto themselves, and the former tried to hand on their political power to their sons as the latter did their lands The Carolingian government had often tacitly admitted its inability to rule all the territory nominally subject to it by granting an immunity to this or that monastery or great man By such a grant the king renounced his right to collect taxes, administer justice, and send his officials into the lands of the individual or monastery in question Now the repeated incursions of Northmen, Saracens, and Magyars broke off communications and left each locality in isolation to look after itself. Men would not obey even the local officials unless they had to, since those officials often were no longer legally appointed by a king or emperor and often gave no better protection than king or emperor gave against the incessant invasions of heathen and Moslems.

Political and social chaos

Therefore other bonds than those of political union must be found to hold society together and insure each individual some sort of order and

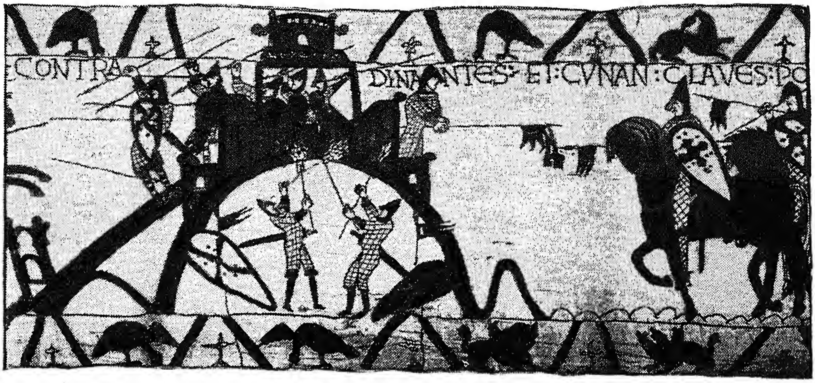

CONTRA
DINANTES: ET: CVNAN: CLAVES: PO

Figure 27

Surrender of a wooden castle on an earthen mound by the Duke of Brittany to the Duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror (from the Bayeux tapestry)

protection. Such bonds were found in personal relations between men and in dependent land tenure. In the early German *comitatus*, as described by Tacitus, men who were themselves nobles attached themselves as personal friends and followers in warlike exploits to some chief. Every king and duke and count tended to gather about him such a band of personal followers, on whose loyalty he could rely and whom he employed in the chief offices and rewarded with gifts — usually of land. Now, when royal power waned, these personal warrior bands did not. It was no longer possible to collect a national army, but all over the land powerful men had their personal followings and there was altogether a large warrior class seeking employment.

These powerful local magnates reared on their estates strongholds as a refuge and defense against the raids of the Northmen and other invaders, and with their personal followings beat off outside attacks and held their estates for themselves free from any external control. These strongholds, at first wooden towers or enclosures raised on a hill or other vantage-point or upon an artificial mound (Figure 27), later developed into the elaborate stone castle.

Royal grants

Kings often rewarded their followers with grants of land. Sometimes these were outright gifts, leaving the giver neither control over the land nor legal claim on the recipient. Still there was always the moral bond of gratitude, and such followers, having been once well repaid for their loyalty, were likely to continue to serve the king in the lively hope of favors yet to come. When the Anglo-Saxon ruler "booked" land to one of his thegns, he gave him a written deed or charter which could be adduced in proof of ownership It also showed, however, that the land had come from the king, and Anglo-Saxon law permitted the king to confiscate such lands, if the owners turned traitors or neglected their military duties The Lombard kings often gave no charter to their followers, but merely the precarious use of the land, and Charles Martel had in like fashion given his soldiers benefices from the church estates, which did not belong to him anyway, and which still belonged to the Church even after they were thus occupied for life by fighting men Kings also, we have seen, granted to individuals and to corporations, such as the Church and monasteries, an immunity from control by the central government, and, at least by implication, powers of local government

The fief

The central institution of feudalism was the fief The fief was the *beneficium* or immunity become hereditary with the personal bond added or accentuated Grants of land, which at first had been made for life only, were presently made for two or three lives, and finally became hereditary The heir, however, had to pay a *relief* to the lord as a token of the latter's ultimate ownership of the land And should there be no heir, the fief could not be alienated — that is, willed, or given, or sold — to an outsider, it must *escheat* or revert to the lord who granted it in the first place Also by misconduct the holder of the fief might *forfeit* his right to it, whereupon the lord took it away from him — if he could In general, feudal inheritance tended toward *primogeniture,* the principle that the fief should not be split up among several children or heirs, but that the oldest son should inherit it entire In England this became the rule, in feudal France it was observed with exceptions, and these mainly in the case of small fiefs of little political importance, in Germany the inclination was to divide the fief among all the sons.

Lord and vassal

To receive a fief one must enter into a personal bond with the one who granted the fief One must do homage and swear fealty to him, one must recognize him as one's lord and promise to be his faithful vassal The ceremony of homage consisted in kneeling before the lord and placing one's hands in his as a symbol of the feudal bond The oath of fidelity might be a general assurance of loyalty or might cover specific services

The feudal service rendered by a vassal to his lord varied greatly with such circumstances as the size and value of the fief held and the relative power and position of the two parties At first the services were perhaps not definitely stated, and even later the matter was a frequent source of dispute and strife between the two parties. But gradually in most fiefs feudal services came to be fixed by custom or by written agreement. It was generally understood that the holder of a fief should not be required to perform any servile or menial duties, but only honorable service proper for a freeman, a warrior, and a holder of considerable property. The chief form of service was military, and forty days in the year was frequently the amount of service required. In addition to fighting for his lord in the field and mounting guard in his castles, the vassal was generally required at stated seasons to attend his lord's court, where his presence contributed to the lord's social prestige and aided him in building up something akin to political power. At court the vassal might be called upon to counsel his lord, or to help decide disputes between other vassals or between another vassal and the lord. He might also have some ceremonial function to perform, such as waiting upon his lord at table, lighting his way with a candle as he went to bed, or counting his chessmen on Christmas Day. Such services were not considered humiliating and seldom involved much labor. We even hear of a vassal of the King of England whose privilege and duty it was to support the royal head during a rough passage of the Channel. Lords visited their vassals, as well as summoned the latter to their courts, and the lord expected free board and entertainment when he came.

Other feudal revenues

When feudalism started, money was scarce, and therefore the vassal was expected to aid his lord financially on certain expensive occasions, and only then. One was when the lord, captured by an enemy, required to be ransomed, another was when his eldest son was knighted, and still another was when he had to provide a dowry for the marriage of his daughter. In some places feudal aids were taken on yet other occasions. The *relief* has already been noted, but it should be added that the vassal had to pay it, not only when he himself received the fief, but whenever a new lord succeeded over him. Other sources of profit to the lord were his rights of wardship and marriage. When a vassal died, leaving an heir not yet of age, the lord became his guardian and enjoyed the income of the fief until the ward attained his majority, and even then the heir often experienced difficulty in securing his full inheritance. If an heiress remained, a widow or a daughter, the lord was her guardian until with his permission she married or remarried. Women usually were not allowed to hold fiefs, since they could not fight, but by the end of the twelfth century their right of succession was recognized in France.

The normal fief was an estate of land large enough to support by the labors of its peasants at least one armed knight and his war horse. A vassal was supposed to have enough of a fief to leave him free for the performance of his duties to his lord The normal fief was noble land, whose holder ranked as one of the nobility and performed no servile duties Yet the fief was not necessarily real estate The lord might grant to his vassal an official post with lucrative fees, or some ecclesiastical source of income, or anything else desirable and profitable The wealthy men of the tenth and eleventh centuries did not have money to invest in commercial and industrial ventures, or commerce and industry to invest in, but they did have land which they wished to invest in men, and instead of clipping coupons or drawing interest or receiving dividends, they received feudal services and, on certain occasions, various feudal aids and other revenues As money again became more plentiful, they often invested it, instead of land, in soldiers, and we have money fiefs as well as grants of land But when feudalism first came into existence, land was the chief form of property and source of income, and the easiest thing to grant as a fief

The spread of feudalism

When once men began to enter into feudal relationships, it is not hard to see how the custom would spread. The great landholder, who wanted an army of vassals to fight for him against barbarian invaders and against his rivals, or to throng his castle on court days, divided his land in numerous fiefs among men who lacked estates and who were willing and able to fight They were, perhaps, not nobles to begin with, but their new estates soon made them nobles The peaceful bishop or abbot, who had many church estates under his care, granted part of them to some powerful warrior who would defend the rest The owner of only one or two villas, who was not strong enough to stand alone with his handful of peasants against the storm of invasion or the cupidity of some great neighbor with a large band of vassals, would be forced to become the vassal of the lord who otherwise might take his land from him entirely, or else the vassal of some other lord who would protect him from that lord.

Subinfeudation

But the spread of feudalism did not stop there The owner of only one or two villas might deem it advisable to become the vassal of more than one lord, and thus get some more land, especially if there were two or more great men who were in a position to protect or to injure him, and if he could find time to render feudal service to both or to all, and if they were not hostile to one another. Still more likely was the man who owned a number of estates scattered here and there to become, for one of them, the vassal to one lord, and for another manor the vassal to another lord in its vicinity. Moreover, lords who already had vassals under them entered into the feudal relationship with each other. Lord A, who could count on the service of a few vassals, would himself become the vassal of a much greater lord, B, and agree upon certain occasions to provide B with ten warriors Or this great lord, B, having at his disposal vast estates sufficient to support several hundred knights, instead of trying to find all those men himself, would infeudate his land in two or three large parcels to two or three men on condition that each of them supply him with a number of knights Thus they would each receive a large fief and then would subinfeudate a large part of it, as a modern bank pays its depositors two per cent interest and then loans out part of its deposits at a higher rate Their vassals would be his subvassals, and he would be the overlord of their men In some parts of Europe, notably France, land was subinfeudated in this way several times, so that as many as seven or eight persons might be owing and receiving feudal service and payments from a single manor It would be hard, indeed, to say who owned the land in such a case, all had rights in it

Sometimes very complex situations were created in the course of time Not only might the overlord of one estate be the subvassal in the case of another villa, but he might even be in some other lord's court the fellow vassal of one of his own vassals In short, lords and vassals were not two distinct classes; the relationship of lord and vassal was a shifting one, and most feudal nobles were both lord and vassal This situation, however, can be paralleled in the modern business world, where one may buy stock in any number of different companies, may be both a stockholder and a bondholder, may be the president of one corporation and a director in another and a mere stockholder in a third When a vassal subinfeudated his land, he of course did not alienate it, for he still owed his services to his lord from it and still himself had a lordship over it Infeudation and subinfeudation were sometimes carried so far, in the course of time, that estates were quite dismembered and some very small fiefs created Sometimes the income from a single villa would be split, and to one man would be infeudated the profit from the beehives, to another the catch from the fish-ponds and income from the mill Church property was subdivided in a very minute and intricate manner, so that we hear of a parish church receiving from one estate "one eighteenth of the tithe of grain, one sixth of the tithe of wine, and one half of the small tithes, offerings, and legacies," and similar fractions of this or that from other lands

Degrees of feudalism

Feudalism existed in its most highly developed form in the north and east of what is now France, where by the fourteenth century it had come to be the rule that there was no land without its lord, where the feudal aristocracy was most sharply marked off from the rest of society, and where most of the peasants remained serfs into the

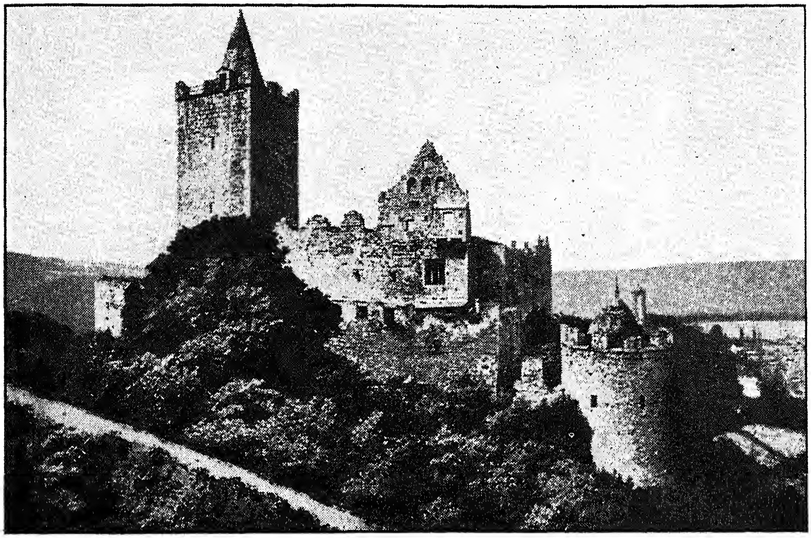


Figure 28

Ruin of Rudelsburg, in Germany

thirteenth century. In some parts of Europe feudalism prevailed less universally and society was not divided so sharply into the two extremes of serfs at the bottom and feudal nobles at the top. In southern France, for instance, many landholders recognized no feudal lord and would not admit that their estates were fiefs. In Brittany serfdom had always been exceptional; in Normandy it early disappeared, and in both these provinces the word "fief" was applied to the free holdings of peasants as well as to the estates of nobles. In Germany powerful lords sometimes granted fiefs to their servile personal attendants, called *ministeriales*, and thus made knights out of serfs or slaves. Many features of feudalism were found in England before the Norman conquest, but William the Conqueror introduced it in a more developed state from the Continent.

The feudal castle

The chief extant monument of feudalism is the stone castle. Hundreds of these combined strongholds and aristocratic residences still exist in ruins or with later alterations, as evidence of the long prevalence of feudalism and of the enterprise and power of its many lords.

> Above, the frequent feudal towers
> Through green leaves lift their walls of gray,
> And many a rock that steeply lowers
> And noble arch in proud decay
> Look o'er this vale of vintage bowers. (Byron)

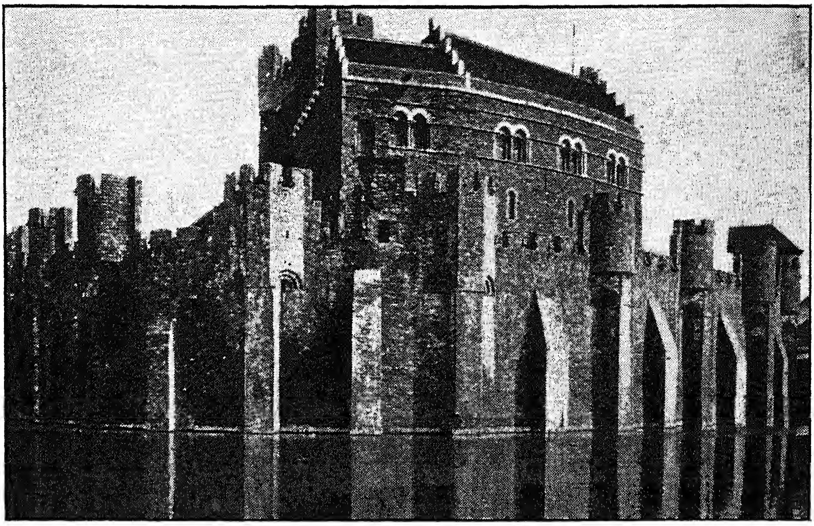
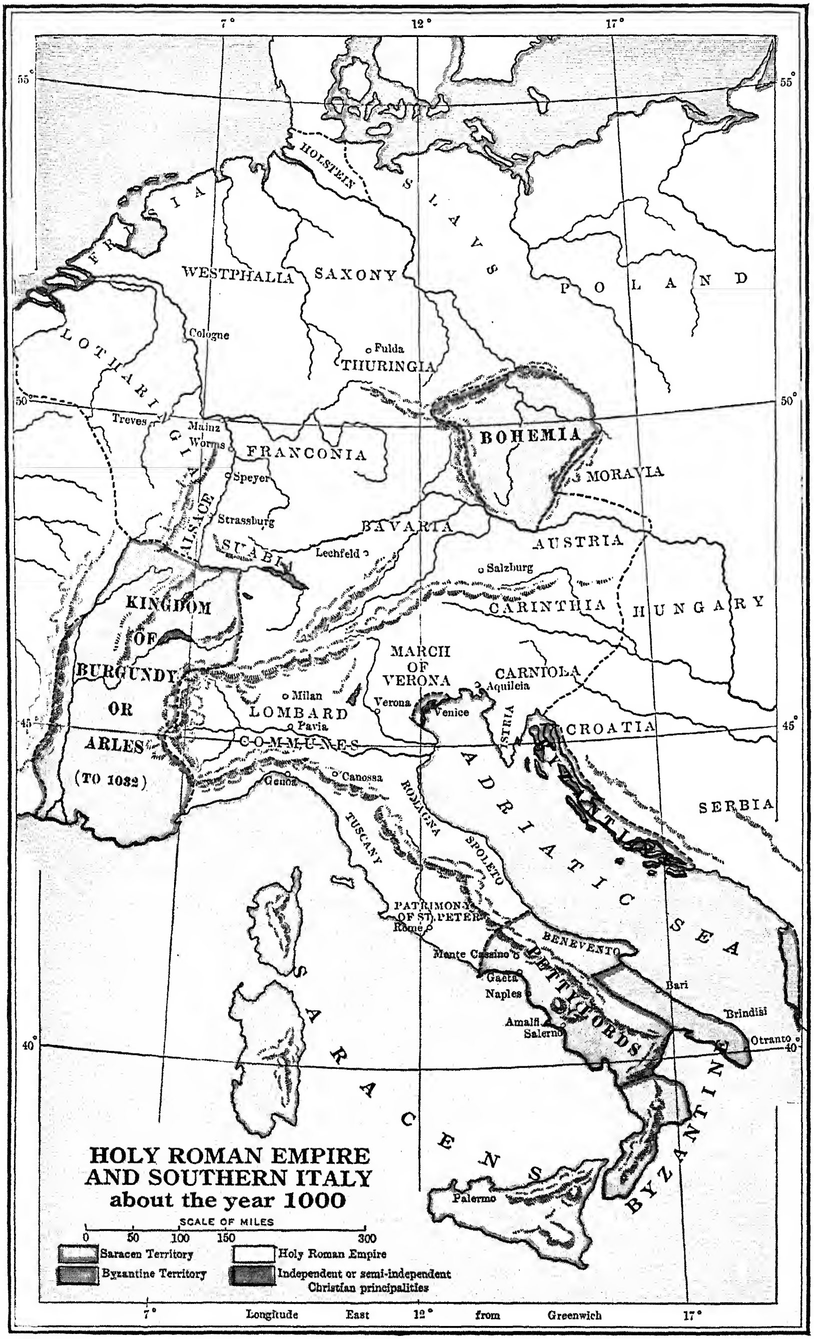


Figure 29

Castle of the counts of Flanders at Ghent

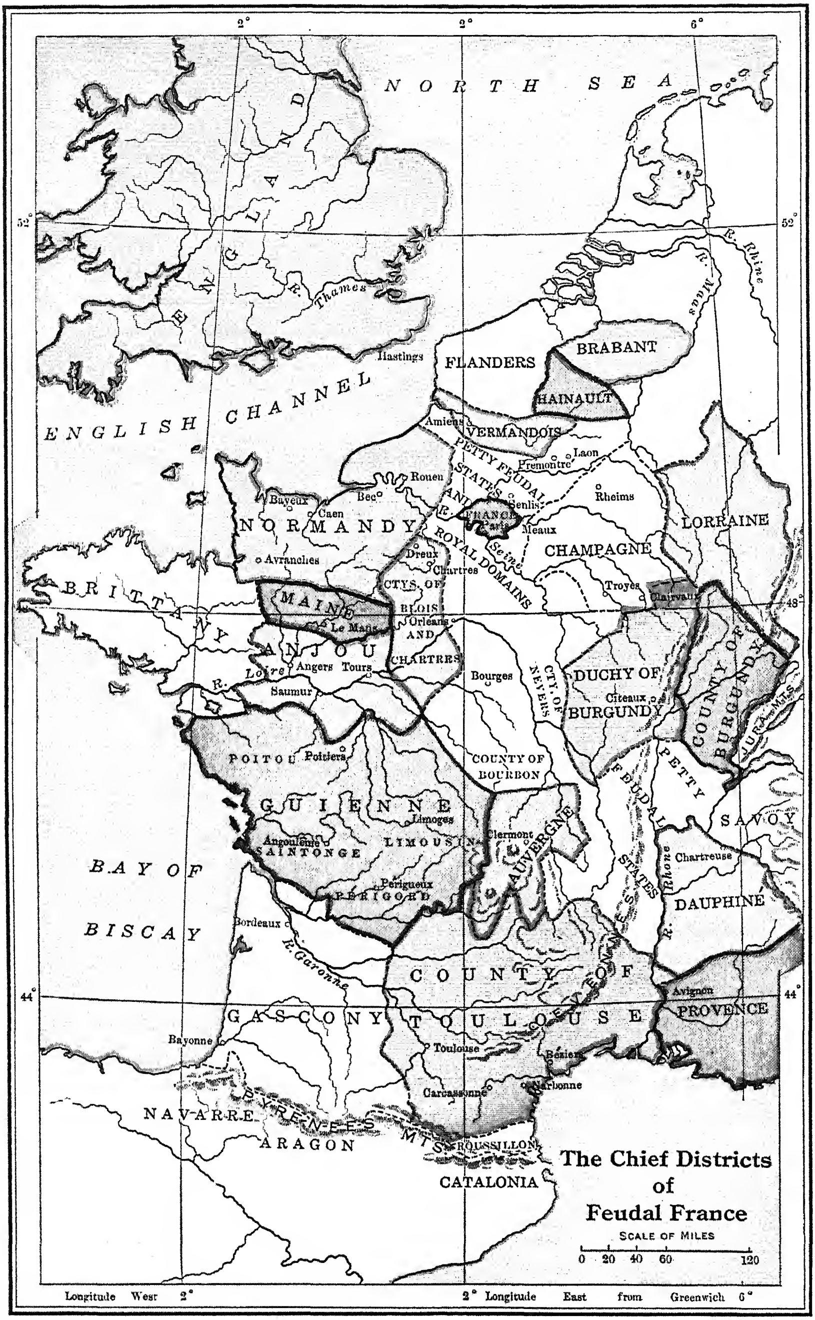
Hardly any two castles are exactly alike, owing in part to the different dates at which they were built, in part to the varying resources and requirements of the feudal nobles for whom they were constructed, but most of all due to the diversity of their sites, to which the fortresses themselves were closely adapted. If the castle is perched on an inaccessible peak, the circuit of its walls will be of an irregular shape following the edges of the summit and taking advantage of every precipice and chasm (Figure 28). If the castle is built upon comparatively level ground, it will be surrounded by a deep moat full of water (Figure 29), so that the besiegers may not scale its walls with ladders and movable towers, nor make breaches in them with battering-rams. Sometimes the castle is a single rectangular tower; other castles are extensive complexes of buildings and courtyards covering acres (Figure 30). Some castles are in the heart of cities (Figure 29), some are in the fastnesses of the Alps, some line the banks of the Rhine and of many other rivers.

A few common characteristics may be noted. One is the prominence of towers, square, round, or pentagonal, with pyramidal, conical, or flat roofs. Some of these towers line the outer circuit of walls, projecting beyond them to enfilade their sides and bases, and rising above them to command their tops. Oldest and chief of the towers were the *donjon*, or residence of the lord, and the keep, or central and most strongly fortified



HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND SOUTHERN ITALY about the year 1000

7°
12°
17°
55°
50°
45°
40°
HOLSTEIN
SLAVS
FRISIA
WESTPHALIA
SAXONY
POLAND
LOTHARINGIA
Cologne
Fulda
THURINGIA
Treves
Mainz
Worms
FRANCONIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Speyer
ALSACE
Strassburg
BAVARIA
SUABIA
Lechfeld
AUSTRIA
Salzburg
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY OR ARLES (TO 1032)
CARINTHIA
HUNGARY
MARCH OF VERONA
CARNIOLA
Aquileia
Milan
LOMBARD COMMUNES
Pavia
Verona
Venice
ISTRIA
CROATIA
Canossa
Genoa
TUSCANY
ROMAGNA
SPOLETO
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
SERBIA
PATRIMONY OF ST. PETER
Rome
BENEVENTO
Mente Cassino
Gaeta
Naples
PETTY LORDS
Bari
Brindisi
Amalfi
Salerno
Otranto
SARACENS
BYZANTINE
Palermo
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
300
Saracen Territory
Holy Roman Empire
Byzantine Territory
Independent or semi-independent Christian principalities
Longitude East from Greenwich



The Chief Districts of Feudal France

NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
R. Thames
Hastings
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FLANDERS
BRABANT
HAINAULT
Amiens
VERMANDOIS
Laon
Premontre
PETTY FEUDAL STATES AND ROYAL DOMAINS
Rouen
Bec
Bayeux
Caen
NORMANDY
FRANCE
Paris
Senlis
Meaux
Rheims
R. Seine
Dreux
Chartres
Avranches
CHAMPAGNE
LORRAINE
R. Maas
R. Rhine
BRITTANY
MAINE
Le Mans
CTYS. OF BLOIS Orleans AND CHARTRES
Troyes
Clairvaux
ANJOU
R. Loire
Angers
Tours
Saumur
Bourges
CTY. OF NEVERS
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Citeaux
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
JURA MTS.
POITOU
Poitiers
COUNTY OF BOURBON
PETTY FEUDAL STATES
SAVOY
GUIENNE
Limoges
LIMOUSIN
Angoulême
SAINTONGE
Clermont
AUVERGNE
Chartreuse
R. Rhone
DAUPHINE
BAY OF BISCAY
Perigueux
PERIGORD
Bordeaux
R. Garonne
CEVENNES
COUNTY OF TOULOUSE
GASCONY
Avignon
PROVENCE
Bayonne
Toulouse
Beziers
Narbonne
Carcassonne
NAVARRE
PYRENEES MTS.
ARAGON
ROUSSILLON
CATALONIA
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 120
2°
6°
52°
48°
44°
Longitude West 2°
2° Longitude East from Greenwich 6°

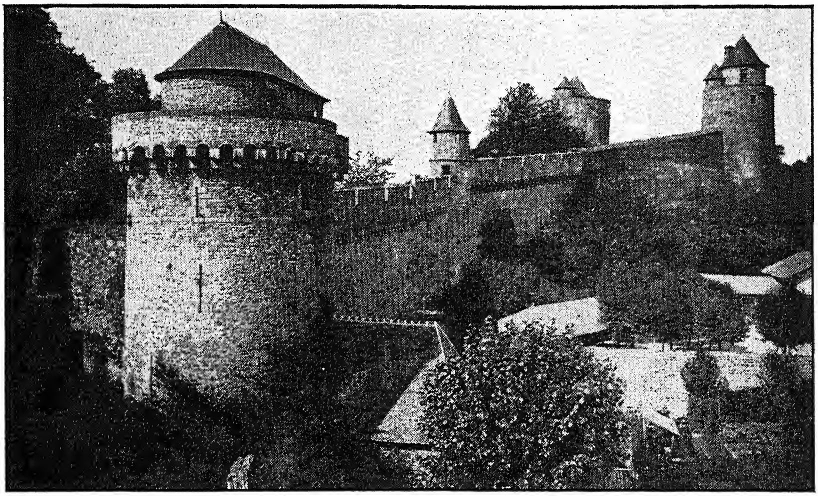


Figure 30

North side of the castle of Fougères, Normandy

part of the castle where the garrison made its last stand. Normally the defenders of the castle fought from the tops of its walls and towers, where they would be farthest away from the range of the missiles of the enemy below, and whence their own missiles would carry farthest and fall with most force. For this purpose a walk was built behind a parapet all along the top of the wall. The battlements of the parapet were usually crenelated; that is, openings through which the defenders might shoot alternated with sections of solid wall behind which they might stand protected from the enemy's arrows. Sometimes, especially around the tops of towers, were found machicolations. In this case the battlement was built out beyond the walls of the tower below upon projections called corbels, and the floor of the encircling walk behind the parapet was pierced with numerous openings or trap doors through which such things as boiling pitch and molten lead might be poured directly upon those trying to enter the tower below or to scale its walls. The walls of the castle were also pierced with many narrow slits through which arrows might be shot at the foe. These walls were very thick, especially at the base in order to withstand battering-rams and support the weight above. Indeed, the castle was something like a modern battleship with its heavy armor plate, its portholes and gun shields, and its turrets.

Especial care was taken to protect the entrance to the castle, which was approached by a drawbridge suspended by chains, and which could furthermore be closed in an instant by the portcullis, a heavy grating which was let fall from above like a drop curtain. The gateway might be further protected by flanking towers, and even if the enemy got across the gap left by the lifted drawbridge and broke through the portcullis, they still might find themselves in a small enclosed court or a dark and winding vaulted passage with other doors and barriers yet to force before they were really within the castle precincts proper Similarly, if the foe gained a footing at some point on the wall, they could not easily rush along the walk on top of the wall to other parts of the castle, since the circuit of the walls was frequently interrupted by towers through which one had to make one's way by crooked passages and up steep stairs Many castles also had subterranean passages of which their defenders could take advantage, but which were unknown to the besiegers

Although a castle might be impressive by its bulk and massiveness, its exterior was plain, rough, and forbidding in appearance The towers, battlements, and corbels, however, gave considerable variety and picturesqueness. Unless the castle was large enough to comprise inner courts, upon which windows might safely open and where decorative stone carving and sculpture could be indulged in without fear of its being damaged by stones hurled from catapults — unless this was the case, the rooms of the interior were of necessity dark and cold, since they were enclosed by walls several feet thick with only a rare aperture Often an entire floor of the castle or of the donjon would be used as the great hall, where the lord and his followers ate their meals, drank their ale or wine, held court, talked together, or warmed themselves before the fire in the huge open chimney-place When we read of horrible, damp, underground dungeons where prisoners languished, we must remember that even the lord and lady in their apartments of state were none too comfortable The fireplace, however, represented a great improvement in domestic life, for chimney flues were a medieval invention At the celebrated early thirteenth-century castle of Coucy, some seventy-five miles northeast of Paris, the donjon — which, by the way, is 210 feet high, 100 feet in diameter, with walls 34 feet thick in some places — and the four smaller towers had latrines on each floor, "constructed in a way to avoid odor and all inconveniences attached to that necessity "

Although the castle was poorly lighted and heated and dreary enough within, from its lofty battlements a wonderful view often could be obtained of the countryside for miles around One rather envies the feudal lords of those cheerless keeps, as from their commanding sites one gazes down on the long windings of a beautiful river and the fertile expanse of valley and plain below (Figure 31). Not long, moreover, after the steep

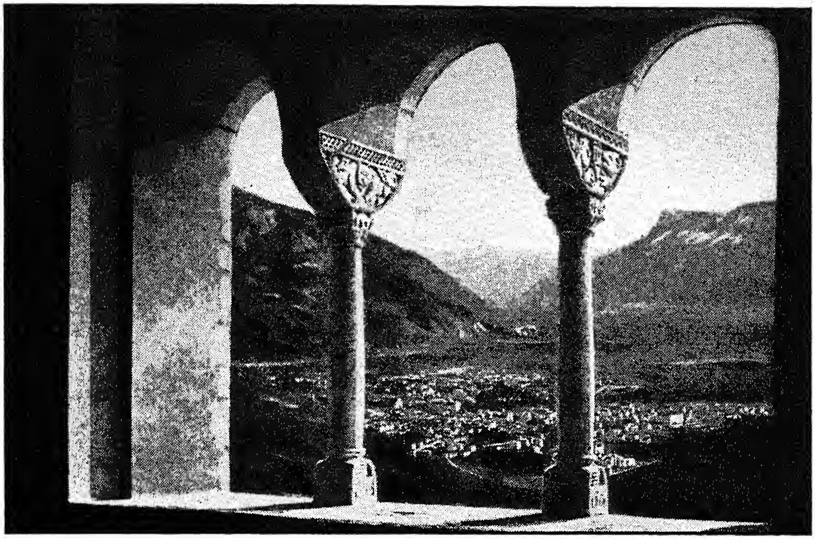


Figure 31

View from a castle window in the Tyrol above Meran

climb up to the picturesque ruins on impregnable heights, one becomes conscious of a keen appetite, and can to some extent sympathize with the robber baron's descents from his stronghold in order to procure a round of beef or saddle of mutton from such sheep and cattle, or a cask of wine and mess of fish from such traveling merchants, as strayed within his ken while he was surveying, with an even closer scrutiny and intenser interest than that of the modern tourist, every detail of the surrounding landscape.

Feudal warfare

It has been said that war was the law of the feudal world. Ambitious lords, especially as population increased and land became scarce, waged war upon one another. Younger sons tried to win new fiefs by the sword, since they could not hope to inherit them, and often fought against their fathers or older brothers. Lords perhaps fought more often against their own vassals, or rather against men whom they claimed as their vassals, than they did with other lords. Vassals were ever quarreling with their lords over the conditions of their vassalage and the services which they were bound to render. In many cases men were unwilling vassals whose fathers had been defeated in war and forced to acknowledge the victor as lord; such men naturally would revolt at the first good opportunity. The whole situation was one of disorderly rivalry where everyone was trying to increase his power at the expense of others. There were, however, some mitigating features about feudal warfare. We must remember for one thing that war had been incessant before feudalism and that it has not ceased yet. Then, feudal warfare was in the main conducted on a small scale, it was local or neighborhood war, and the numbers of men engaged were never very large nor the number killed very great. Their armor protected the knights fairly well, and they were more often captured, imprisoned, and ransomed than they were slain. One reads of bitter strife between lord and vassal or father and son drawn out over many years, and finds both contestants as hale and hearty at the end as they had been at the beginning. The peasants, whose crops were destroyed and homes burned, and who had neither armor nor the prospect of large ransom to protect their lives, were the ones to suffer most from these neighborhood wars and from the ravages of robber knights who got their living largely by plundering raids.

The Truce of God

A French bishop, intent upon reforming this evil of feudalism, proposed in 1023 that feudal nobles should take the following oath: "I will not take away ox nor cow nor any other beast of burden. I will not seize the peasant nor the peasant's wife nor the merchants. I will not take their money, nor will I force them to ransom themselves. I do not want them to lose their property through a war that their lord wages, and I won't whip them to get their nourishment away from them. From the first of March to All Saints' Day I will seize neither horse nor mare nor colt from the pasture. I will not destroy and burn houses; I will not uproot and devastate vineyards under pretext of war; I will not destroy mills nor steal the flour." A measure more generally adopted by the clergy was the Truce of God, by which bishops forbade fighting in their dioceses over the week end and on a number of church holidays. It can readily be imagined that this ecclesiastical prohibition was not easy to enforce. It is, however, possible to exaggerate the amount of robbing and slaughtering of the common people done by the feudal nobility and such atrocities attributed to them as burning churches full of people or gouging out babies' eyes with their own hands. The passages in contemporary writers expressing disapproval and horror at such cruel deeds are not a proof that they were common practices, but are a proof that there was a strong public sentiment against such conduct.

Chivalry

Vassal and lord alike belonged to the noble class and passed their lives in the same round of warlike occupations and amusements. To their life is given the name "chivalry," derived from the Romance word for "horse" and denoting the life of cavaliers or knights. The earliest literature of feudal times extols physical hardihood and bravery, condones brigandage, and shows war brutally waged as almost the only ideal of the early chevalier. Later history indicates that it too often continued to be his practice. But this military aristocrat in time developed, or rather had constructed for him by the Church and the poetical romancers, a set of social ideals of which our present-day use of the term "chivalry" is a reminiscence. The medieval clergy insisted that the true knight should be a manly Christian, should respect and defend the Church, should fight against heathen and heretics, and should protect the needy and those in distress. The minstrels and romancers, who sometimes found the lords away and only the ladies at home when they visited the castles, depicted the true knight as an accomplished gentleman and perfect lover. The duty of court attendance brought knights together, sometimes in the society of the other sex, and so helped to develop the social virtue of courtesy or good manners and various chivalric conventions.

Knighthood

A ceremony of initiation was necessary to admit one to the ranks of knighthood, just as the young warrior had to be admitted to the German tribe in the days of Tacitus. The prospective knight was supposed to perform some deed of arms to prove his worth, and then could be dubbed a knight by someone already of that station. Kneeling he received the accolade, originally a hard blow on the neck with the flat of a sword which he would remember for a long time. Sooner or later a religious element entered the ceremony in a vigil observed over his arms in a church the previous night and in the hearing of mass before being knighted. Sometimes bishops conferred knighthood. Before becoming a knight one was an esquire or squire, a condition in which some remained permanently, not so much through failure to win military renown as because of the expense of being a knight. Knights were often accompanied in war by men-at-arms, who were heavy-armed foot-soldiers and who were usually of lower birth and less wealth. The regular course of feudal education and path of knighthood was for the aspirant at an early age to serve as a page at some feudal court, and there to learn good manners, how to ride and hunt and hawk, to fight with spear, sword, and battle-axe, and to distinguish different knights and noble houses by the colors and devices on their shields and coats of arms — the science of heraldry (Figure 32). Next he would attend some knight in the field of war as his squire, and finally be knighted himself. There are, however, exceptions to every rule. Raymond, Count of Provence, so the Royal Chronicle of Cologne tells us under the year 1235, was not knighted until he was fifty, and never would have been, had not the kings of France and of England, who had married his daughters, talked him into

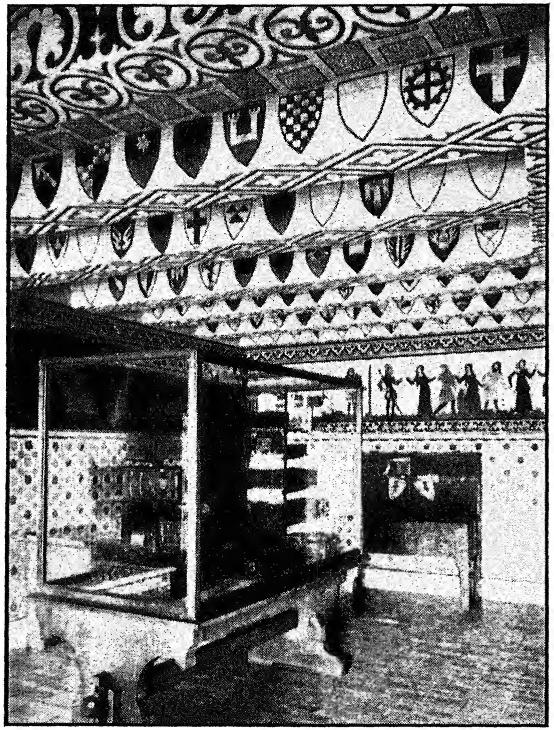


Figure 32

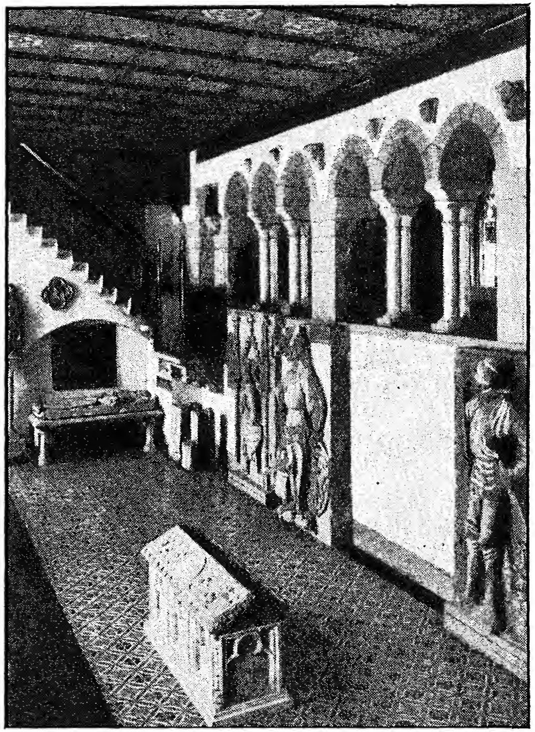


Figure 33

Left, reconstruction of an early thirteenth-century room with heraldic emblems and collection; *right*, funeral monuments including the small sarcophagus of Princess Elizabeth of Hungary who died in 1337; both from the Landesmuseum, Zürich it, thinking it an indignity that their father-in-law was not a knight

If the feudal noble was at home alone with his family and peasants, hunting would probably be his main diversion and it also served to supply his larder If other knights were present, they would amuse themselves and keep in training by tilting or riding at each other with spears Such mock fighting might take the form either of jousts, which were single combats, or of tournaments, where two sides were formed or the knights participated in a general mêlée This practice, like the later game of polo, probably came from Persia where already in Sassanian sculpture are shown horsemen in coats of mail charging with lances at rest Nobles were on the go from one of their estates to another much of the time The ladies played chess and games of chance with dice, and devoted much attention to dress, judging from the tirades of preachers against their long trains, false hair, and rouging The literature of chivalry made much of woman but nobles, as well as peasants, sometimes beat their wives, and the contemporary chronicles tell many cases of lords and even kings who dealt shamefully with their wives Divorce was frequent among the upper classes despite its prohibition by the Church, and was secured by alleging that the married pair were too closely related and should not have been married in the first place

Social life

Feudalism seems to the modern observer who looks back on it an intricate and almost hopeless tangle Such confused conditions were due not merely to war and violence and anarchy, nor further to the complicated network of feudal relationships at any given time, but also to the continual change and shifting and reshaping of those relations with passing years, making society assume new forms as when one shakes up the bits of glass in a kaleidoscope Death, inheritance, forfeiture, escheat, vassals' transferral of allegiance, partition of fiefs, subinfeudation, union of fiefs by marriage, conquests in war — all these changes kept the feudal world in almost as fluctuating a condition as the modern stock market But the two following generalizations may be helpful. Every piece of land was apt to be part of another larger unit strip, of open field; open field, of manor; manor, of fief, fief, of county, county, of kingdom And every person was apt to have feudal relations with others

Shifting relationships

The great lord, who had many vassals, could by means of their military service command a small army, and so was in a position to exercise the military functions of the state, and to enforce obedience to his commands It was furthermore the duty of his vassals to attend his court, and this supplied him with a council of state and the opportunity to exercise judicial powers They owed him occasional feudal

Political features

aids and reliefs; he could also fill his treasury by exercise of the rights of wardship and marriage; thus feudalism had its equivalents for state taxation and revenue But in feudalism everything was expressed in different terms from those employed in the modern state, or in the ancient city-state, or in the Roman Empire It had its peculiar names for its own peculiar institutions: feudal aids instead of taxes, knight service in place of standing armies, court attendance rather than a congress or parliament or chamber of deputies, vassals in place of citizens, personal lordship and dependent land tenure instead of nationality and territorial sovereignty

Although feudalism could in some measure approximate to the military, legislative, judicial, and financial functions of the state, the lord's power was greatly limited in all these respects He could require military service of his vassals, but he could not keep them from fighting also for some other lord or from waging war on their own account He could make war, but he could not preserve the peace in the fiefs of his vassals He could procure the assent of his vassals assembled at his court to certain laws or policies, but he could not send his officials into their fiefs to see to the execution of these measures He had to leave all that to the vassals themselves He had no power of local administration save in his own domains At his court he could judge his vassals and settle their disputes; but the subvassals, to whom they had subinfeudated portions of their fiefs, did not attend his court and he found it difficult to exert any control over them, since all their services and payments were rendered, not to him, but to their lords who were his vassals He could impose no new taxes on his vassals, but could take only the customary and stipulated feudal dues He might establish tolls and customs duties on merchants and travelers through his own domains, but his vassals would undoubtedly claim that right within their fiefs Moreover, the obligations of individual vassals to him might vary greatly. There was no necessary uniformity in the loyalty and services that they owed Finally, his hold upon many of them was so slight, that for them to throw off his rule entirely and attempt to maintain their independence did not seem so heinous an offense as rebellion in a modern state, and was much easier to carry through than to foment a revolution against the well-organized states of today.

Idea of contract

A very important feature of the feudal state was the limitation of the lord's power by the rights of the vassal and by the terms of a contract expressed or understood between lord and vassal It was generally recognized that there were things which the lord could do and things which he could not do. If he exceeded his rights, his vassals were entitled to take up arms against him, a privilege which they were never slow to exercise. Moreover, meeting together at his court, they shared in his government and came to act as a body which possessed in itself possibilities in the direction of representative government.

Area of the feudal state

The sphere of influence of a feudal lord — in other words, the land held of him by his vassals — did not necessarily form a compact and clearly defined territory like that of a modern state. His vassals were apt to be somewhat scattered about, with territory intervening which he could not bring into vassalage to himself, either because it belonged to the Church or was defended by castles too strong for him to take. However, feudal divisions tended to follow geographical and racial lines pretty closely. Also feudal lords made every effort to extend their control over a compact and easily accessible territory, though they often could not resist the temptation of adding some distant possession, if opportunity offered. But of course as a rule it was easier for them to keep their neighbors in vassalage than to exact service and fidelity from far-off fiefs.

Theory of lordship

Feudalism, in theory at least, would not admit of distinct states with distinct territories, but would require a succession of lordships within lordships. At the head would be the king or emperor. Then would come his great vassals, the dukes and counts with their feudal courts, owing duties to the king as their suzerain, but free to govern their subvassals. Many of these subvassals might boast strong castles and considerable lands which they had subinfeudated to vassals of their own, over whom they might claim some powers of government. No one had complete governmental power or sovereignty, just as no one person had complete private ownership of the land of the fief. The functions of government, as well as real estate, incomes, and services, had been feudalized.

Actual feudal states

Feudal theory, however, was never fully accepted in medieval politics, just as all the land was never divided into fiefs and manors and just as there were always some persons who were neither lords nor vassals nor serfs. Kings still claimed to be something more than mere feudal overlords. The lords who built up local feudal states usually tried in practice to exercise greater powers than strict feudal theory would allow. Sometimes they possessed some title or inherited position, other than that of a feudal lord, upon which to base their claim to rule. The dukes of Normandy and Bavaria, for instance, had once been the leaders of independent peoples. Many a feudal state had a natural or historical unity not given to it by feudalism. Not all feudal lords were able to build up states, and a state based solely upon feudalism was not likely to last long. But for several hundred years all states were greatly affected and colored by feudalism Even kings found themselves not only limited in power by feudalism at every turn, but exercising most of the power that they did have through feudal channels and ruling by feudal methods

We should further realize that the so-called feudal states of medieval Europe, instead of being perverse and regrettable obstacles to true geographical and racial and linguistic union, instead of being ugly, broken fragments of a once splendid Roman Empire or of an ideal France or Germany or Italy, really often were the organic units of their age and represented local life and vigor and enterprise and governable groups a great deal better than did the impossible empires aimed at by Charlemagne and Justinian and Otto the Great and Henry II We should also realize that there was as yet no such thing as the France of today, nor even a French language and a French people, nor an Italian tongue and an Italian people When the king of "France" forced his rule upon Toulouse, he was not uniting peoples already one in language, spirit, and customs, and everything else except government, rather he was doing violence to national spirit and blotting out a beautiful language and terminating a brilliant period of culture The Prussian annexation of Alsace-Lorraine in 1870 was not a circumstance to the extermination of Toulouse in southern France by orthodox crusaders and by the Lord of Paris in the thirteenth century In that century we find mentioned among the different nations at the University of Paris, not Frenchmen and Italians, but Lombards, Romans, and Sicilians, Flemings, Burgundians, Poitevins, Bretons, and Normans

Modern "national" states

The modern European states are simply historical growths and the outcome of a vast concourse of varied circumstances, rather than the systematic working-out of any fine principles of nationality Today the peoples of many of those states have grown into homogeneous nations, distinct from one another But in their origins those states consisted of elements by no means homogeneous The advent of our modern state often meant an increase of centralization at the expense of local enterprise and prosperity France of our day is dotted with remote ruins of castles and with dull towns of depleted population, which in the Middle Ages were booming centers of military, political, economic, and artistic life We must therefore not approach the feudal period with the assumption that a modern "national" state is necessarily vastly superior to a "feudal" state, still less with the idea that the national state is the guiding star of all European history and the goal toward which everything moved We must be careful not to see modern nationalities before they really exist If one is studying the history of some one European country, like France or Germany, it is well enough to go back to Julius Caesar or to men of the old stone age in that region, if one wants to, but as for the states that we call France and Germany and Italy today, there was nothing like them in the feudal period There was an England even then, it is true, but no United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, much less a British Empire

Frankish kingdoms

What we now turn to, therefore, is a survey of the feudal states of western Europe during the period from the end of the Frankish Empire to the twelfth century Certain kings traced back their claim to authority to the Frankish Empire, which, as we have seen, had split into several divisions There came in the ninth century to be two kings of the Franks, one of the East Franks, and one of the West Franks These vague designations, which replace the old Austrasia and Neustria, leave the exact location of their kingdoms discreetly doubtful As for the third Merovingian kingdom, Burgundy, it was for a time divided into an Upper Burgundy in the mountains and a Lower Burgundy down the Rhone In 934 the two were reunited, but henceforth were known as the kingdom of Arles, from the capital city This kingdom lasted for a century to 1032 In Italy practically no one was king in any real sense from the death of Louis II in 875 until the coronation of Otto I as emperor at Rome in 962, although a Hugo of Provence for some time claimed the title

Among the East Franks, Arnulf of Carinthia succeeded the deposed Charles in 887 A contemporary has well summed up his reign in the sentence, "While Arnulf was frittering away his time, many petty kingdoms arose" The brief reign of the six-year-old Louis (899–911) was filled with feuds between the nobles, and it seemed as if the great tribal duchies of Saxony, Franconia, Lotharingia, Thuringia, Swabia (formerly Alamannia), and Bavaria would become independent states With the death of Louis the Carolingian house ceased to rule among the East Franks

Conrad of Franconia (911–918) had to fight all the other duchies to secure recognition as king Henry of Saxony (919–936) seldom left his own domain lands and had to deed away many of his regalian rights in Bavaria, although he was able to force the dukes of Swabia and Bavaria to recognize him as king But their only obligations were to appear at assemblies and to serve in foreign wars He further forced Wenceslaus of Bohemia to do homage, checked the inroads of the Slavs, and finally won a victory over the Magyars At the coronation of Henry's son, Otto I (936–973), all the dukes did homage, and those of Lorraine, Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria served him in the court offices of chamberlain, steward, cupbearer, and marshal respectively, but within the next five years three of them and also his own brother and half-brother revolted against his rule, and later there were other rebellions

Holy Roman Empire

Otto gained prestige by repelling the invaders of German territory, and in 962 he went to Rome and was crowned emperor, reviving on a smaller scale the empire of Charlemagne Henceforth the German duchies and portions of Italy were united in a loose and weak union known as the Holy Roman Empire In theory the emperors claimed a wider jurisdiction than this, regarding themselves, on the one hand, as successors of the old Roman emperors and, on the other hand, as feudal suzerains of the kings of other European countries, just as these were the overlords of their great vassals But the emperors were unable to develop this feudal overlordship and imperial ideal into actual sovereignty, as some kings finally were to succeed in doing One reason for their failure was that the popes, too, were soon to assert their claim to treat kings as vassals, and to exercise a portion at least of the prerogatives of Constantine, the first Christian emperor Of this we shall have further occasion to speak in connection with the history of the papacy during this period For our present purpose it is enough to note that the Holy Roman Empire, although it encouraged commerce and some interchange of ideas between the Germans and the Italians, in the long run assisted rather than checked the prevalence of feudalism and local division in both Italy and Germany The emperors claimed to be overlords of so much territory that they did not become real governors of any one locality Had they remained in Germany and painstakingly developed a machinery of government of their own, or had they devoted their entire attention to Italian affairs, they might have developed a strong kingdom in one place or the other Instead they roamed about, posing as international arbiters and forcing the kings of lands like Poland and Bohemia to become their vassals

The rule of the Holy Roman Emperor seems to have been for the most part personal, offhand, and unsystematic For the first century after Otto there are extant no imperial archives and no imperial law or ordinance directed toward the maintenance of peace and order There were no permanent imperial law courts, no professional judges or legal advisers There was no central exchequer, and no financial literature by imperial officials has reached us. The emperors allowed many other lords to coin money and made no effort to keep up the standard of the coinage Customs duties and tolls also passed from the emperors into the hands of other lords. Private war was tolerantly regarded by public opinion, even when it was directed against the emperor himself; and Germans at feud with their countrymen not infrequently made alliances with the Slavs and

Hungarians The fact that the emperor was elected by the other great lords, and that, while sometimes son succeeded father, the office did not remain permanently in the hands of any one dynasty, also weakened the power of the central government

German dukes and margraves

The emperors left the local government largely in the hands of dukes and other lords, and were content if the dukes were loyal to them in imperial matters and furnished them with contingents to make up an army with which they might rampage about But the dukes were not inclined to do anything of the sort, and the emperors were constantly having to bring them to book The emperors tried making members of their own families dukes, but even these did not remain loyal. Finally Henry III (1039–1056) tried to be duke everywhere himself, but found this scheme scarcely a success, and all its results were lost during the minority of his son Frederick Barbarossa brought his rebellious vassal, Henry the Lion, to trial in 1180 and deprived him of his duchies But these were straightway allotted to other princes, and the same Gelnhausen charter that contains the sentence against Henry lays down the law that the emperor must grant out all escheated fiefs anew within a year and a day. Even in the marks or new frontier territories, established against and won from the barbarians, as well as in the old duchies with their lingering tribal or national spirit, the emperors failed to establish a strong government of their own and allowed them to become the fiefs or family possessions of the margraves Some of these local princes developed a machinery of government which the empire as a whole lacked. By the end of the twelfth century the Duke of Bavaria kept court in royal style and exercised many regalian rights He had his privy council, his chancery, and his court of justice, to which cases might be appealed from the courts of the counts, his vassals, who might be deposed if they failed in their duties. The duke could summon a general assembly of the land, which was divided into administrative and judicial districts. If he had no son to follow him, the duke could name his successor.

Ecclesiastical princes

The emperors could so little rely on their lay vassals that they turned for support to the bishops and showered lands and favors upon them in the hope of building up a loyal party. Thus began the numerous ecclesiastical states of Germany, where bishops and abbots ruled much like secular lords and sometimes fought as other feudal nobles did Once they even fought in a church in the emperor's presence. Another instructive incident took place in Mainz Cathedral on Easter, 1184. The Abbot of Fulda and the Archbishop of Cologne quarreled as to who should sit at the emperor's left, and the emperor asked the archbishop to yield the point Thereupon the angry archbishop started to withdraw to his lodgings The Count Palatine of the Rhine, although as his title indicates he was supposed to be closely connected with the palace and the emperor, promptly arose to follow the archbishop, excusing himself to the emperor by saying that he was the vassal of the archbishop Other dukes and counts also arose to leave, and from remarks which passed between them and the abbot's adherents it was plain that there was going to be a fight, especially as the archbishop had come to Mainz attended by some four thousand armed men The emperor accordingly apologized to the huffy prelate, and the abbot had to surrender the coveted precedence.

Feudal Italy

About 900, the north of Italy was divided into a number of duchies and counties, from the duchy of Friuli in the east to the county of Montferrat in the west A marquis was lord of Tuscany, and the estates claimed by the papacy were really in the hands of petty nobles In the south, what with fragments of Lombard duchies and the conflicting claims of the Byzantines and Saracens, the subdivision was worst of all The revival of the imperial idea by Otto the Great did not alter conditions much The emperor made occasional trips to Italy, received homage from various lords, appointed various officials to look after his interests, and then went back to Germany again. After some years he would return to find all once more in confusion. Otto II (973–983) and Otto III (983–1002), it is true, devoted their reigns chiefly to Italian affairs, but without achieving important permanent results Their successor, Henry II (1002–1024), came thrice to Italy in over twenty years and each time to fight In 1004 he got as far as Pavia where he received the Lombard crown In 1014 he reached Rome and obtained the imperial crown. In 1022 he fought against the Byzantines in southern Italy. Even the city of Rome showed little loyalty to the emperor Seldom was a coronation held without an attempt by the Roman populace to drive the German troops from the city

Carolingians and Capetians

During the century from 887, when the last Carolingian emperor, Charles, was deposed, until 987, when Hugh Capet founded a new and lasting dynasty, named Capetian after him, the West Frankish kingdom was weakened by a struggle for the throne. Rival factions of the feudal nobility supported on the one hand the last members of the Carolingian line and on the other the family of the counts of Paris. First a member of one line ruled and then a member of the other, and a Rudolf of Burgundy was also king for a time. But after the death of the last reigning Carolingian, Louis V, in 987, the Capetians ruled in unbroken succession in the direct male line until 1328

Meaning of "France"

Before he was elected king, Hugh Capet already bore the title, Duke of France. This small feudal duchy was after the lapse of centuries to give its name to most of the territory beween the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps, and the Rhine. But at this time the name "France" applied to a very small district. Paris was well-nigh its southernmost point and it did not extend as far north as Senlis. Thus it was less than twenty-five miles across from north to south, and not much more from east to west. Its southwestern boundary was a few miles of the river Seine, its southeastern, a few miles of the Marne, which empties into the Seine near Paris. On the northwest it was bounded by the Oise, a tributary of the Seine, and on the east by a small affluent of the Marne near the town of Meaux. To this day the peasants of a village near Meaux speak of going to France when they cross the Marne. The fact that this medieval France was almost entirely surrounded by rivers — for a little stream, la Thève, forms its northern boundary — probably gave rise to the expression, Île de France. In later times, however, we find the name Île de France applied to a much larger district.

The early Capetians

From the tenth to the twelfth century the territory which the Capetians could really call their own was neither so extensive nor so rich as the domains of several feudal lords. Hugh had inherited from his father, Hugh the White, the most powerful lord of the time, the counties of Paris, Senlis, Orléans, and Dreux, and the jurisdiction over two richly endowed abbeys. Hugh the White had also acquired Burgundy, a feudal territory sliced from the northwest corner of the old kingdom of Burgundy, but that duchy passed to Hugh's brother. By the time Hugh ended his reign in 996 he had given away so much land to secure supporters for his dynasty that only fragments remained of the extensive territory controlled by his father. His territorial power as king was really less than it had been as duke. It is true that from the English Channel to the Pyrenees public documents were dated by the year of his reign, but this was merely nominal recognition of his royalty. Of his personal appearance and private life we know nothing with certainty. His immediate successors were no more powerful than many feudal lords of the time, and were not nearly so interesting personalities as some of the barons. One hundred years after Hugh Capet's death, Philip I still found interspersed among his villas the castles of men who defied his power and acted as seemed good to them. However, he pushed as far south as Bourges, when the viscount of that town sold out to him in 1101 in order to go to the Holy Land.

It was a decided step in advance when the energetic and warlike Louis VI (1108–1137) took the donjons of the castellans in the neighborhood of Paris, who had been making the Capetian kings so much trouble.

Louis the Fat

But this was accomplishing only what many feudal lords had achieved already, namely, the bringing of a comparatively small and compact territory directly under their control. However, Louis was also powerful enough to undertake an expedition as far south as Clermont-Ferrand in order to punish the Count of Auvergne for having injured the Church, and even the powerful Duke of Aquitaine decided that it would be best to render homage, when he saw the size of Louis's army. The Abbot Suger was the right-hand man of Louis VI and of his successor, and kept down avaricious and corrupt favorites at court and maintained order and system at home while the king was away on his wars. Suger also has left us a Life of Louis VI. Besides being a great fighter, the king was a great hunter and a great eater. The latter pursuit finally triumphed over the former pastime, for at forty-six Louis became too fat to mount a horse. Louis was good-natured, and simple and unaffected in his manners. His slight paleness contemporary gossip attributed to an attempt by his stepmother to poison him. He was not persuaded to marry until he had reached the age of thirty-five, when he wedded a very ugly niece of the pope, by whom he had six sons and three daughters.

The Capetian constitution

Despite the small territory actually under their rule, the early Capetians continued to regard themselves as successors of Charlemagne. They retained the court ceremony which Charlemagne had borrowed from Constantinople, and their proclamations and state papers had the same high tone, compounded of biblical and of imperial Roman phrases. But their machinery of government was slight and in the main feudal. There were the usual household offices of chancellor, seneschal, chamberlain, butler, and constable, held as hereditary posts by their chief vassals. Their feudal court, the *curia regis*, was attended for the most part only by those vassals within easy reach of Paris, but these were remarkably faithful in their attendance, although the king often summoned them as frequently as once a month. He seems to have initiated all the business brought before them, and only a few of them ventured to discuss and debate his proposals, but he evidently wished to secure their assent before taking action. To look after his own estates the king had local officials called *prévôts* or provosts, who collected the revenue from his villas, led the local soldiery, and judged criminals and lawsuits among his peasants, or summoned persons of greater consequence before the king's court. The king claimed that he was the fountain of all justice, that keeping the peace was his special prerogative, and that he had the right to see that the feudal lords did justice by their subvassals and tenants Having been anointed king by the Church, he also claimed the right to protect it everywhere in the kingdom He depended a good deal on the bishops and monks, made generous grants to the Church, and also secured revenue from it even outside his own domains The Church for its part found the king on the whole a better friend and defender than the general run of feudal lords

Feudal states of France

Situated in whole or in part within the boundaries of modern France were some forty feudal states, whose lords were practically independent sovereigns, though they might nominally recognize the overlordship of king or emperor We shall take up in detail about a third of this number, which were ruled by hereditary dynasties of dukes and counts and which were of the most importance But some mere viscounts and seigneurs had the right to declare peace and war, had supreme legislative and administrative power, judicial power in the last resort, the right of coinage, and claimed authority over the churches within their districts Then there were ecclesiastical states where officials of the Church were also the supreme governing power, although these states never became so great and numerous as the ecclesiastical principalities in Germany

Flanders

The compact possessions of the counts of Flanders included portions of present France, but more of Belgium, and both the Flemish with their German patois and the Walloons with their French dialect. The count was a vassal of the Capetian king for some of his lands; others he held as fiefs from the Holy Roman Emperor He had no strong vassals of his own to weaken him and about 1100 began to call himself "Monarch of the Flemings" Before this, in 1030, he had issued a decree that all within his territories must keep the peace — the first such order extant in the history of the Holy Roman Empire He also deprived the lords of feudal castles in Flanders of most of their judicial powers, which were henceforth exercised by *baillis* of his own selection, and his example in this reform was afterwards widely followed in western Europe. Count Baldwin V (1036–1067) was successful in war against the Holy Roman Emperor whose palace he burned at Nymwegen; he was guardian of young King Philip I of France, and he helped his son-in-law, William of Normandy, to conquer England

Career of a feudal noble

His younger son, Robert, led the adventurous career characteristic of many feudal nobles Before his father's death he had made expeditions to Spain, Norway, and the Byzantine Empire, but without succeeding in carving out a lordship for himself in any of those distant lands Then he married the widow of the Count of Holland, and, during the minority of her sons, defended that land well against the attacks of covetous barons and of the savage Frisian peasantry Meanwhile his older brother, who had succeeded their father as Count of Flanders and had married the heiress of the county of Hainault, died, leaving Flanders to his older son under Robert's protection and Hainault to his younger son under the mother's guardianship She tried to seize both territories, thinking Robert too fully occupied in Holland to interfere, but he won everything away from her, though she called to her aid the Capetian king, the Duke of Normandy, the Bishop of Liége, and the Holy Roman Emperor Having settled that matter, Robert made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land with other Flemish nobles He remained two years in the East and struck up a friendship with the Byzantine emperor. A few years later he died peaceably at home

Champagne

South of Flanders and east of Paris lay Champagne, where during the tenth century a considerable power had been built up by the union of the counties of Troyes and Meaux and by further acquisitions When the holder of these counties died childless, Eudes II (995–1037), Count of Blois and Chartres, places to the southwest of Paris, outstripped King Robert in the race for Champagne and threatened to crush the royal domains between his two larger lordships Thibaut the Trickster, in the middle of the previous century, had been Count of Tours as well as of Blois and Chartres As for Eudes II, he further augmented his territories at the expense of the Archbishop of Rheims and the Duke of Lorraine, but a coalition of King Robert and Emperor Henry II forced him to restore his conquests But he was a candidate for the Italian crown in 1024 in opposition to Conrad II of Germany, and for that of the kingdom of Arles in 1032 Five years later he was slain in an attempt to capture Aachen while Conrad was absent in Italy In 1152 Blois and Chartres passed to a younger son and Champagne again became a distinct state by itself The counts of Champagne did not develop a strong centralized government, perhaps owing to a number of minorities and of regencies by widows But they have left us a valuable specimen of a feudal register. This book, covering the fifty years from 1172 to 1222, illustrates admirably the intricate and complicated personal relationships of feudalism It contains lists of all their vassals, two thousand and seventeen in number in 1172, and states the services owed by each Of them one hundred and fifty-eight were also vassals of some eighty-five other lords, while the Count of Champagne himself held the twenty-six castellanies which composed his state from ten different suzerains; namely, the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, the Duke of Burgundy, two archbishops, four bishops, and an abbot

South of Champagne was the duchy of Burgundy, ruled by a collateral

Burgundy, the Rhone Valley

line of the Capetian family The dukes had few domain lands of their own and little authority over the local nobility, while the Burgundian bishops held their fiefs directly from the king, and the great abbots claimed to be answerable only to the pope After the kingdom of Arles came to an end in 1032, the regions from the Rhone to the Alps were nominally parts of the Holy Roman Empire, but really broke up into a number of independent lordships — among them, Franche Comté or the Free County of Burgundy, located east of the duchy, Savoy, Dauphiné, and Provence

South of the Loire

The regions south of the Loire differed from northern France in language, geography, race, and the entire life and spirit of the people. In literature, art, and trade they were more closely connected with the Mediterranean, with Constantinople, and with Italy and Spain Their architecture shows Byzantine influence; their language, the Provençal, was more like Latin than French in its sounds and more closely related to the Catalan of northern Spain which was, indeed, the tongue of Christian immigrants from southern Gaul These southern districts retained more Roman influence, especially more Roman law, more town life had survived, and social classes were less sharply distinguished than in the north. The population was more Gallo-Roman and more of the Mediterranean racial type The Frankish kings had seldom visited this region except on warlike expeditions and plundering raids Much of the country was mountainous highland intersected by ravines and water torrents, a topography more suited to the existence of many small lordships than to unified government and large states.

The south, however, divided into three chief regions the county of Toulouse or Languedoc, once occupied by the East Goths and known then as Septimania, a Mediterranean land stretching from the Rhone to the Pyrenees and shut off from the north by the mountain barrier of the *massif central*, and the most southern in spirit of all, the duchy of Gascony, extending from the Pyrenees north to the river Garonne, and the duchy of Aquitaine or Guienne, reaching from the central plateau to the Bay of Biscay. The counts of Toulouse first gave themselves the title, "Marquis of Gothia" and later "Duke of Narbonne," but we know almost nothing of their history in the eleventh century During the first half of the twelfth century they displayed considerable political ability and activity, and were influential in Spain as arbitrators between rival kings there Gascony, as we have seen, got its name from the Vascones, or modern Basques, who invaded from Spain in the sixth century, although their peculiar language and blood have never prevailed except in a very limited section of Gascony. Duke William VIII of Aquitaine

(1058–1086) conquered Gascony and added it to his duchy Aquitaine was the largest feudal state in France, and had the greatest geographical and linguistic diversity in its different parts such as Poitou, Périgord, Limousin, and Auvergne; and the duke found it hard to control his many powerful vassals The ducal coronation ceremony was almost royal in its character, and a ruler like William V (990–1029) had felt himself quite the equal of his Capetian contemporary and had been so treated by the other monarchs of his time

Northern Spain

Since the barons both of Languedoc and Gascony frequently intermarried and fought with those of Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, since the Archbishop of Narbonne had territory on both sides of the Pyrenees, and since troubadours sang in both Provençal and Catalan, we may well interrupt for a moment our survey of the feudal states of France to note the similar divisions in northern Spain as they were in the tenth century, leaving their subsequent expansion at the expense of the Mohammedans in Spain for a later chapter The county of Barcelona represented the remains of Charlemagne's Spanish March, and included Catalonia and Roussillon, a little province destined later to figure often in treaties of peace between French and Spanish monarchs Next, going west, came the tiny kingdoms of Aragon and of Navarre The latter, overlapping the Pyrenees like a pair of saddle-bags, half French and half Spanish, was founded by a Gascon count with the aid of the king of the Asturias in northwest Spain, to whom he paid homage. Between Navarre and Aragon and Barcelona were intermingled several small semi-independent Moorish states The Christians of Spain who escaped Mohammedan conquest were at first confined to the Asturias in the extreme north, with their capital at Oviedo Alfonso II (791–842) added Galicia Then Leon, a devastated plain, which served for a time as a march between Christians and Moslems, was repeopled and henceforth gave its name to the kingdom Presently a new march against the Moors was established in Castile

Duchy of Brittany

Returning from Spain to the remaining feudal states of France north of the Loire, we may first note in the extreme west the peninsula of Brittany, forming a separate geographical unit and distinct in its history from the rest of the Frankish territory. Here the influence of the Celtic clan was still felt From 952 to 1066 was a period of anarchy and endless war, during which various ferocious barons contended, with many crimes and atrocities, for the ducal or regal title. From 1066 to 1148 a line of dukes managed to maintain themselves, but this required all their energies and left them no leisure to develop an organized government. They had to recognize the neighboring dukes of

Normandy as their feudal superiors, and Louis VI, King of France, surrendered to Henry I, King of England and Duke of Normandy, the right to receive homage directly from the Duke of Brittany

The counts of Anjou

Between Brittany and Paris lay the possessions of the counts of Anjou, with their capital at Angers on the Loire Fulk the Black (Foulques Nerra), founder of the dynasty and hero of many legends, was pitiless in slaughtering his foes on the battlefield, treacherous to his enemies, assiduous in building churches and feudal keeps He burned monasteries and then atoned for his sin by sensational public penances The story also goes that he made his rebellious son, conquered after four terrible years of war, do penance by traveling several miles with a saddle on his back and then kneeling before his father, who placed his foot on his head and asked him if he was broken in yet Fulk also made conquests at the expense of his neighbors of Blois and Brittany But there was one person whom he could not conquer, the martyr Saint Florent When Fulk burned the monastery of Saint Florent and started to remove the precious relics of the martyr to grace his capital at Angers, the rowers could not move their boat on the Loire The furious Fulk abused the dead saint as "an ungodly hayseed to prefer to stay at Saumur and not to allow himself to be conveyed to the great city of Angers" But his wrath was unavailing, at Saumur the body of Saint Florent remained Fulk's son, Geoffrey Martel (1040–1060), was once as saucy to the pope as his father had been to the saint, yet he endowed many churches and abbeys No less brave a fighter, he was more versed in military science and statesmanship than his father During the remainder of that century Anjou was weakened by misrule and civil war, but in the first half of the next century two red-headed counts, Fulk V and Geoffrey the Fair, created a strong state. Geoffrey was also a noted patron of learning and literature.

Normandy

Our circuit of feudal France brings us back to Normandy, lying along the seacoast and the river Seine between Brittany and Flanders Here the descendants of Rollo the Northman — three of the first six dukes were the sons of concubines — had built up the strongest and best-organized state in France at this time The duke kept better order in his duchy than the king did on his domains With the exception of the Count of Flanders he was the only feudal lord who had direct control over his subvassals, who placed garrisons in their castles, and who insisted that certain classes of cases even between subvassals should be tried in his court He kept the bishoprics and counties of Normandy in the hands of members of his own family. From 1035 to 1087 the Duke of Normandy was William, an illegitimate son of Robert the

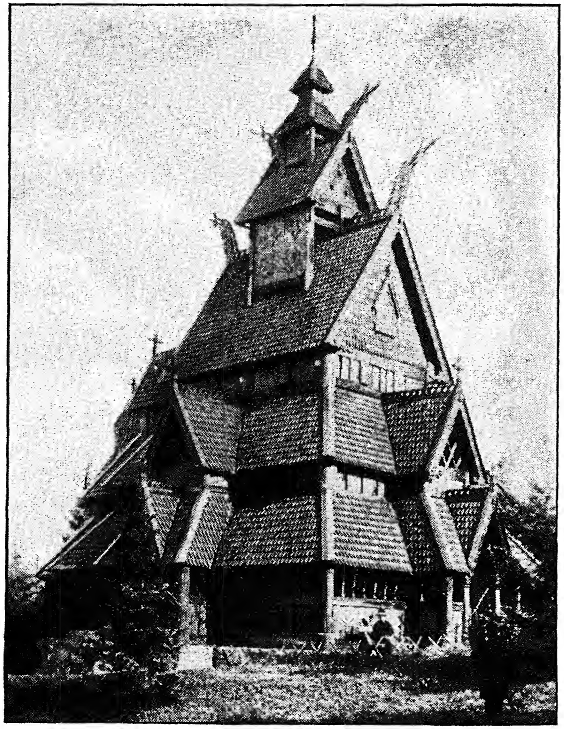


Figure 34

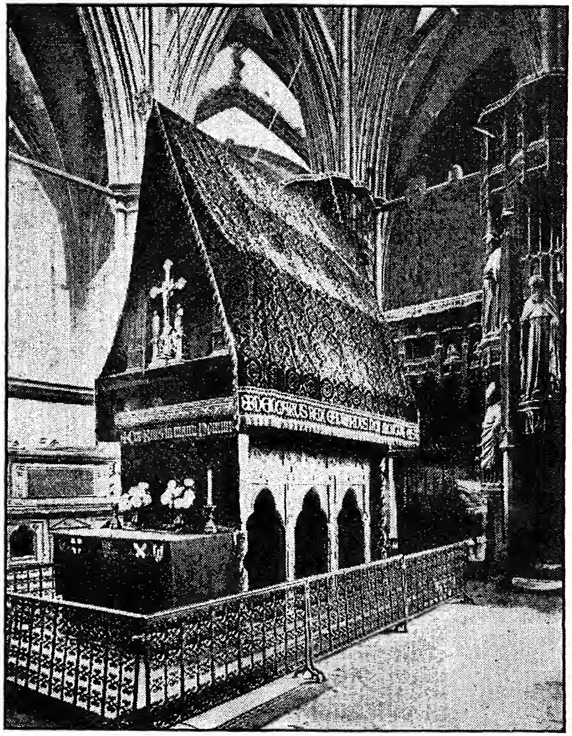


Figure 35

Left, wooden architecture of Norway; *right*, shrine of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey

Devil In 1066 he crossed with an army to England, conquered that kingdom, and brought it thereby into closer relations with Continental feudalism, Church, and culture

The Norman conquest

After the death in 975 of Edgar the Peaceful, a great-grandson of Alfred the Great, the Anglo-Saxon monarchy began to decline in strength The Danes had begun again to attack England and for a time were paid tribute or "Danegeld" Finally, in 1013, Swein, King of Denmark, conquered England and his son Cnut reigned there from 1016 to 1035 Since he also conquered Norway, he had an empire about the North Sea that made him perhaps the most powerful potentate of his time After the disorderly reigns of Cnut's two sons, Edward the Confessor (Figure 35), so called for his religiousness, came to the throne in 1042 He had been a refugee in Normandy, and during his reign many Normans came to England and were influential at his court Duke William himself paid him a visit, and afterwards asserted that Edward had promised to make him his successor William had the lust for conquest and domination in his blood and had already absorbed Maine, defeated the Duke of Brittany, and wrenched fiefs away from the Capetians But when Edward died childless, the Witan chose Harold, son of Godwine, the leader of the anti-Norman party in Edward's reign William thereupon determined to invade England The pope approved of his expedition because Harold's party had ousted the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Norman, and replaced him by an Englishman without papal permission William's vassals were as keen to conquer more territory as he was, and various feudal nobles from outside Normandy were allured by the prospect of new fiefs and plunder to join his forces He also stirred up Harold's unworthy brother, Tostig, who was in exile and who was aided by Harold Hardrada of Norway and by contingents from the Norse colonies in Ireland, the Orkneys, and Shetlands, and from the King of Scotland Tostig and Hardrada invaded northern England and defeated the earls of Northumbria and Mercia, but Harold hurried north to the rescue and defeated and killed both Tostig and Hardrada in the battle of Stamford Bridge But meanwhile William's army had been enabled to land unopposed on the south coast Harold hurried south to meet him, but now he in his turn was defeated and slain at the battle of Hastings or Senlac (Figure 36) William soon took London and forced the Witan to elect him king, and by 1071 he had crushed all rebellion

Before the Norman conquest the Anglo-Saxon monarchy had shown a tendency to fall apart into four or five great earldoms, which — as shown by the names Northumbria and Mercia, mentioned above — followed the lines of the former independent kingdoms The earls replaced

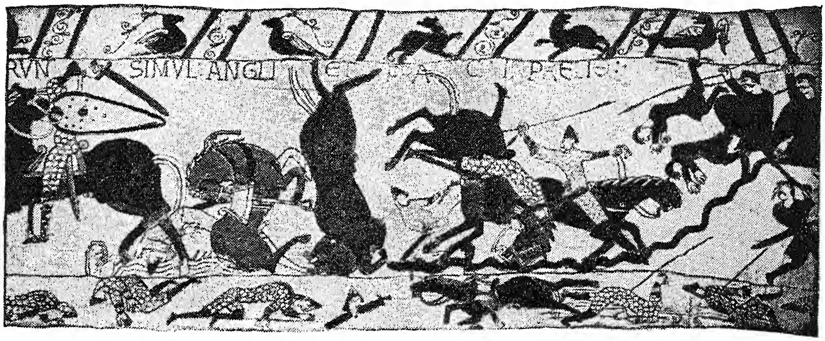


Figure 36

A feudal mêlée at the Battle of Hastings (from the Bayeux tapestry)

the former ealdormen in the various shires. Besides this tendency in the direction of feudal states, it should be noted that the kings had come to rely chiefly in their government and wars upon a nobility of service called "thegns." It was with these personal followers that they filled up the Witan to secure a subservient majority, and to them they granted or "booked" lands. Immunities, too, had been granted, and some private individuals had military retainers or held courts of justice. Also, both serfdom and seigneurial exploitation were familiar before the Norman conquest. William further introduced feudalism by depriving most of the English who had resisted him of their estates and giving these out as fiefs to his Continental followers. He wished, however, to keep the government in his own hands as in Normandy; hence, he increased the number of earls and reduced their power, transferring some of their functions to the sheriffs representing him in each shire. And toward the close of his reign he required all his subvassals to take an oath of allegiance to himself.

English feudalism

William showed that he was a businesslike ruler by his *Domesday Book*, a record of the landed property of England, its tenants, serfs, animals, agricultural equipment, fish-ponds, and other sources of income, and what was owing from it to the king. William and his two immediate successors greatly strengthened the central government of England, but, like Cnut, they wisely continued the old local organization and the old English customs and laws. They were arbitrary rulers who punished wrongdoers severely and squeezed more money out of the land than it had been wont to pay in the easy-going Anglo-Saxon days. Yet their rule, though absolute and even tyrannical, was feudal in form. An army was raised from their vassals by knight service. William built rectangular stone "towers" or castles all over the land to hold it in truly feudal style. There were the same household officials and the same feudal *curia regis* as the Capetians governed by Except that the kings continued to levy the Danegeld, their financial oppression was exercised largely by stretching their rights to feudal dues, by abusing their powers of wardship and marriage, and by demanding excessive fines and fees in their feudal court of justice They were accustomed to feudal methods in Normandy and continued to employ them in England, although they gladly retained any Anglo-Saxon custom that was useful to them, just as in Normandy they had preserved some Carolingian institutions

Possessions of Henry II

The death of Henry I in 1135 raised the question whether England and Normandy should go to his daughter Matilda or to his nephew Stephen, and civil war rent England for nearly twenty years over this disputed succession. The two rivals imported paid soldiers from the Continent to fight their battles and while these devastated the land, the feudal nobles built castles and lorded it over their localities as they pleased Matilda, a rather haughty and disagreeable lady, had married the able Count of Anjou of the Plantagenet house, Geoffrey the Fair (1129–1151), who was fifteen years her junior After ten years of fighting he gained Normandy in 1144, ten years later their son, Henry Plantagenet, on the death of Stephen, became Henry II of England When the Capetian king, Louis VII, committed the political error of divorcing for personal reasons his wife, the imperious and capricious and frivolous Eleanor, heiress of the great duchy of Aquitaine with its attendant fiefs of Poitou and Gascony, young Henry married her in 1152 He was only twenty-one when he became King of England in 1154. This made him ruler in his own and in his wife's name of territories from Scotland to the Pyrenees — he also later occupied a small portion of Ireland — and lord of over half the fiefs of Gaul. He did not, however, thereby become the monarch of a vast empire; instead, he was the lord of a number of distinct feudal states, which were out of sympathy with one another and most of which were only too ready to rebel against their lord, even if he had been a native of their own locality instead of a foreign intruder, such as Henry seemed to them. Henry, however, was a ruler of great energy and ability who played an important part in English history, as we shall see later

Feudal law

With the disruption of the Frankish Empire and the incoming of the feudal period which we have just been describing, almost all the written law of the previous period went out of use Several new sources of law now existed; one was the feudal court for vassals and another was the manorial court for peasants Sometimes there were intermediate courts between these two. In Germany, besides *Lehnrecht,* regulating the relations of fief-holders to their lords, and *Hofrecht* or manorial law, there was *Dienstrecht* regulating the status of the *ministeriales*. There were vast numbers of feudal and manorial courts and consequently there was great variety in the laws produced by them, especially since their attendants were not trained lawyers, but simple warriors or peasants and rough lords, who reached a decision as best they could. Royal law as yet did not have a very wide influence and was itself largely feudal in character. By the thirteenth century some lawyers endeavored to reduce feudalism and its manifold customs and local diversities to a system. The business of the average feudal court was in the main limited to questions of personal status and personal injuries, crimes of violence, rights over land or other fiefs, and the feudal bond.

One last word for feudalism

If any reader is perplexed that the economic recovery and social progress which we sketched in the previous chapter should synchronize with the feudal disorder and divisions which have been described in this, he has my sympathy, but so it was. After all, the formation of feudal bonds and arrangements and the growth of feudal states also represented a decided recovery and progress from the preceding invasions and utter disorder. Maybe, too, the feudal lord has had a bad press and was not so wicked a person as monkish chronicle, episcopal excommunication, and modern nationalistic history are apt to represent him. Maybe his memory should be relieved of some of the atrocities that have been laid at his door, and his positive accomplishments for civilization be kept in mind instead. Maybe there really was something noble about him.

To a Thomas de Marle who died in 1130, Gilbert de Nogent ascribed acts of unparalleled barbarity, while Suger called him "a raging wolf, an execrable man, oppressor of Holy Church." Yet Thomas fought bravely in the Holy Land, he favored the establishment of the religious Order of Premonstratensians, and was liberal to the abbey of Nogent-sous-Coucy. His conscience led him to restore land to the abbot of Saint Vincent at Laon, and kept him from marrying a cousin within the forbidden degrees of relationship, although this cost him the castle of Montaigu.

Feudalism had some marvelous properties. For one thing, it was a spontaneous development. It was not the doctrinaire program of some planning committee, nor was it evolved from the systematic brain of some bureaucratic Diocletian. It was not put over by advertising and propaganda. It was not the outcome of a vast co-operative effort on the part of innumerable agricultural associations, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, learned societies, internationally minded women's clubs, and religious unions It was not based on questionnaires or Gallup polls or sociology or psychoanalysis or cultural anthropology It was like Topsy: it "just growed" It was evolved on the spot, man to man, and hence had a personal touch It was not indissoluble It was not too far-reaching It was just a practical solution — or makeshift, if you will — meeting the needs of the times, suited to existing conditions, and worked out on an empirical basis by a rule-of-thumb method It lasted for centuries, and it took an awful lot of nationalistic and capitalistic and social-reform propaganda to get rid of it.

Bibliographical Note

C H Ashdown and Bashford Dean have written on arms and armor, Cornish, Meller, and more lately Sidney Painter, on chivalry, Seignobos and Carl Stephenson, on feudalism F. M Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism*, is advanced and technical Feudal society is portrayed in Chapters 8, 9, and 10 of Luchaire's *Social France*, and Chapters 1, 2, and 8 of Bateson's *Medieval England* For castles, see D MacGibbon, *Architecture of Provence and the Riviera*, M F Marsfield, *Castles and Châteaux of Old Burgundy*, A V Thompson, *Military Architecture in England*, and *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI, chapter 22 (B) Two other volumes on special topics are Hilaire Belloc, *The Book of the Bayeux Tapestry*, and J. L. Lamonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Feudal Germany* is treated by James Westfall Thompson

XVI

Church Reform

Papacy after Charlemagne

CHARLEMAGNE had ruled Church as well as State, but the popes rather turned the tables upon Louis the Pious and other later Carolingians While local magnates increased their power at the expense of the central government, the Church gained independence too The Church, however, also ran the risk of dismemberment and local isolation Bishops were revolting from the control of their archbishops just as dukes and counts were throwing off the royal yoke During the first half of the tenth century the papacy fell into the hands of local factions at Rome, and exerted little or no influence outside Italy Once a boy of sixteen was made pope and dishonored the office by his wild life and neglect of duty When Otto became emperor he found it necessary to intervene and put candidates of his own in the papal chair He also issued a decree that henceforth a pope should not be consecrated until he had taken an oath of fealty to the emperor None the less, the German churches recognized the pope's spiritual supremacy, asking his consent for the creation of new bishops, and his confirmation for ecclesiastical charters, and welcoming the presence of his legate at their councils

About the middle of the ninth century there appeared the *False Decretals,* purported to have been collected from the documents of early popes and combined with a genuine Spanish collection known as the *Hispana* or *Isidoriana* These forgeries did not originate at Rome but were probably made at Le Mans in France, with the object of freeing bishops from the control of their archbishops by magnifying the authority of the papacy, which the bishops seem to have hoped would not press upon them so much These Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, with their theories of papal absolutism, were generally accepted in the Middle Ages False capitularies date from about the same time

The chief allies of the papacy, however, were not discontented bishops seeking their own ends, but the monks Bishops had many worldly concerns, some were rulers of small states themselves, others were advisers and helpers of kings Their selection was usually influenced by the secular rulers, and as a result they were often ambitious nobles or relatives of king or feudal lord They sometimes, therefore, did not care greatly for the religious side of their office, and they almost always sympathized with the locality or nationality to which they belonged. Monks had less interest in worldly things and were apt to be devoted to the papacy, to which they looked for special favors and for freedom from episcopal or other local control Feudal nobles, however, looked covetously upon the richly endowed monasteries and often sought the office of abbot for the sake of the lands

Congregation of Cluny

About 910 the abbey of Cluny had been founded in the duchy of Burgundy with complete immunity from feudal or ecclesiastical control except that of the pope. It soon acquired great fame by its revival of monastic ideals. Its monks really lived up to their rule and were models of ascetic devotion They were well educated, engaging in intellectual rather than manual labor, although they spent a few hours shelling beans and digging weeds in order to make themselves feel properly humble They conducted excellent schools, were very hospitable, and their charity to the poor won them both great popularity and many donations. Cluny was fortunate during the first two centuries of its existence in a remarkable succession of abbots, some of whom had very long terms of office Each one practically chose his own successor and trained him for his task Finally it became the custom that the grand prior should always succeed to the abbotship. Cluny became so celebrated that there was not room in one monastery for all who wished to join. So the "Congregation of Cluny" was formed More monasteries were founded in other places, but instead of each being an independent community under its own abbot, as had hitherto been the case with Benedictine monasteries, all were subordinated to the abbot of the mother monastery at Cluny, who appointed a prior for each instead of allowing the local monks to elect their head He also visited these priories to see that their discipline conformed to Cluniac standards, and the priors met in general assemblies under his presidency The popes showered Cluny with favors; Christians deluged it with gifts and legacies; by 1150 there were over three hundred priories. Ultimately there were two thousand dependencies scattered all over Europe The great abbey church at Cluny itself, consecrated by Urban II in the same year that he preached the first crusade (1095), was for half a century the largest and loftiest in the West. Excavations at Cluny have been going on under the charge of the Mediaeval Academy of America for twenty years past (Figure 37) and have gradually resurrected that very important and influential center of Romanesque architecture and sculpture.

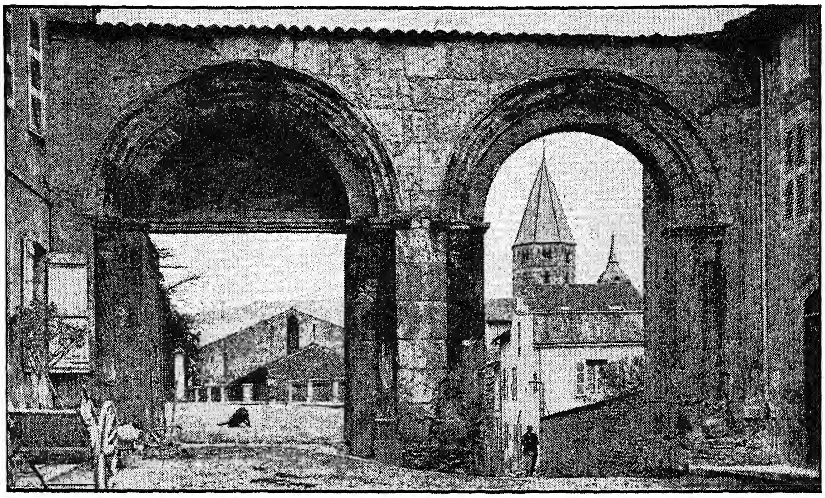


Figure 37

Entrance to the monastery of Cluny

Eleventh-century reforms

A reform movement now began in the Church at large, which was perhaps due in large measure to the influence of Cluny, whose branches were scattered over Catholic Europe and whose monks were often called to high posts in the Church. Moreover, the Cluniac monasteries to some extent reformed the parish priesthood by the following method. Usually the lord of the manor or some other person or institution that had endowed the local parish church with most of its property possessed the right to nominate to the bishop a candidate for the office of parish priest. In other words, most parishes had lay "patrons" who had the right of "presentation" to the ecclesiastical "living." Cluny now made it an especial object to acquire among its extensive properties as many "advowsons" or rights of patronage of this sort as possible in order to be able to fill the priesthood with holier men. It was now felt that the Church as a whole should be freed from the control of kings and feudal lords as Cluny had been, and more than that, that the spiritual power should always take precedence over the temporal power and that kings and lords should be subject to the correction of the clergy and the pope. To insure further that the clergy should not become worldly, it was felt that the rules against the marriage of the clergy must be strictly enforced, as is the case today in the Roman Catholic priesthood.

In the West since the later Roman Empire the clergy above the rank of subdeacon had been forbidden to lead married lives,[1] but the rule was often poorly observed, and Gregory the Great had to instruct the bishops of Gaul concerning it in his day In the tenth and eleventh centuries there were many married clergy in England, in northern Italy, in Germany, and elsewhere Those who believed in the celibacy of the clergy not only regarded such priests as leading impure and sinful lives, but had another cogent reason for prohibiting clerical marriage married priests were too prone to transmit to their sons their ecclesiastical offices and the church property under their care If the Church was to remain a career open to everyone, an institution where ability might rise to high position regardless of social rank, and if the clergy were not to become a hereditary caste, it was felt that they must remain single

Threat of feudalism

Feudalism was threatening to overwhelm the Church as it had overwhelmed almost every other institution and phase of society. The Church was the greatest landholder in existence, in the Carolingian period one third of all Gaul belonged to the Church, a fact that would have caused Julius Caesar to rub his eyes in amazement had he awaked from the grave Most church lands were now in the form of fiefs which the clergy either held as vassals or had granted out as lords to others Therefore, there was danger that the clergy would become mere feudal nobles and forget their religious duties, or that greedy feudal nobles who cared nothing for religion would become bishops and abbots to get the use of the church lands. If bishops and abbots were worldly self-seekers, there was little hope that the monks and priests under their surveillance would be what they should

Simony

This entrance of unworthy men into church positions, this climbing of wolves into the sheepfold, seemed to thoughtful persons of that age to be effected in two ways, by simony and by lay investiture Simony was an abuse of long standing. The term is derived from the name of Simon the Magician who tried to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit from the apostles It meant in particular the purchase and sale of church offices, and might more broadly refer to the acquisition of such offices by unworthy persons or by any improper methods, and to almost any corruption or "graft" in the Church Purchasing an office was nevertheless quite a usual occurrence in the Middle Ages, and outside the Church was often not regarded as illegal, while even within the Church we have instances of good men buying offices to keep bad men from getting them But this last fact only illustrates how much corruption there must have been in the Church.

---

[1] In the East, on the other hand, a church council at Constantinople, in 688–694, declared that those who were already married before taking higher orders need not separate from their wives unless they became bishops, but that one must not marry *after* one had been ordained a subdeacon.

Lay investiture

Lay investiture was the power exercised by kings and feudal lords of investing with his office and fiefs the new incumbent of a bishopric or abbey. By this method the rulers kept somewhat under their control the clergy and church property within their borders. A large part of the church lands had been royal or ducal grants, and kings were supposed to be protectors and defenders of the Church, in return they claimed that all the higher clergy within their territories were their vassals. The new bishop or abbot must do homage to his king or feudal lord and receive from him, not only the church lands as a fief, but also the symbols of his religious functions, the ring and the staff, with the words, "*Accipe ecclesiam*" — "Take this church." The lay lords were also accustomed to seize for their own use the goods and lands of bishoprics and monasteries during the vacancies between the death of one incumbent and the selection of his successor. The theory of the Church, on the other hand, was that monks should elect their abbot, and the clergy and people of the diocese, their bishop; and that the feudal lord should unquestioningly accept such choices. In practice, however, the latter not only did the investing, but usually let it be known beforehand whom he wished chosen, and might refuse to invest anyone else with the office and the property. This power the Church wished to take away from the feudal lords and political rulers; and it was repulsive to ecclesiastical sensibilities that the blood-stained hands of some lord, who was a terror to all his peasants and neighbors, and who had perhaps ill-treated and divorced several wives, should bestow the emblems of spiritual functions upon a successor of the blessed apostles, or upon the head of a community vowed to perpetual chastity.

Emperors aid in reform

Yet for a time the Holy Roman Emperors assisted in the reform of the Church. Henry II, called the Saint, did much to improve the monasteries and co-operated on several occasions with the pope, who in 1018 held a council at Pavia which forbade the marriage of the clergy. The next emperor, Conrad II, was absorbed in politics and gave the Church little thought. Meanwhile the papacy fell again under the control of a powerful Roman family, and Henry III (1039–1056) found it in much the same predicament as in the time of Otto the Great. Scandal was caused by the reign of a youthful and depraved pope, although he was probably nearer thirty years of age than the twelve years suggested for him by one chronicler. Presently there were three claimants to the papacy. At this point Henry III interfered, deposed all three popes, and nominated a good German bishop to the papacy. Henry was a pious ruler, earnestly desirous of church reform, and held a synod at Mainz, at which the pope was present, and which condemned simony.

Through the remainder of his reign Henry III saw to it that fit men occupied the papal see But when he died his son was a mere child, under the regency of his mother, and was still only fifteen when he was declared of age in 1065 In the meantime the Romans again began to choose the pope without consulting the imperial court, but in 1059 Pope Nicholas II decreed that henceforth the pope should be elected by the cardinals, that is, certain clergy connected with churches in Rome He himself had been so chosen at Siena in 1058 in opposition to the pope put up by the Roman nobles This is essentially the method of election followed today, and, although many of the cardinals reside in other countries, they still hold nominal positions in the city churches of Rome This took the election of the pope out of the hands of the Roman mob and influential families, but also out of the control of the emperor Nicholas accordingly in the same year made a treaty with the Normans who had overrun southern Italy In return for recognition of their conquests they swore fealty to the papacy and promised to support its independence A number of decrees forbidding the clergy to receive investiture from laymen were also issued at about this time During this period, moreover, there was rising step by step, toward the highest power in the Church, a man in whose breast burned with the fierceness of intense conviction those ideals of ecclesiastical purity and supremacy which have been already outlined

Papacy grows independent

Hildebrand, born in Tuscany about 1025 of poor peasants, was educated at the Lateran school; was nourished from his infancy, as he himself more than once said, by the Apostle Peter, and spent his entire life in the papal service It is disputed whether he accompanied the simoniacal pope, Gregory VI, when the latter was deposed by Henry III and exiled to Germany, and whether he returned to Rome with Pope Leo IX and was made a subdeacon and cardinal by him in 1050. In 1053 he was sent to France as a papal legate and became acquainted with the Abbot of Cluny, but it is certain that he never became a Cluniac monk and somewhat doubtful if he was a monk at all On Leo's death he went from France to Germany, where Henry III appointed a German bishop as Pope Victor II. When both this pope and the emperor soon after died, the new pope sent Hildebrand back to Germany again as one of two legates to announce his election, and before his death, within the year, he forbade the Romans to elect his successor until Hildebrand should return They, however, elected another pope without waiting for Hildebrand But when Hildebrand did return, he disregarded their action and joined with the other cardinals at Siena in securing the election of Nicholas II. It is probable that in this Hilde-

Early career of Hildebrand

brand was executing instructions from the empress, at any rate, it shows his increasing prominence in church affairs He now became a deacon and then an archdeacon The decree of 1059 regulating papal elections and the treaty with the Normans produced a breach between the imperial court and Pope Nicholas On his death there were two rival popes, one, whom Hildebrand supported, was Alexander II, elected by the method prescribed in the decree of 1059; the other was nominated by the imperial court But at this point the great nobles of Germany deprived the empress of the regency, and Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, held a synod at Mantua which decided the disputed election in favor of Alexander II During this pontificate of nine years Hildebrand was undoubtedly, next to the pope himself, the leading figure at the papal court, and in 1073, when Alexander was being buried in the Lateran, the people tumultuously shouted for Hildebrand as his successor and forcibly placed him upon the vacant throne as Pope Gregory VII, without paying any heed to the election decree of 1059

Policies of Gregory VII

Gregory VII was determined to enforce strictly the decrees against marriage of the clergy, simony, and lay investiture, which his predecessors had already promulgated He also regarded the pope as entrusted by God with supreme oversight and control of all human society; he believed himself to be above kings, and empowered to issue orders to them and to punish them if they did not obey He thought the State a worldly institution built up by sinful men who often were violent and unjust, whereas the Church was a divine foundation Consequently the pope should correct erring or incompetent monarchs Gregory was not content to try to free the Church from the control of feudal lords, he also attempted to bring various European states into feudal subjection to the papacy Corsica and Sardinia he regarded as his fiefs, the Norman ruler of southern Italy had become the pope's vassal in 1059; and Gregory endeavored to make the rulers of Spain, England, Hungary, and Denmark his vassals This illustrates how universal were feudal conceptions, that even a pope who tried to free the Church from feudalism could not free his own mind or government from feudal methods.

Among Gregory's papers is found a list of twenty-seven propositions concerning powers possessed or claimed by the popes, which is known as the *Dictatus* It has been disputed whether this brief memorandum was written by Gregory, but it at least illustrates the vast powers claimed at about this time for the papacy. It asserts that the pope never errs; that he is above criticism, supreme over bishops and even a church council; supreme also over the State, the law, and literature. These were prerogatives even more extensive than Gregory VII attempted in practice, but the program was one which his successors tried to realize in the next few centuries.

Gregory was distinguished by the violent and extreme methods which he did not hesitate to adopt in the effort to enforce his ideals In order to root out the married clergy, he deprived them of their revenues, forbade the laity to recognize them any longer as priests, and even required their parishioners to rise against them and drive them out He not only excommunicated worldly rulers with whom he had differences, but deposed them and encouraged their vassals and subjects to revolt, thus inciting sedition and civil war He was also very much a realist When the Duke of Burgundy retired after three years to the monastery of Cluny and displayed his humility by cleaning the monks' shoes, Gregory reprimanded the abbot for having admitted him, saying that he had been more useful to the Church as a layman

Conflict with Henry IV

The pontificate of Gregory was full of struggles, but the chief conflict was with the young emperor, Henry IV Whether we believe that the power of the Holy Roman Emperors reached its height under Henry III, or think that it had already in his day begun to decline from the power of his predecessor, Conrad II, there is no doubt that the imperial authority was greatly weakened during the long minority of Henry IV, and that he had his hands full of political problems when Gregory VII became pope Henry was at odds with the great nobles and was trying to build up a military power based upon the *ministeriales* He also was trying to create a royal domain in Saxony, and thereby encountered a dangerous rebellion of the freedom-loving Saxons Before Gregory became pope, members of Henry's council had been excommunicated for their interference in ecclesiastical appointments, and Henry would incur excommunication if he continued to associate with these advisers.

Since in 1073 the Saxons had got the better of Henry and there was danger that another king might be set up in his place, he wrote a very humble letter to the pope, admitting that he had sold church offices and named unworthy bishops, and promising henceforth to co-operate with the pope in the cause of church reform The next year he did penance before papal legates at Nurnberg and received a letter from Gregory congratulating him upon his "devoted servitude" to the apostolic see

By 1075, however, Henry was victorious over the Saxons and pressed the pope to agree to his immediate coronation at Rome as emperor. Gregory was inclined to stipulate conditions before proceeding to the coronation, and had held a synod which passed new decrees against lay investiture and forbade the King of Germany to dispose of bishoprics.

Henry, nevertheless, continued his interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of northern Italy, and tried to come to an understanding with Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of Sicily and southern Italy. Our sources for this important year, 1075, are scanty, but it terminated with a rough letter from the pope to Henry and a still more threatening verbal message brought by papal ambassadors to the effect that Henry's private immorality and public policy were both so offensive that he was liable not only to excommunication, but to deposition. Henry thereupon summoned to Worms a council of German bishops who charged Gregory with a variety of sins and declared him deposed from his papal office. Gregory promptly replied by both excommunicating and deposing Henry, and not only released all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, but positively forbade them to obey him. The great lay lords took the side of the pope, just as the bishops had supported Henry. The nobility ordered Henry to refrain entirely from the exercise of his political functions until he had been released from the papal excommunication. Such a release must be secured within a year and a day or his crown would be forfeited. They invited the pope to visit Germany the next spring and arbitrate their grievances against Henry.

Canossa

Henry saw that the time had come for another submission. He crossed the Alps in the depth of winter and met Gregory on his way north at the castle of the pope's friend, the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, at Canossa. By his penitent attitude, standing, one source says, for three days barefoot in the snow, Henry practically forced the reluctant pontiff to raise the ban of excommunication. Outwardly the scene appeared a great humiliation for Henry, but it was not a very substantial triumph for Gregory. Henry had satisfied public opinion by his apparent reconciliation with the pope, and when the great lords ignored it and elected another king in his place, they failed to receive general support. Henry in his government had shown regard for the welfare of the common people and they saw no reason for disloyalty, now that he had apparently made his peace with the Church. The real objection of the great nobles and the pope to Henry was not that he was a bad and incompetent ruler, but that he was exerting too much influence in spheres which they regarded as their own.

Gregory's exile and death

Gregory hardly knew what attitude to take between Henry and the rival whom the princes had raised against him. He tried to arbitrate between them and as a result alienated both parties. Finally, in 1080, when Henry threatened to set up an anti-pope unless Gregory excommunicated his rival, Gregory came to a decision and again excommunicated and deposed Henry. The German bishops thereupon held various synods, preferred more charges against Gregory, deposed him, and named in his stead the Archbishop of Ravenna, a good and learned man Henry's rival was slain in battle and Henry proceeded to attack Rome Many of the cardinals deserted Gregory, and in 1084 Henry won the city and was at last crowned emperor by the anti-pope Robert Guiscard, the Norman ruler of southern Italy, who although a vassal of the pope had done nothing to help him during the two-year siege of the city, now at last appeared to relieve Gregory, who was still holding out in the Castle of Sant' Angelo, formerly the tomb of the great Roman emperor, Hadrian Henry had returned to Germany, but it was only by treachery that the Norman gained admission to the city A sack followed, which was possibly more destructive of property and life than that of Alaric in 410 or that of the Vandals in 455; many of the people were slaughtered and the greater part of the city was burned Naturally the Romans became more alienated from Gregory than before He deemed it prudent to leave the city with his Norman allies and died the next year at Salerno, asserting with his last breath, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile" But the manner of his death was not unfitting for one who had resorted to such violent methods

Investiture question

The end of Henry was no happier, though he seemed for the moment to have triumphed and lived for a score of years longer Gregory's successors renewed his excommunication, his anti-popes soon became powerless, he lost control of Italy, and his sons rebelled against him in Germany. Despite this, Henry V, on succeeding his father, pursued the same policy in regard to the question of investiture. In 1111 he marched upon Rome and secured from Pope Paschal II the remarkably fair proposal that the bishops and abbots should give up their secular power and their estates, and that the emperor should renounce the right of investiture. This proposal proved, however, too idealistic and revolutionary to be tolerated by the bishops and abbots in question or by the German princes generally. Instead, it was finally agreed by the Concordat of Worms in 1122 that nowhere should the clergy any longer receive the symbols of their spiritual functions from the hands of secular rulers, but that in Germany ecclesiastical elections should take place in the royal presence and that the bishop, before he could be consecrated, must be invested with his temporal fiefs by the king or emperor, while in the kingdoms of Arles and of Italy the secular ruler must invest the bishop with his temporalities within six months after his consecration. This made the Italian clergy practically independent of the emperor, whereas the German Church was likely to remain still under his control For England the question was compromised in about the same way as for Germany, but in France the Church came nearest to settling the questions of ecclesiastical elections and investitures to suit itself In 1139 a papal decree that bishops should henceforth be elected by the clergy of their cathedral chapter excluded the people of the episcopal city from participating in the election, but does not appear greatly to have lessened royal interference

Of the three reforms which Hildebrand and his predecessors and successors in the papal chair had attempted, they had been most successful in regard to celibacy of the clergy. Simony had been partially and temporarily checked, but was an abuse that could scarcely ever be prevented entirely. Against lay investiture they won only a limited success and one that was not even so considerable as it at first seemed But in a general way the Church and the papacy had shown vast strength and endurance; as a whole their power and prestige had greatly increased, and were to continue to do so for another century

Popes, emperors, and kings

For another century, too, the popes and emperors were to be at bitter strife. The chief reason for this was the occasional appearance of the Holy Roman Emperor in Italy As a result he kept getting into difficulties with the papacy and usually bore the brunt of the pope's displeasure, while the English and French monarchs were able to exercise a control over church affairs that the pope might not have tolerated, had his attention and energy not been so extensively absorbed by the emperor

William of Normandy, for example, although he had conquered England under papal auspices, paid no attention to the decrees against investitures and refused to take an oath of fealty to Gregory VII, when the latter requested it. William further affirmed that his royal permission must be obtained before church councils could be held in his kingdom, before papal bulls might be published there, and before any of his officials or vassals might be excommunicated Yet Gregory did not excommunicate William or threaten to depose him, partly, no doubt, because he was a generous patron of churches and monasteries and was bringing the English church service and clergy into conformity with Continental practice; but partly, too, in all likelihood because it was hopeless to think of deposing one who had just thoroughly conquered England and who held it submissive under his strong rule Henry IV seemed easier to fight with

But the Church was sure to press its claims as it found a good opportunity, even in France and England. The successor of the Conqueror, William Rufus, whose immorality, profanity, and tyranny gave the

Church a handle against him, had an indecisive struggle with his archbishop, Anselm, as to whether the latter should obey the pope or the king on disputed points. In the reign of Henry I the investiture question reached England and was finally compromised as above indicated. But then, during the long civil wars between Stephen and Matilda, the Church slipped away from the royal control, was granted liberties by Stephen in an effort to secure its support, and through its own ecclesiastical courts tried to supply some of the justice and security that were just then so woefully lacking.

Ecclesiastical courts

We have in earlier chapters noted that the Theodosian Code granted judicial privileges and powers to the Christian clergy of the declining Roman Empire, and that with the disappearance of imperial and municipal government in the West the bishop often became a sort of local ruler. Naturally his court acquired an increasing amount of judicial business, especially in those departments of law which were inadequately dealt with by the customs of the barbarian invaders and the tribunals of the feudal lords. As the church service continued to be in the Latin language, so the church courts preserved a considerable amount of Roman law, and they were usually more merciful and equitable in their judgments than the secular courts of those times. For these reasons and others, the church courts came to claim jurisdiction not only over all cases in which a clergyman or church property was concerned, or where a man was charged with heresy or irreligion, but also over many other matters which are today and had been in Roman times settled by the ordinary law courts. Since baptism was a sacrament performed and recorded by the clergy, it was natural for the church courts to settle lawsuits where questions of birth were involved. Marriage, too, was regarded as a sacrament and performed by clergy and subject to rules made by the Church, such as that near relatives might not wed. Consequently, cases concerning matrimony and applications for separation or divorce came before a church court. The barbarians had seldom made wills, but let their property pass in accordance with fixed custom to the nearest kin; persons who wished to contravert this rule were apt to desire to do so in order to leave something to the Church; moreover, the clergy were likely to be present at deathbeds to render the last ministrations to the dying. For all these reasons the ecclesiastical courts had secured well-nigh a monopoly of the law of testaments. Since an oath was a religious act, the church courts also took cognizance of cases involving sworn contracts. The ecclesiastical courts further took it upon themselves to forbid and to endeavor to punish a number of practices which were believed to be prohibited by the Bible or by the principles of Christianity, although they might not be proscribed as torts or crimes by the secular courts. Blasphemy is one example Another is the lending of money at interest by Christians, which was prohibited by medieval canon law

Papal court· canon law

Had the bishops remained under royal control to the extent that they were in the reigns of Clovis and Charlemagne and William the Conqueror, kings might have raised little objection to this extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, although of course the fees and fines of an ecclesiastical court did not go into the royal treasury But the bishops were coming to look more and more toward Rome, and although the investiture strife had left the kings a large influence over episcopal elections, they no longer found it as easy to control a bishop once he had been elected Moreover, the custom had grown up of appealing cases from the local episcopal courts, presided over by the archdeacons, to the papal court at Rome, which was becoming the supreme court of Christendom Indeed, very important cases were often brought before the papal court in the first instance A uniform system of law came to be accepted throughout the Church in the West, based upon the decrees of the popes and church councils and upon the decisions rendered in the ecclesiastical courts, and called "canon law"

Henry II and Thomas Becket

When Henry II became king of England in 1154, he speedily restored order and deprived of their castles the feudal nobles who had been making trouble It was one thing to crush rebellious vassals, who were disorderly and lawless and of whose anarchy and evil deeds the English people were heartily tired, it was quite another thing to try to restrict the growing power of a great organization with a systematic body of law — an organization which had at that time a greater hold upon the popular mind than royalty had, and which was more beloved by the people than was the stocky, red-headed, young foreigner who could spend but a fraction of his time away from his vast Continental fiefs. Yet Henry elected to struggle against the Church as well as against feudalism, to try to regain from it the powers which it had assumed of late in England, to bring its property, its clergy, and its courts under the royal jurisdiction, and to shut off all appeals to the papal court at Rome To accomplish this, the busy Henry in 1162 secured the election, as Archbishop of Canterbury or Primate of the Church in England, of his friend Thomas Becket, on whose devotion he thought that he could rely and who was already serving him faithfully in political matters as his chancellor. Becket protested, however, against being made archbishop, and, as soon as he was elected, resigned the chancellorship and devoted himself henceforth solely to the interests of the Church and the papacy

Instead of co-operating with the king in the latter's effort to check the growing independence of the Church and the clergy, Thomas now opposed him at every point

"Criminous clerks"

A crucial instance was the question of the treatment of clergymen who had committed crimes such as murder and robbery, or at least were accused of such deeds. The ecclesiastical courts would not shed blood and were apt to let such "criminous clerks" off with a light sentence, if they found them guilty at all Henry was very much dissatisfied with this state of affairs and felt that he could not keep due order in his realm unless all criminals, whether clergy or laymen, were alike severely punished He therefore demanded that his own judges should be present at the trial in the ecclesiastical court to see that the accused was not unduly favored, and that if the accused clergyman was found guilty, he should be turned over to the royal officials for condign punishment But Becket held that this "would be bringing Christ again before Pontius Pilate," and carried the other bishops with him in opposition to the king

"Constitutions of Clarendon"

Henry, however, finally induced them to agree to obey the customs of the realm, and then called a meeting of his barons and appointed a committee of the oldest to draw up a list of the customs bearing upon the relations of Church and State from the reign of Henry I. These are known as the "Constitutions of Clarendon." They upheld the king in the matter of "criminous clerks", gave the royal courts the right to determine whether cases concerning ecclesiastical lands and persons should be tried in the church courts or the king's courts; stated that the king's tenants-in-chief or his officials or the men on his own estates could not be excommunicated without his consent, forbade the clergy to leave the realm without his permission; and did not allow appeals to the papal court. After a vigorous protest Thomas unwillingly accepted the "Constitutions," but immediately after repented of his action and appealed to the pope to absolve him from the oath which he had taken to observe them

Becket exile and murder

Becket then fled from the wrath of Henry to the domains of Louis VII of France, where Pope Alexander III had also taken refuge from the hostile emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and an anti-pope. The pope was shocked by the tenor of the Constitutions of Clarendon, and absolved Thomas from observing such as infringed upon the rights of the Church and of the clergy But the pope did not wish to make an enemy of Henry, who controlled half of France as well as all England, and who had thus far supported him against the anti-pope set up by the emperor. The pope therefore left it to Becket to carry on

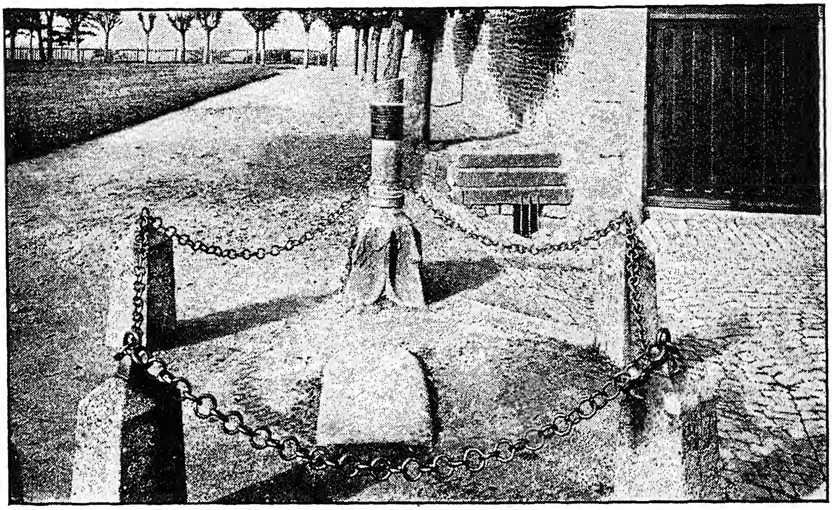


Figure 38

Scene of penance done by Henry II at Avranches for the murder of Becket

a struggle for six years, in which Thomas excommunicated many of the king's followers and threatened Henry himself with the same treatment. Meanwhile the papal legates made repeated efforts to bring about a reconciliation between the king and his archbishop.

Finally Becket agreed to return to England, but as soon as he arrived issued a fresh batch of excommunications. When news of this reached Henry in Normandy, he flew into such a fit of rage and used such language that four of his knights crossed the Channel and murdered the archbishop in the cathedral at Canterbury. This was a disastrous event for Henry and turned public opinion quite against him. Becket was regarded as a martyr who had died for the Church; within three years the pope canonized him, and his shrine at Canterbury became the great resort of pilgrims in England throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages, and has been immortalized in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* although the shrine itself was plundered and destroyed by Henry VIII after his break with the Church of Rome, when Thomas was declared a traitor and his name was expunged from the English church calendar. But in the twelfth century Henry II found it necessary to say no more about the Constitutions of Clarendon, to allow clergy accused of crimes to be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, and to permit appeals to Rome. He also did penance both before papal legates at Avranches in Normandy (Figure 38) and later at Becket's tomb, where he was scourged so severely that he was ill the next day Henry, however, laid the foundations in England of the common law and its courts, destined in the end to prevail throughout all England, and no future Archbishop of Canterbury was so aggressive against the Crown as Becket had been

Monastic movements

From the strife of Church and State let us revert a moment to Cluny, where the movement for church reform and ecclesiastical independence and supremacy had first become apparent The Congregation of Cluny, because of the too-great wealth it had acquired, had itself declined in influence and in popular esteem But many new monastic orders with stricter rules came into existence in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially in France Prominent among these were the Carthusians, who wore haircloth shirts and lived each in a separate cell, and the Cistercians, who even gave up education and all ornamentation in their churches, where there must be no sign of wealth The Cistercians, however, rendered the economic service of draining and reclaiming swamp land in many parts of Europe

There was now also a widespread movement to revive the custom that priests and other secular clergy in any town should live together under a monastic rule, especially those clergy called canons who formed the chapter of the cathedral church Augustine had introduced this practice in North Africa about 390, although he did not compose the rule followed by the later Augustinian order, the "Austin" canons More than one such order of canons was founded, however Especially prominent were the Premonstratensians, founded about 1120 at Prémontré, in northeastern France, by Norbert

Saint Bernard

The most influential churchman of the twelfth century never became pope This was Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), who, as a Cistercian monk, refused all ecclesiastical offices and honors But he decided a disputed papal election and healed a schism; he preached the second crusade; he often settled disputes between princes and prelates, and he arbitrated international difficulties Of noble descent, with a beautiful face and graceful manners, he gave himself over to a life of rigorous asceticism and mystic devotion Saint Bernard was as outspoken concerning the faults of the clergy and abuses in the Church as he was fearless in rebuking kings and lords whom he believed to be offending God. He could move both kings and crowds by his eloquence; but he had little sympathy for the secular learning which was by this time beginning to appear again in the West. He always put faith above reason.

In this chapter we have seen the papacy raised by the efforts of able and determined men from a state of stagnation and impotency to wide power in western Europe. We have seen the clergy generally improved and at the same time set off from the rest of feudal society by such measures as the Gregorian reforms, the Cluniac and other monastic movements, the rise of ecclesiastical courts We have seen the power of the Church at large and its hold upon the people increased by such outstanding personalities as those of Hildebrand, Becket, and Bernard of Clairvaux But from this religious activity and ecclesiastical growth we turn in the next chapter to a parallel secular movement.

Bibliographical Note

The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII has been translated by E. Emerton, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, by J T. McNeill and H M Gamer Books on Gregory VII are A H Mathew, *The Life and Times of Hildebrand*, J. P. Whitney, *Hildebrandine Essays* On monasticism L M. Smith, *Early History of .. Cluny*, R E Swartwout, *The Monastic Craftsman*, Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp 222–271, on the interior life of the monastery

XVII

Rise of Communes and Independent Town Governments

A secular movement

MANY towns were not satisfied with grants of personal freedom and trading privileges from their lords but desired complete control of their own affairs and the right to form a unit or entity which could give and take and hold its own in the feudal world of lords and vassals Since, with the disintegration of the classical municipalities, the local bishop had become the chief governing power in the towns, and since the Church was most tenacious of any property, privileges, and powers which it had acquired, and more often than anyone else could adduce written charters to support its claims, this movement for independence and self-government turned more against ecclesiastical than other feudal lords, and hence was characterized by a secular quality. We may say that it was townsmen who initiated the first serious attack upon the exercise of temporal power by the Church It is true that the Carolingian counts were local officials and sometimes had castles in towns But their interest was more in the county as a whole and in the countryside; the bishop, on the other hand, was more concerned with the town

Popular associations

Medieval men were fond of all sorts of societies and founded them not only for business purposes, but for religious, philanthropic, and social reasons Each of these brotherhoods, as they were called, usually had a patron saint whose day was celebrated both by religious services and by banquets and social gatherings The members helped one another in case of need; attended the baptisms, marriages, and funerals in their associates' families; and paid for masses to be said for their souls after death. The merchant and craft gilds had the same features. Such brotherhoods often had preceded the gilds and also sometimes had a concealed political character, under the cover of social and religious meetings hatching schemes to win concessions or liberty from their lords.

Such societies, then, often prepared the way for a more general organization representing the town as a whole Or the emancipation of, or grant of privileges to, some particular group of merchants or artisans by the lord was often followed by concessions to all the townsmen. Sometimes the townspeople, forming a *commune* or union of the whole community, succeeded in throwing off the rule of the lord entirely and became a self-governing and independent unit in the midst of feudal society and feudal states The rise of towns reached its height at different periods in different parts of Europe The degree of freedom and self-government gained by the townsmen and the forms under which they exercised it also varied in different places

Gilds of artisans

By the twelfth century, gilds of artisans were organized in many French and Italian towns and were in existence in Germany and England, although not so numerous and important in those lands until the next century However, the weavers of Mainz were in existence by 1099, the fishmongers of Worms by 1106, and so on, while gilds are mentioned in England under Henry I (1100–1135) at London, Lincoln, Oxford, Winchester, and Huntington (Pirenne) It is doubtful if any of them were survivals from the hereditary gilds of the declining Roman Empire They may have grown out of servile groups of artisans on great estates or they may have originated only with the revival of town life Their formation was facilitated by the clustering together in the same street of men of the same occupation, either because the location was convenient for their work and for their customers, or because they could in this way keep a close watch on one another Jealous competition gradually changed to harmonious co-operation in establishing the prices and quality of goods sold and in caring for the poor and sick, the widows and orphans, in one another's families

Conditions in Italy

The Italian cities were the first to become prominent; they were the largest in wealth and in population, and they won the completest independence and self-government Conditions in Italy for several centuries were favorable to the growth of independent city-states First, the struggle for the peninsula between the Lombards and the Byzantine Empire gave coast settlements like Gaeta, Amalfi, Naples, and Venice the chance to develop their own government under their local dukes, and to protect themselves from the invaders by their own fleets, while still nominally professing allegiance to the Byzantine Empire. Second, when Charlemagne's empire first weakened and then dissolved, the towns of northern Italy or Lombardy were left pretty much to themselves under the rule of their bishops, who had in general succeeded in displacing the lay counts. Third, during the investiture struggle Henry IV and sometimes Gregory VII granted the towns privileges in order to secure their support. Thus the maritime laws of Pisa were approved by the pope in 1075 and again in 1081 by the emperor. Finally, as we shall see, the protracted strife of popes and Hohenstaufen emperors gave the cities the opportunity to make good their complete independence.

The Lombard communes

Under the early rule of their counts or bishops the townsmen, with the possible exception of a few prominent families, had little or no share in the government and might even be without personal freedom. But the opening of the twelfth century reveals a great change in northern Italy. In the Lombard cities the townsmen had abolished the rule of the bishop and had taken the reins of government into their own hands, aided by the confusion attendant upon the investiture strife when there were two claimants for almost every bishopric. The townsmen effected this revolution by forming communes, in which the nobles resident in the cities combined with the other free inhabitants to secure the direction of the town government.

The nobles in the Lombard cities at this time were divided into the two classes of *capitani* and *valvassores*. The "captains" had originally been those who held great fiefs directly from the bishop or the emperor, while the "valvassors" were the subvassals who held under the captains or great landholders. There were a number of such nobles connected with each city because most Italian cities controlled a considerable circuit of adjoining territory, which usually closely corresponded in extent to that of the ancient Roman *civitas*. The nobles who were forced to give up their country castles and live in town built lofty stone towers in the city streets and waged feuds as they had done before in the country. There were once one hundred and eighty such towers in Bologna alone. But by the twelfth century nobility had ceased to depend exclusively upon birth or the possession of a large landed estate. Wealth acquired by commerce was also a road to nobility, and we are even told by a contemporary that "the cities stoop to bestow the sword-belt and honorable rank upon youths of inferior station, or even upon laborers in despised and mechanical trades who among other peoples are shunned like the pest." Below the two knightly or military classes came the ordinary citizens, or *popolo*. These shared with the captains and knights the privilege of electing and being elected to town offices. The term *popolo*, however, was not equivalent in meaning to the democratic modern expression, "the people." It did not include all the inhabitants of the city and its adjacent territory, but only those freemen who had participated in the formation of the original commune and their descendants and others who were specifically admitted to citizenship. When the commune was first established, many of the inhabitants were still in a condition of servitude like that of the "court artisans" of Venice Therefore most of the shopkeepers and artisans were not at first given any share in the municipal government. Still less was the franchise ceded to the poor peasants who tilled the fields that lay outside the city walls.

The Italian communes were thus rather aristocratic, although less so than the feudal nobility They included those more prosperous merchants and artisans who had been able by forming gilds to win their personal freedom and a considerable influence in the conduct of town affairs, and who, fighting on foot, made a formidable militia to second the efforts of the mounted nobles At the head of the town government, in place of the bishop, there now appeared a varying number of "consuls," who were usually chosen annually and who were often taken from all three classes of the commune, although there was a natural tendency to elect leading citizens from the upper classes The consuls were assisted by an advisory council, and we also soon find in existence a grand council or senate or council of the commune, which often had several hundred members and represented the entire citizen body. On great occasions, however, the burghers were not content to leave the government to their officials and representatives, but held a *parlamento* or mass-meeting in the public square Such a gathering sometimes resulted in a revolution or at least in a street fight between rival political parties At the bottom of such factions and parties were the *consorterie*, or family unions of the nobles, and the *arti* or trade gilds of the burghers

Rivalry and prosperity

Life was stirring in these Lombard towns The cities fought against the castles of feudal lords who tried to maintain an independent existence and to prey upon trade in the neighborhood of the towns The cities also fought frequently with one another over questions of boundaries, water rights, roads, tolls, and from general trade rivalry Within each town were sharp family rivalries Every prominent noble or merchant family could count on the support of a multitude of poor relations and retainers. It was the same in Genoa where in the course of the twelfth century war between families became almost incessant New gilds and the lower classes before long began to clamor for admission to citizenship Party struggles and street fights often led to the exile of the defeated faction or at least of its leaders, who would then seek the aid of some other city to effect their restoration.

Yet the trade, wealth, and productive power of the cities kept increasing, and even their enemies admitted that they were socially and intellectually above the average of that age. The twelfth-century writer whom we have already quoted concerning them, Bishop Otto of Freising, says further that, as a result of the intermarriage of the invading Lombards with the native Italians, "their children have derived from the race of their mothers, and from the character of the country and the climate, something of Roman culture and civilization, and retain the elegance and refinement of Latin speech and manners"

Relation to Emperor

The cities of Lombardy not only shook off the control of their bishops, but were inclined to conduct their affairs as if the Holy Roman Emperor did not exist, or at least had no right to tax them, to overrule their officials, to judge their citizens, or to demand military and other services from them They thought it enough to send him a few presents and some vague professions of loyalty at the time of his accession. Frederick I, however, a nephew of Bishop Otto of Freising and an emperor of the House of Hohenstaufen who reigned from 1152 to 1190, made a great effort to bring the cities truly under his jurisdiction

Frederick Barbarossa

Frederick, though of only medium height, had a majestic presence and lordly personality. His red beard led the Italians to nickname him "Barba-rossa" He was fond of reading history and took Charlemagne as his model Although he could on occasion indulge in those fits of stern anger which medieval monarchs found so useful in dealing with their rude subjects and rough vassals, he was as a general rule considerate and kindly, and clement to the conquered, and was greatly loved and respected by the Germans A fact which contributed much to his popularity was that he possessed all the qualities and attributes which went to make up the thorough knight Though he was devout and went on crusades both in his youth before he became emperor and in old age at the close of his reign, he had much trouble with the papacy. And though he was an industrious ruler and indefatigable warrior, he was to find the communes of northern Italy too much for him

Guelfs and Ghibellines

Frederick was handicapped in his Italian policy by troubles at home in Germany with the rival House of Welf, the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, who had prevented his father from being elected emperor in 1125 Now Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, built up great Welf possessions in Germany and refused to aid Barbarossa in his Italian campaigns. This strife of Welfs and Hohenstaufens in Germany was paralleled in Italy by the struggle between the emperors and the communes and the papacy. As a result the rival parties in Italy eventually received the names of "Guelfs" and "Ghibellines" The latter word was an Italian corruption from Waiblingen, a German estate of the Hohenstaufen family, and "Guelf" is, of course, the Italian for "Welf."

Frederick in Italy

In recent wars among the Lombard cities Milan had gained a leading position, and other communes complained of its aggressions to Frederick, both before he left Germany and when, in 1154, he passed through northern Italy on his way to Rome to be crowned The great feudal lords and the bishops had complaints to make of other communes Frederick accordingly spent most of the autumn and winter in Lombardy, but it took him two months to take the town of Tortona, an ally of Milan, so that he had no time left to attack Milan itself and instead proceeded on his way to Rome As soon as he had departed, the Milanese rebuilt Tortona, strengthened their own fortifications, and resumed their conquests at the expense of those of their neighbors who had sided with the emperor At Rome Frederick helped the pope suppress a revolutionary movement of the townsmen, who as early as 1143 had formed a commune with a patrician and senate of their own choice instead of the papal prefect and judges Frederick was also crowned emperor, but then distrust began to arise between him and the pope. Frederick's vassals were now anxious to return home after their long absence from Germany, so that he had to give up the idea of proceeding against the Normans in southern Italy. Nor did he stop to deal with Milan on his return north, although he pronounced the ban of the empire upon that refractory city

But in 1158 Frederick's German hosts poured through the Alpine passes by four different routes into the plain of Lombardy. The feudal lords of northern Italy contributed contingents to his army and even the communes dared not do otherwise. Milan was soon forced to surrender, and agreed to set free two neighboring towns which it had conquered, to pay an indemnity, to build Frederick a palace, and, most important of all, to relinquish to him the *regalia* By this term were indicated his royal prerogatives, such as the control over the dukes and counts, the levying of tolls and customs, the taking of provender for his army, the right of coinage, and the enjoyment of various revenues from mills, fisheries, rivers, mines, and like sources The Milanese were to be allowed to retain their consuls, but must submit their nominations to the emperor for approval

Diet of Roncaglia

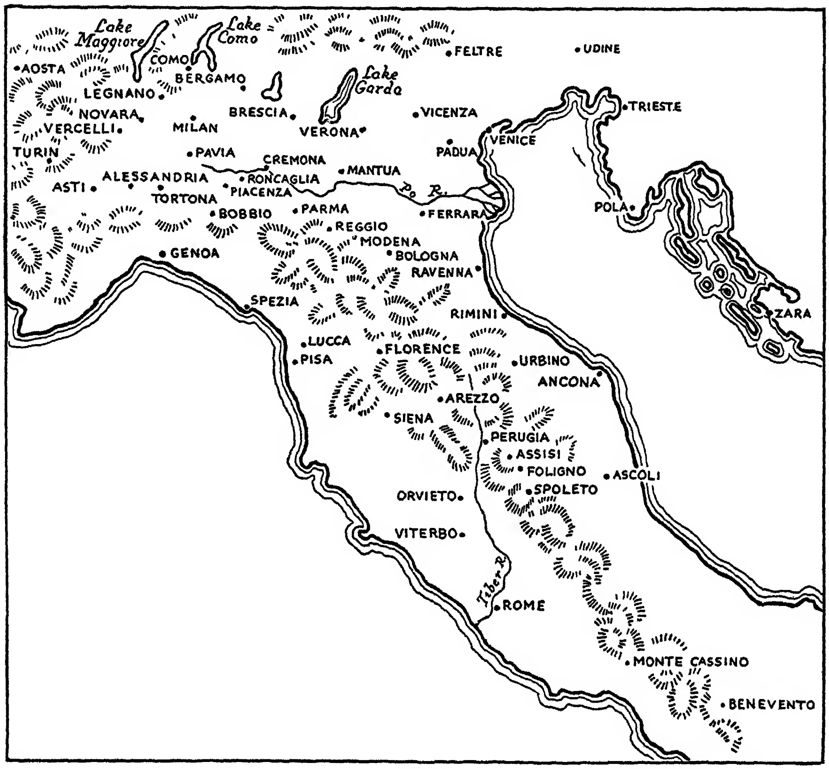
Frederick then proceeded to Roncaglia and held a great assembly where professors of Roman law from Bologna, assisted by two consuls from each of fourteen towns, decided what the emperor's powers and *regalia* were. The study of Roman law had recently been revived in Italy, and that law assumed the existence of an emperor with centralized and absolute power. Therefore the jurists were inclined to decide everything in Frederick's favor and the consuls seem not to have ventured to oppose them Where regalian rights had been formally granted to cities by the emperor, they were to be allowed to retain them, but few towns could prove any such grant, since most of them had simply usurped these rights

The struggle renewed

Made confident by this success, Frederick not only forbade the communes to wage war or to ally with one another, but did not even leave them the independent management of their internal affairs under the leadership of their consuls Instead he set up in each city, as a chief judge and executive, a representative of his own called a *podesta* (*potestas* in Latin, meaning "power"). This was going too far, and the Milanese regarded it as a violation of their treaty with the emperor by which he had assured them the continuance of their consuls Therefore war broke out again between them and Frederick At the same time the pope quarreled with him because he was extending his power over towns of central Italy which the pope regarded as possessions of the Holy See The pope allied with the Normans and the Milanese against Frederick, but died before he could excommunicate him A disputed papal election followed. Frederick supported the candidate of the minority, Victor III, against Alexander III, who was more generally recognized in Europe Milan fell in 1162 Its population was dispersed to villages and other towns, instead of being reduced to serfdom as Frederick had at first threatened, and its foes among the other communes were allotted the pleasing task of destroying its walls and buildings. In the same year Alexander III fled to France where both Louis VII and Henry II of England received him cordially

The Lombard League

The hatred and jealousy felt by many of the other cities toward Milan had in large measure accounted for its fall But now all the cities, whether they had been friends of the emperor or allies of Milan, began alike to chafe under the rule of the imperial podestas. Only a very few towns had been allowed to keep their consuls The others complained to the emperor that the rule of his new officials was oppressive and unjust, but he seems to have paid little attention to these complaints Then the cities began to unite against him. As early as 1164 five towns of northeastern Italy — Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso — formed a defensive league Three years later Cremona, Mantua, Brescia, and Bergamo banded together with the former inhabitants of Milan to rebuild that city. Piacenza, Parma, and Ferrara soon joined the league and the inhabitants of Lodi were forced into it against their will. Meanwhile Frederick had been occupied in driving Alexander III out of Rome again. A pestilence had greatly depleted his forces, and when he returned north to Pavia he was unable


Lake Maggiore
Lake Como
COMO
AOSTA
BERGAMO
Lake Garda
LEGNANO
NOVARA
BRESCIA
VICENZA
VERCELLI
MILAN
VERONA
TURIN
PAVIA
CREMONA
PADUA
VENICE
ALESSANDRIA
RONCAGLIA
MANTUA
ASTI
PIACENZA
Po R.
TORTONA
BOBBIO
PARMA
FERRARA
REGGIO
MODENA
GENOA
BOLOGNA
RAVENNA
SPEZIA
RIMINI
LUCCA
FLORENCE
PISA
URBINO
ANCONA
AREZZO
SIENA
PERUGIA
ASSISI
FOLIGNO
ASCOLI
ORVIETO
SPOLETO
VITERBO
Tiber R.
ROME
MONTE CASSINO
BENEVENTO
FELTRE
UDINE
TRIESTE
POLA
ZARA

CHIEF ITALIAN TOWNS NORTH OF NAPLES

to crush the rebellious towns. On the contrary, they united with the five cities of the northeast in a larger Lombard League, which was also joined by Modena and Bologna. The emperor went back to Germany for more troops, but then was detained there for seven years. During this time the membership of the league kept growing until it included thirty-six towns and all Italy north of the Apennines from Rimini and Venice on the Adriatic as far west as Genoa and Turin, which remained loyal to the emperor. But even imperial Pavia had been at last forced to enter the league.

Alessandria and Legnano

The league also built a new town — named Alessandria after the pope — in northwestern Italy as an obstacle to the next expedition of Frederick, which they thought would come through the western Alpine passes, since the cities of the league held all the others. Sure enough, in 1172 Barbarossa entered Italy by the Mont Cenis Pass and proceeded against Alessandria, but was unable to take it. Then an attempt to settle the points in dispute between himself and the cities by negotiations failed, but several towns were induced to abandon the league. Finally, in 1176 at Legnano occurred a decisive field battle between the imperial forces and the Milanese and their remaining allies. Frederick's army was routed and chased for eight miles; his camp and banner were captured; and he himself was given up for dead until several days later he unexpectedly reappeared before the walls of Pavia.

Peace of Constance

Frederick thereupon gave up his attempt to subdue the Lombard cities by force and recognized Alexander III as rightful pope. After a truce of six years, during which the emperor made separate treaties with a number of the towns, the Peace of Constance was signed in 1183. The townsmen were to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, to whom also were reserved a few rights such as taking supplies for his army when passing through Lombardy; but most of the *regalia* were surrendered to the communes, who were also given back their consuls and were permitted to form leagues or make war against one another and to hold dependent territory beyond their walls. The larger towns thereupon resumed with alacrity their former interurban hostilities, and brought the nobles and small communes of the countryside more and more under their rule. Around the year 1200, town halls with great bell towers, or palaces of justice for the law courts, were erected in many Lombard cities, and some of them may still be seen

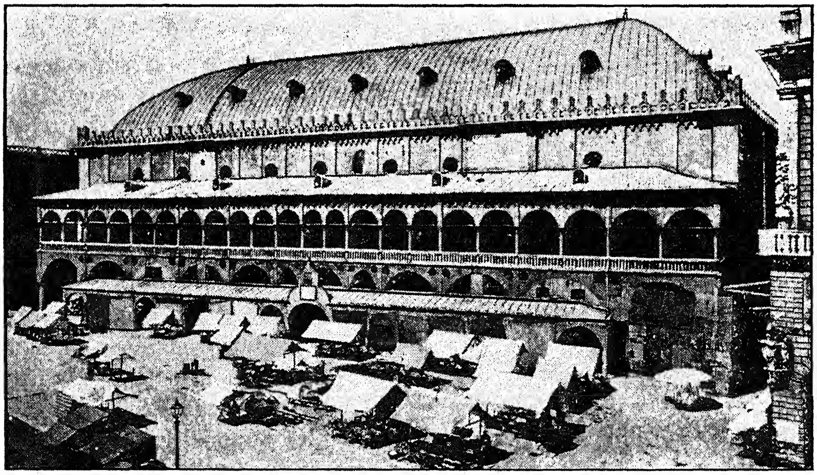


Figure 39

Palazzo della Ragione, Padua, 1172–1219, 1406 today At Padua, for example, the *Palazzo della Ragione*, begun in 1172, completed in 1219, and altered in 1406, contains "the largest vaulted hall unsupported by pillars in the world " It is two hundred and seventy feet long, ninety feet in breadth, and seventy-eight feet high (Figure 39)

Towns in Tuscany

Meanwhile the towns of Tuscany south of the Apennines had been pursuing a similar development When Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, died in 1115, she bequeathed her estates to the Church, but the emperor claimed them as fiefs which should escheat to the empire. The outcome was that neither pope nor emperor secured the cities, which set up communes with consuls similar to those of the Lombard towns Within the towns, too, were much the same social classes and political parties, the nobles of the towers and the men of the gilds But the Tuscan communes developed a little later than the Lombard ones Chief among the medieval towns of Tuscany were Florence and its rivals, Pisa, Siena, and Lucca.

Revival of Roman senate

We have seen the city of Rome attempt to throw off the temporal lordship of the pope, and in 1143 form a commune with a patrician and senate of the townsmen's own choice to replace the papal prefect and judges Eugenius III was forced to recognize the senate in 1145, though the patricianate was given up and the prefect restored During the next century the senate took over the administration of the city which had hitherto been the pope's sole concern A body of some fifty members, it was elected annually by the full assembly of citizens Its acts were subject to the approval of the assembly by vote but without debate and to the approval of a council of notables with debate It did homage to the pope and was invested by him with power, and paid a stipend, but he had no further control over its acts Only Innocent III attempted to influence the election of the senate, and he let the office of prefect become hereditary in a family which went over to the imperial party, whereupon the powers of the prefect were assumed by the senate

Office of podesta

About the year 1200 almost every commune in Lombardy or Tuscany made a remarkable change in its government The board of consuls which had hitherto directed the municipal affairs was now supplanted by a single official with supreme executive power who was annually elected, not from the citizens, but from some foreign city. Indeed, he must neither bring his kinsmen into the city nor acquire property there. The aim was to secure a trained soldier, impartial judge, and able leader who would have no personal interest in the rival political parties of the town and who would keep the peace between them The name had already been used for town executives appointed by the emperor, Frederick I But the podesta was now chosen by the town itself, and for but a year at a time, and was paid a salary varying in amount according to the satisfaction that he gave A man who showed himself a capable executive need never want for employment as a podesta by some one of the many cities But this new office was a dangerous step in the direction of one-man rule

Government of Venice

If all Italian town governments in their earlier stages were aristocratic, Venice was the most so, and so it always remained It deserves separate treatment here for the further reason that it was the greatest city and perhaps also the most highly developed state and government of the time in the Christian West We have traced its earliest history down to the eleventh century in connection with the Byzantine Empire. In 1032 the doge was forbidden to associate his son with himself in office and was henceforth to be advised by two counselors and a council. In 1164 the town ceded all the revenues of the market of the Rialto for eleven years to a group of twelve citizens for a loan of 1150 silver marks In 1171 the government took a forced loan from its citizens, paying four per cent interest In May and November, 1187, it borrowed 56,000 lire from over a hundred citizens Meanwhile, about 1178, the two ducal advisers were increased to six, and an indirectly elected and aristocratic assembly of 480 members was substituted for the *parlamento* or popular assembly. This new assembly was to appoint a committee to nominate the doge, who was then to be merely presented to the people instead of being elected by them The artisan class, however, improved its position, electing from among themselves the *gastaldo* who formerly had been an agent and appointee of the doge and sometimes not a worker but an outsider At the same time they tried to free themselves from the obligation to work for a certain length of time in the courtyard of the doge Venice was, however, pre-eminently a city of great merchants rather than of small artisans, and as such its government naturally became and remained oligarchical. In 1173 the government put the arts and crafts under the supervision of the court known as *Giustizia Vecchia*

Spanish chartered towns

In the northern and Christian portion of the Spanish peninsula chartered towns begin to appear from the tenth century on. Some developed out of groups of free men who sought the protection of a powerful lord Others were founded to populate the frontier, where life was so insecure that the king, in order to attract settlers, had to grant such privileges as recognition of existing custom, personal freedom, exemption from services and payments, or self-government. A town council or assembly exercised administrative and judicial functions, the latter concurrently with the royal judges, and annually appointed such officials as a judge, tax and property assessors, and clerks and inspectors of the market. As in the case of the Italian communes, nobles as well as ordinary free men lived in the towns The town of Leon in the tenth century was half its present size, with four gates and a weekly market outside on Wednesdays Small and medium landowners and other free men predominated There were weavers, saddlers, makers of tubs and wine barrels, utensils and earthenware Residences varied from the mud hut of the very poor to the palace of the rich The cultured class employed a very barbarous Latin.

Consular towns France

Next in time as well as space we come to the towns just beyond the Alps and Pyrenees in what is now southern France Of all the towns northwest of the Alps they were most closely connected with the Roman past and with Mediterranean trade, and also most like the Italian cities in their government. Like these, they included both nobles and common people and were at first governed by consuls, of whom we begin to hear about 1120. These magistrates, varying from two to twelve or more in number according to the size of the town, were chosen annually by an indirect method of voting An electoral body, in which every class in the town often had a share, chose the consuls, who might themselves be of any class. Sometimes the consuls practically nominated their successors; sometimes the bishop or feudal lord had retained a share in the town government and had a voice in their selection Associated with these annual magistrates was a fairly large advisory council, drawn also chiefly from the patriciate of knights and wealthy burghers who had taken the lead in establishing the municipality Sometimes a larger assembly of citizens was called together As a specific illustration we may take the little town of Brive-la-Gaillarde in the central plateau away from the coast Here the consulate began about 1180 without authorization of the feudal lords. A general assembly of the citizens elected sixteen *prud-hommes,* who in turn elected four consuls These were seldom re-elected They were assisted by a town council and a larger general assembly

In the small town of Bourg Saint Andéol on the west bank of the Rhone, "the honorable parliament of the men of the whole" town, inhabitants as well as citizens, was held in the open in the churchyard amidst the tombs of their ancestors by the elm "where it has been customary for the people to be convoked for matters touching the community" The proposed measures, written in Latin, were explained in Romance by the bishop's *bailli* who presided The town magistrates were called syndics and rectors into the thirteenth century, and it was only gradually thereafter that they came to be called consuls Newly founded towns in the south were often called *bastides* Inhabitants were attracted by grant of individual liberty, security of private property, and communal autonomy, with equal distribution of house lots, gardens, and arable fields beyond the walls The ground-plan of a *bastide* was roughly rectangular, with four main streets eight meters wide leading from the four gates to a central square, and with secondary streets only two meters wide arranged in checker-board fashion. Most houses were a single storey high and touched one another, but those on the central square rose to several storeys The town hall of Marciac still stands as built in 1345 The local church, however, often served as a citadel and as a meeting place for communal assemblies In the case of the larger town of Arles the consulate appeared in 1131, but the archbishop still retained much power. Electors representing the two classes of nobles and burghers formed a council of notables which chose the consuls by co-option and lot. An annual assembly of the heads of families under the presidency of the archbishop approved their decisions. A brotherhood representative of the crafts and common people established a republic of Arles, but it did not last.

The consular towns passed many laws, recorded their statutes at length, and modified them at frequent intervals. Italian influence was further shown in the early thirteenth century, when the office of podesta was instituted in several towns of Provence. At Marseilles it came in as follows in 1212 the consuls were replaced by rectors and by stated meetings of the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, an association of peace and mutual aid open to all citizens; then, after a struggle with the bishop and cathedral chapter, the brotherhood was dissolved, and the bishop and chapter governed the upper city of Marseilles, while the office of a podesta was introduced by the commons in the lower city and, after ten years, in the upper city as well. The lords of Les Baux, a rock-hewn town of Provence, were famed as crusaders and became princes of Orange, counts of Provence, kings of Arles and Vienne, and emperors of Constantinople. Members of the family also became podestas of free towns, but one of them, Barral des Baux, podesta of Arles, tarnished their reputation by betraying that city to Charles of Anjou Bordeaux and Bayonne, seaports on the Bay of Biscay, did not have consuls but were communes with mayors like the towns of the north

Privileged towns: France

The towns of the Loire valley as a rule did not attain to self-government, but merely to freedom from many of the feudal and manorial restrictions under which they had previously labored. To distinguish towns with such charters from the consular cities of the south and the communes of the north, we may call them "privileged towns" Towns of this sort were sometimes found in the north and south too, but in central France they predominated

Communes: France

In northern France a few communes were formed in the late eleventh century, but the twelfth was the great period of their rise They were governed by a mayor (the title that had formerly designated the chief agent of the lord on the villa was now applied to the head of a self-governing community), and by a council of from a dozen to a hundred members. In the north most of the feudal nobility lived outside the towns, and the townsmen were a class distinct from the knights and hitherto reckoned quite inferior to them In fact the townsmen had come up from serfdom, and their acquisition of the right of self-government was more of a democratic revolution than the rise of the Italian communes or of the southern French towns. Even men who lived outside the walls were granted equal rights with those dwelling in the town proper And since the men of the French commune were originally all of the same social class and since they were at first animated by a common purpose, up to the close of the twelfth century there was little sign of the party strife so manifest in Italian towns. The governing council, however, came in many cases to represent the richer and more influential citizens and in the thirteenth century social and political discontent prevailed in many French towns In Provins, one of the towns where the fairs of Champagne were held, a memorial tablet marks the spot where, in 1279, the citizens "massacred" their mayor.

A commune was a sworn association of townsmen whose object was to exclude the lord's officials and authority from their town and to take charge of the government themselves Sometimes they purchased this concession from the lord, but usually they had to fight for it. A secret conspiracy, a sudden uprising, and either victory and independence for the burghers or a cruel suppression of the movement by the lord were the normal steps in the history of a commune At Laon, once the favorite residence of the later Carolingians, the process was a little more complicated Here in the early twelfth century public sentiment was aroused by the recent success of the neighboring towns of Saint Quentin and Noyon in establishing communes and by the cruel rule of the Bishop of Laon, who devoted more time to warfare and hunting than to religion and who employed his Negro slave, John, too frequently as an executioner. The townsmen, therefore, took advantage of the absence of their prelate in England to form a commune, purchasing the consent of other clergy and local nobles who had rights over the town. On learning of this upon his return, the bishop went into a rage, but at last was apparently reconciled by a large sum of money, and the ratification of King

Louis VI was procured by a similar payment But when the king presently paid a visit to Laon, the treacherous bishop tried to induce him to annul his consent. The citizens offered Louis four hundred pounds more if he would keep his word, but the bishop outbid them with an offer of seven hundred pounds, and the king thereupon declared the commune abolished The bishop then set out to recover his seven hundred pounds by taxing the townspeople, but this was too much for them to bear and proved his undoing They took arms, raised the cry of the commune, broke into the episcopal palace, massacred its defenders, and when the bishop was found hiding in a barrel, a serf beat out his brains The king thereupon hastened with an army to avenge this sacrilegious murder and sacked the town; but a few years later the people got their commune after all, although some rights were now reserved for king, bishop, and nobles

Church and communes

This case of Laon suggests several points that are true of the French communes in general. They were created especially at the expense of bishops and ecclesiastical lords, and the Church in consequence made a great outcry against them "Commune is a new and detestable word," wrote an abbot of the time The communes for their part usually would not admit the clergy to their membership In the rise of the communes, in short, we see a new force, primarily secular, political, and economic in character The clergy to a considerable extent brought the communal movement upon themselves by their unwillingness to emancipate serfs or to grant considerable privileges and liberal charters to the towns, as many of the nobles did and thus in some measure forestalled and obviated the formation of communes.

King and communes

The case of Laon also illustrates royal interference in the formation of communes The Capetians did not care to see independent towns springing up on their own domain, although they were sometimes unable to prevent it. But, especially after the reign of Louis VI, they began to see the advantage of encouraging the movement upon the estates of their great vassals, whose power would thereby be weakened, especially if the new communes should retain a feeling of gratitude toward the Crown which had sanctioned their rise

Copying of charters

The story of Laon further shows us how rapidly the communal movement spread from town to town As a rule, however, each town had to work out its own liberty. The French communes formed almost no such leagues as that of the Lombard cities against Barbarossa. But they copied one another's charters and laws a great deal Sometimes they retained articles which had no application in their case, as when small towns of l'Auxois that never saw a bank took over from Vézelay some paragraphs concerning money-changers, or when communes with no territory beyond their walls included provisions as to forest rights On the other hand, to the model they added the customs peculiar to their own locality.

Soissons

Each commune had a seal of its own, a belfry whose bell summoned the citizens to the defense of their liberties, and a pillory and gibbet where the decrees of town justice were executed For the commune had its own court, made its own laws or followed its own customs, and the fines that were paid went into the town treasury and not into the lord's pocket Indeed, the commune owned no lord Within the area of the town and its suburbs the authority of the commune was supreme The charter of Soissons, dating from the twelfth century and widely copied by other towns, declares that

> all men living within the walls and without the walls in the suburb, to whatever manor they may belong, shall take the oath to the commune, and if any one of them shall refuse, those who have taken the oath shall confiscate his house and money All men living within the boundaries of the commune shall aid one another to the extent of their ability, and shall not permit any outsider to carry anything away nor to collect taxes from any one of them When the bell summons the commune to assemble, any one failing to appear shall pay a fine of twelve pence If any member of the commune has committed any offense and refuses to give satisfaction before the aldermen, the men of the commune shall punish him.

Such sentences illustrate the ideals of independence, democratic brotherhood, and active citizenship which animated the founders of these twelfth-century commonwealths. "The medieval town was a social unit, large and crowded enough to be complicated, and small enough to fix the attention of its inhabitants on the business of government" (Clarke)

Soissons at this time was scarcely more than an agricultural center with a market for the corn, wine, timber, and salt of the vicinity The commune here preceded the formation of artisan gilds Indeed, as in Italy, many tiny villages shared in this revolutionary movement which swept over the land, and became rural communes, carrying on their husbandry and administering local justice without interference from lords

Communes foreign policy

The French communes were lively centers of local independence, vigor, and enterprise, but were not as large and powerful as the Italian cities, and did not like them pursue an aggressive foreign policy. That is to say, they did not fight with one another nor attempt to conquer the rural communes and other territory about them as the Italian cities did. Furthermore, they were willing to recognize in a loose way the sovereignty of the king or the head of the particular feudal state in which each was located, and in time of need to furnish him with funds or some of their militia, provided ordinarily he left them to attend to their own affairs. Nor were their militia to be despised, as Henry II of England found in 1188 when the citizens of Mantes, a town of only five thousand inhabitants, ventured forth from their walls fully armed and checked his advance.

Government of Paris

Not all the towns of northern France, by any means, succeeded in becoming communes. Some of the largest cities, like Paris, Chartres, and Troyes, could hardly even be called privileged towns, but were still largely subject to the old seigneurial exploitation. Parts of Paris belonged to certain monasteries and were immune from the royal officials. The Bishop of Paris had well-nigh absolute power over the island in the Seine known as La Cité and over portions of the neighboring banks of the river. Otherwise the Parisians were ruled by a royal provost. Gilds existed, however, and certain burghers enjoyed special royal favor. When the king went on a crusade in 1190, he appointed six burghers of Paris to the council of regency during his absence.

Flemish towns

We have already described the growth of towns in Flanders in our fourteenth chapter. By the eleventh century they were flourishing centers of industry and commerce, and repeatedly revolted against the authority of their counts. Their inhabitants made up four classes — soldiers, landowners, merchants, and artisans — of whom the two last were by far the more numerous. In the course of the twelfth century the towns received many privileges from the counts, who furthermore entrusted the administration of local justice and of municipal affairs in large measure to the rich patrician families, from whose ranks developed a council whose members held office for life and elected their successors. The magistrates and citizens not only administered the internal affairs of their towns, but during the thirteenth century were usually consulted by the count when he took any important action affecting Flanders as a whole. But their oligarchic rule failed to satisfy their fellow townsmen. Before the twelfth century was over, the lower classes in Ghent had expressed their discontent with the rule of the richer citizens by uprisings. Toward the close of the thirteenth century, out of 9300 burghers listed in Bruges, 8000 were artisans who had little share in the government.

England was primarily an agricultural country, and the towns, except London, were small. Eighty such boroughs or burgs — that is, fortified places containing dwelling-houses — are named in Domesday

English towns

Book (1085), but of forty-two fairs and markets mentioned in the same record only eleven were held in boroughs Many of the towns, however, early acquired the right to collect their own taxes and pay a lump sum to the royal officials, and in the course of time numerous privileges and charters were bestowed upon them by the English kings By the thirteenth century they had become centers of wealth and of local influence and were summoned to send representatives to the national assembly or parliament which then developed But they did not reach the height of their medieval prosperity and independence until the fifteenth century

German towns

In Germany the change from rural to town life did not become marked until the thirteenth century, although earlier there were a few large cities, especially on the Rhine, where Basel, Strasburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Cologne all dated from Roman times These old towns of western Germany became overpopulated in the course of the eleventh century and grew even more rapidly during the next two centuries Munich was granted a mint and a salt market in 1158, and the walls of Cologne were extended in 1167 Whereas the Lombard communes had established their practical independence of the Holy Roman Empire under Frederick Barbarossa in the twelfth century, the free or imperial cities of Germany did not acquire their full powers of government until the confused period of anarchy following the death of Frederick II in the second half of the thirteenth century The building of stone walls, replacing rude earthworks and wooden stockades or ruined Roman fortifications, and enclosing a greater area, began in a few cases in the later twelfth century, but more often in the thirteenth.

The foundation of new towns in Germany seems to have been initiated in 1120 by Conrad of Zahringen who granted freedom to Freiburg-im-Breisgau on the Upper Rhine whence the movement spread northeastward In 1191 Count Berthold V of Zahringen founded Berne, now the capital of Switzerland Like the French communes, the German towns often copied one another's usages Lubeck borrowed its customs from Soest and passed them on to other Baltic towns The first use of the word *Stadt* for a town is said to have been in the twelfth century, when Henry the Lion founded a Lowenstadt.

The growth toward self-government in a German town during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries may be illustrated by the example of Strasburg. At first there were practically no free inhabitants and every one was dependent upon the bishop The expressions, "citizens" and "burghers," were first employed in the twelfth century, but all inhabitants except Jews and absolute serfs or slaves of the bishop were called citizens, although many of them as yet were not fully free Gradually a city law grew up distinct from the manorial law, or *Hofrecht*, of the bishop, to which most of the inhabitants had once been subject Finally the *Hofrecht* disappeared entirely and all the citizens became personally free, but there was no corporate body of citizens until the thirteenth century The last step was the union of the citizens and their winning of self-government by a struggle with their prelate in 1262

Drift toward plutocracy

A rather general tendency in the constitutional history of the towns was for a council of merchants and lords (*consiglio* in Italy, *jurés* in Flanders, *Stadtrat* in Germany), to take away control of the government from the mass meeting of citizens (*parlamento, concio* or *Volksammlung*) and establish what in effect was a plutocracy At Siena in 1277 such a Council of Thirty-Six, restricted to "good merchants of the Guelf party," excluded the rest of the town's population from any participation in its government. Writing about 1280, Beaumanoir says that the rich have monopolized the government of the communes, favor their friends and relations with office and exemption, overburden the middle classes and the poor with taxes, and render no account of the municipal finances. In the great industrial towns the aldermen or patrician patrons fixed wages at starvation levels and crushed any organized resistance by the artisans In 1280–1281 there were such uprisings in Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, Douai, Tournai, Provins, Rouen, and other towns On the other hand, in Gascon towns like Auch in the fourteenth century the board of eight consuls came to be divided between three wealthy burghers, three artisans, and two common laborers, while the board of tax-assessors comprised two officials, two burghers, and four artisans

Laws of the cities

The medieval towns had a considerable influence upon the development of European law, first through their local customs and second through the growth of the law merchant in the Mediterranean cities. Every town, especially if it was self-governing and had a court of its own, had its own customs, its own set of penalties for offenses, its particular methods of court procedure, and its local legislation and ordinances prescribing how much jewelry and how splendid raiment its citizens might or must not wear, how expensive and showy funerals might be, what prices shopkeepers might charge, what should be done with persons who sold short weight or used measures with false bottoms or peddled rotten fish Cities sometimes, however, copied one another's laws as well as charters, and in such instances knotty cases might be referred back for decision to the courts of the city whence the laws had been borrowed The laws of some German towns were carried eastward by colonists far into Poland and Hungary. But on the whole the town courts and customs added further variety and confusion to the chaos of courts feudal and ecclesiastical and manorial and royal which already existed.

The law merchant

Town life, especially if industry and commerce and banking develop extensively, requires a more elaborate system of laws than will suffice for persons who live a simple agricultural existence and do not move about much from place to place. Hence it was that lords early found it advisable to make special provisions for merchants. For the sea, too, it is necessary to have somewhat different rules of law than for the land. The law merchant consisted of the customs of the Mediterranean Sea as these had been worked out by the cities of Italy, Spain, and southern France engaged in trade in its waters. Some of its provisions perhaps dated back to the days when Babylon had been the commercial center of the world. It later had influence upon the admiralty courts of England, and from it come those parts of modern law dealing with trademarks, the protection of a firm's name, agency, brokerage, and methods of bookkeeping. This law was also applied to a large extent at inland fairs.

In the foregoing account we have seen that the rise of communes and of independent local government, while a great movement, did not extend to all towns. There remained not only towns in certain regions, like the Loire Valley, that were not self-governing, but also large capitals like Rome and Paris. On the other hand, many places that were scarcely more than villages had gained independence and self-government. Again, many self-governing towns were far from democratic and excluded the lower classes from office or even from the suffrage.

Variety of town life

While the chief magistracies and councils in the towns of different countries have been mentioned in a general way, no description has been attempted of the numerous minor offices, nor of the many special boards and advisory bodies. It should be realized that, despite a good deal of copying by new towns of the charters or customs of old ones, there was almost infinite variety in the forms of government, the local laws, and the charter provisions of the many towns. Indeed, in the history of a single town like Florence, one finds a bewildering variety and a series of kaleidoscopic constitutional changes, whose meaning it is almost impossible to follow today. But as the Dutch historian Blok has said, "All these differences in the arrangement and the development of the medieval cities are new proofs of the inexhaustible riches of medieval life, of the infinite variety in the society of that time, deviating so much from the greater monotony of our epoch. He who would find one form for the medieval cities sins against the very nature of the Middle Ages " Or, as Hare says of the cities of Italy, "They are wonderfully different, those great cities, quite as if they belonged to different countries, and so indeed they have, for there has been no national history common to all, but each has its own individual sovereignty, its own chronicle, its own politics, domestic and foreign, its own saints, its own phase of architecture, often its own language, always its own proverbs, its own superstitions, and its own ballads "

Bibliographical Note

M V Clarke, *The Medieval City State,* is the most general treatment Pirenne, *Medieval Cities,* has especial reference to those of Belgium, Giry and Réville, *Emancipation of Medieval Towns,* deals mainly with those of France On Italian towns see Sedgwick, *Italy in the Thirteenth Century,* I, chapter 13, W F. Butler, *Lombard Communes,* Duffy, *Tuscan Republics,* or histories of individual cities Those of Venice are legion, on Pisa, Heywood, on Siena, Schevill. On German towns, W King, *Chronicles of Three Free Cities,* on English towns, C Stephenson, *Borough and Town,* an advanced institutional study

XVIII

The Expansion of Christendom and the Crusades

The causes of expansion

While feudal lords were busily engaged in acquiring power over various localities and the popes aimed at world-empire, there was one work in which they cordially co-operated, namely, the expansion of Christendom and the crusades The Christian world in the West of Charlemagne's time had covered a very restricted area, which the invasions of Northmen, Saracens, and Hungarians during the time of the later Carolingians threatened to reduce further But these new invaders were finally checked or absorbed. The Northmen had been converted even in their homeland, Scandinavia, and the Magyars accepted Christianity during the reign of Saint Stephen of Hungary (997–1038) At the same time political divisions were rife in the Mohammedan world, and there was a temporary lull in the pressure which the nomads of Asia had been exerting upon the West almost continuously since the first appearance of the Huns Meanwhile in western Europe the population was now increasing instead of declining as in the time of the Roman Empire The supply of land to give out as fiefs was becoming exhausted and younger sons and other would-be vassals must migrate elsewhere to satisfy their desires Also the villas were overcrowded with tenants and serfs, many of whom could readily be drawn away by an offer of new lands and slightly better conditions of holding

Normans in the south

Into southern Italy, where Byzantines and Saracens and local nobles and towns were contending, came in the early eleventh century Norman pilgrims returning from Jerusalem and Norman soldiers of fortune still possessed by their race's old spirit of wandering and adventure After serving the contending parties for a time as mercenaries, they entered the fray in their own interest In 1053 they defeated and captured Pope Leo IX, and in 1059 Pope Nicholas II recognized Robert Guiscard (the Wary) as Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily — land which he agreed to hold as a fief from the papacy Robert proved a troublesome vassal and conquered a number of papal possessions He had to be excommunicated more than once, but the popes needed his aid to put down the robber barons in the vicinity of

Rome, and later to resist the Holy Roman Emperor. Southern Italy was not entirely in Norman hands until the fall of Bari, the last Byzantine stronghold, in 1071, and twenty more years passed before the conquest of Sicily was completed, although the Saracen capital, Palermo, was taken in 1072. Western Christianity not only gained at the expense of Islam by these Norman conquests, but those regions of southern Italy which the iconoclastic Emperor Leo had transferred to the Patriarch of Constantinople were now brought back under papal control. In 1130 the Norman rulers were granted the title, King of Sicily. They built up a strong form of government, but their dynasty ended with the twelfth century, when the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, who had married the Norman heiress, made good his claim to the Sicilian crown.

The Spanish peninsula

A few remarks about the physical geography of the Spanish peninsula, together with the map at page 576, may help to clarify the course of Christian expansion in Spain and Portugal. Galicia in the northwest corner is a region of irregular mountains. Mountains continue along the north coast through the Asturias, south of which lies the plain of Leon, a name applied to the kingdom which absorbed Galicia and the Asturias. Portugal comprises an Atlantic coastal plain. Old Castile, a plateau drained by the River Duoro, is separated by mountains (Sierra de Guadarrama) from New Castile, which is drained by two rivers, the Tagus and the Guadiana. To the south is Andalusia, the basin of the Guadalquivir River and the chief lowland of Spain. The Andalusian plain is bordered on the south by the Sierra Nevada, beyond which lies Granada. Aragon is roughly identifiable with the basin of the Ebro River. The Guadalquivir is the only river which does not have to cut its way through mountains in order to reach the coast.

In the Spanish peninsula, after the dismemberment of the caliphate of Cordova in the early eleventh century, the Christian states gradually pushed their boundaries south at the expense of the Moslems, although not without occasional setbacks and vicissitudes. The Christians often stopped to fight among themselves. Leon and Castile were at times united under one ruler into a strong military kingdom, and then again divided among several heirs. The progress of the Christian arms was also twice checked by fanatical hosts of Mohammedan barbarians from Africa who extended their sway into Spain, the invaders of the eleventh century were called Almoravides (al-mō′ra-vīdz), and those of the twelfth century Almohades (al′-mō-hādz). In 1085 Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon, following up the successful campaigns of his father, took Toledo; but the next year he was decisively defeated by the Almoravides at Zalaca in west central Spain. The advent of these barbarous tribes of the desert was not favorable to the civilization which had hitherto flourished in Mohammedan Spain, nor did they build up a strong state. More intolerant than previous Mohammedan rulers, they provoked their Christian subjects the more to revolt.

Christian knights from beyond the Pyrenees, especially from southern France, participated in the recovery of the Spanish peninsula from the Moslems and received lands for their pains. The Cistercian monks, at Saint Bernard's suggestion, spread to Spain in the twelfth century. Various military orders — some of them general European organizations like the Templars and Hospitalers, others special Spanish and Portuguese orders — also established themselves in the peninsula and received vast grants of land.

Portugal began its separate history in 1095, when the aforesaid Alfonso VI of Castile gave his natural daughter, together with the counties of Oporto and Coimbra, to Henry of Burgundy, one of the foreign feudal nobles who had been aiding him in his struggle against the Almoravides. In the first half of the twelfth century the Count of Portugal became a vassal of the pope and agreed to pay him four ounces of gold a year. When in 1179 the pope added the royal title, he received a thousand byzants on the spot and the annual payment was increased to a hundred gold pieces.

The King of Aragon, too, was a papal vassal and since the eleventh century had paid a handsome yearly tribute. The tiny kingdom of Aragon began to extend its borders early in the twelfth century, and in 1137 it was enlarged by the marriage of its infant queen with Ramon Berengar, Count of Barcelona and Provence. The union of these houses transformed Aragon, hitherto an inland kingdom, into a great maritime power with a long Mediterranean coast line. Provence passed to a French line in the thirteenth century, but Catalonia or the county of Barcelona remained a permanent and major part of the kingdom of Aragon henceforth; language, maritime activity, and general culture were predominantly Catalan.

Navas de Tolosa

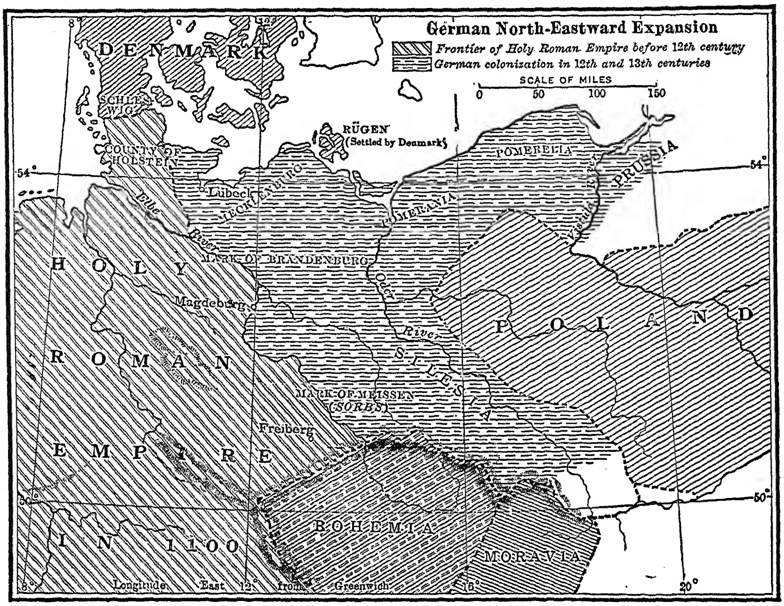
The Almohades replaced the Almoravides in Mohammedan Spain about the middle of the twelfth century, and toward its close came into hostile contact with the Christian states. The Portuguese defeated the invaders in 1184, but they won a victory over the King of Castile in 1195. The King of Leon fought against his Christian neighbors, especially Castile, and was a secret ally of the Moslems. The King of Navarre, too, was inclined to side with the Moslems against his Christian neighbors. But Pope Innocent III did all he could to arouse the Christians, not only of the Spanish peninsula, but of other lands as well, against the Moslems; and in 1212 the kings of Castile and Aragon, with the lukewarm aid of Navarre, gained a great victory over a vast host of Moslems at Navas de Tolosa in southern Spain This event was soon followed by extensive conquests by the kings of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal James I of Aragon conquered the Balearic Isles one after another in the years from 1229 to 1235, and in 1238 added Valencia to his kingdom Meanwhile Castile and Leon had been again united under one sovereign, who proceeded to capture Cordova in 1236 and Seville in 1248

Political divisions

Within a few years the Mohammedans retained only the kingdom of Granada, a small fraction of the peninsula, extending along the southern coast from Gibraltar to a point somewhat east of Almeria Portugal had attained its present boundaries Little Navarre, cut off on the south by Castile and Aragon, had failed to expand at all. In fact, in 1200 the King of Castile had taken from Navarre the provinces of Alava and Guipuzcoa Roughly speaking, Aragon formed a triangle, bounded on the north by the Pyrenees, on the east by the Mediterranean from Montpellier to beyond Valencia, on the west by Castile. The united realm of Castile and Leon was the largest in the Peninsula, being a union of earlier states like the Asturias and Galicia, and having profited most by conquest at the expense of the Moslems. It occupied the central plateau and extended from the Atlantic on the northwest and the Bay of Biscay on the north to the valley of the Guadalquivir in the south, touching the Mediterranean coast between Aragon and Granada, and the Atlantic coast at the mouth of the Guadalquivir between Granada and Portugal Such for over two hundred years remained the political geography of the Spanish peninsula, until the close of the Middle Ages

German expansion

After Henry I and Otto the Great in the tenth century checked the invaders who had threatened the East Frankish kingdom from north and east, the Holy Roman Emperors who succeeded them gave but slight attention to the problem of their eastern frontier. They were too much occupied with Italian projects, with the investiture struggle, and with other problems When invasions of the empire by the Slavs forced them to take action, they usually contented themselves with enforcing a vague recognition of their overlordship from the Slavic princes and perhaps a more substantial payment of tribute, but they made little effort to Christianize or to settle the Slavic territory. It was therefore left to the local lords of the petty feudal states along the eastern border to carry on the work of eastward German colonization. On the whole, not much was accomplished until the twelfth century.


German North-Eastward Expansion
Frontier of Holy Roman Empire before 12th century
German colonization in 12th and 13th centuries
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
COUNTY OF HOLSTEIN
RÜGEN (Settled by Denmark)
Lübeck
MECKLENBURG
POMERELIA
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
Elbe River
MARK OF BRANDENBURG
Magdeburg
Oder River
SILESIA
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE IN 1100
MARK OF MEISSEN (SORBS)
Freiberg
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
54°
50°
8°
12°
16°
20°
Longitude East from Greenwich

Then, under the leadership of the counts of Holstein, of Albert the Bear, Count of the North Mark (1134–1170), and of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, a great advance of the German frontier was made from the Elbe to the Oder, while the Danes made haste to secure the island of Rügen in the Baltic.

The previous inhabitants of the region between the Elbe and the Oder, Baltic Slavs in the north and Sorbs in the south, were for the most part either ejected from their lands or relegated to the position of serfs or wretched cottagers without any legal title to the small plots of land which they occupied. The Slavs, whose wooden ploughs merely scraped the surface of the soil, had generally occupied only the more easily cultivated land, and had left swamps, forests, and thickets unreclaimed. Now German colonists with their superior ploughs entered the land, while Flemings and Hollanders, who had learned at home the art of reclaiming fens and morasses, were introduced in large numbers by the new lords of the soil. In order to get colonists to settle the waste, however, it was necessary to offer them attractive terms and to free them from most of the restrictions imposed by feudal lords upon their peasants. Usually they merely paid a moderate money rent. They received larger allotments of land than the average peasant had at home; and in these new settlements the individual's holdings were not scattered about as on the ordinary medieval villa, but comprised one large strip which its holder was free to cultivate as he pleased

Towns founded

In 1143 the Count of Holstein founded the first German city on the Baltic Sea, Lubeck, destined soon to be a great center of trade In 1165 the discovery of silver in the land of the Sorbs caused a great inrush of fortunehunters and stimulated the growth of the city of Freiberg, not far from modern Dresden But on the whole, towns did not develop much until the thirteenth century When they did, the Slavs were allowed only in certain streets and in certain occupations. Germans, on the other hand, were attracted by offers of personal freedom, exemption in large measure from tolls and other vexatious dues, and grants of partial self-government The result was that especially in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg the country was thoroughly Germanized Slavic traditions and folklore disappeared even among the common people, and in the eighteenth century more persons speaking a Slavic dialect could be found in German territory west than east of the Elbe. In Mecklenburg, however, a Slavic prince who had been allowed to rule as a vassal of Henry the Lion became the founder of the houses that continued to reign in both duchies of Mecklenburg down to recent years

In Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, towns were first founded in the thirteenth century by German colonists. Before that time each Slavic prince and his vassals lived in a wooden castle with garrison, officials, household, and servants. An occasional market outside the castle was chiefly attended by German and Jewish merchants, who exchanged their wares for furs, wax, honey, and other local products. They paid the lord of the place, as did his own peasants who attended the fair, for the stalls which they occupied, the food and drink which they consumed, and the new shoes which they bought for their return journey. A public bath for their use was another princely monopoly and source of revenue.

In the southeast, in the mark of Austria and in parts of the duchies of Carinthia and Styria, there had been some German colonization since the close of the tenth century, but the movement reached its height there in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries In the northeast, after the twelfth century, the Germans pushed still farther eastward beyond the Oder into Pomerania, Silesia, and Prussia The Slavic princes themselves, in Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, often called in the superior German laborers as settlers, and the frequent marriage alliances of the same Slavic princes with daughters of the German nobility facilitated the spread of Christianity

The new religious orders of the twelfth century were prominent in the

Religious and military orders

colonization of the northeast Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensians, was from 1126 to 1134 Archbishop of Magdeburg, the ecclesiastical metropolis nearest to the northeastern frontier. In the later decades of the twelfth century the Cistercians played the greatest part, and their monastic settlements sometimes advanced to regions where the power of German lords had not yet penetrated. In the thirteenth century came the military and crusading orders, the Teutonic Knights, and the Brethren of the Sword, who were to make conquests far beyond the Vistula

Christian Hungary

Not long after Otto had repulsed the invasions of the Hungarians, their kings became Christians and tried to convert the people forcibly to the same faith by the aid of numerous clergy from western Europe and of knights from Germany In the next century part of the country relapsed into paganism, but in the twelfth century the Gregorian reforms and the activities of Cistercian monks revived Christian influence. Hungary, now a powerful state, absorbed Croatia about the year 1100, thereby gaining access to the Adriatic, and annexed the cities of the Dalmatian coast, which had hitherto owed allegiance to Constantinople. By the close of the twelfth century Hungary had the same religious and political institutions as the rest of western Europe and shared also in its culture to a large extent The monks, who were numerous in Hungary in the twelfth century, came from France But in the second half of that century the Magyars called in Flemish and German colonists to settle and defend Transylvania or Siebenburgen, a debatable territory on their eastern frontier

Rise of the Seljuk Turks

Meanwhile the perennial westward migration of mounted nomads had been renewed by the Turks. A branch of this race, known as the "Petchenegs" or "Patzinaks," had been for some time on the lower Danube It was to protect their eastern frontier against this tribe that the Hungarians introduced German settlers into Transylvania in the later twelfth century. Another branch, known as the "Seljuk Turks," from their legendary hero-founder, became in the eleventh century the ruling element in the Moselm world. After conquering Persia they accepted Islam and entered the service of the Abbasid caliphs at Bagdad The result was that the caliph soon ceased to be anything more than the nominal head of the Mohammedan world, while a Turkish sultan held all the military and political power The Seljuks spread into Syria, Armenia, and Asia Minor, in 1071, at Manzikert in Armenia, they won a decisive victory over the Byzantine heavy cavalry. It was a setback for the Byzantine military system comparable to that of Adrianople in 378 for the Roman legions The triumph of the Seljuks led to the ultimate nomadization of most of Asia Minor, although for the time being a number of towns and forts held out against them.

The Turks were ignorant and fanatical barbarians like the Almoravides and Almohades, and had a like evil effect upon Arab culture, although Ramsay assures us that "the Seljuk monuments, almost unknown to Europeans, are the most beautiful ruins in Asia Minor." The heyday of Bagdad, like that of Cordova, as a center of civilization was now over, and the days of Constantinople were numbered. It was time for the teeming and expanding population of feudal western Europe to take up the torch of civilization. The Turks not only showed little bent for the remains of Greek, Persian, Syrian, and Arabian arts, sciences, and industries scattered through their territories; they also failed to reunite the Moslems into a political whole. Various leaders broke away from the control of sultan and caliph and conquered independent principalities for themselves. This naturally led to many wars between rival Mohammedan princes.

Alexius Comnenus

For the present, however, the Turks were none the less a pressing danger to Constantinople, and when Alexius (1081–1118) firmly established the Comnenian dynasty on the throne, he still found many problems confronting him. Robert Guiscard, whose daughter had married the son of a preceding emperor, invaded the northern part of the Greek peninsula and penetrated as far as Thessaly. He was then called back to Italy to succor Pope Gregory VII, and in his absence his forces were expelled from Greece. He continued the war, however, until his death in 1085, but then his son Bohemond made peace with Alexius. Meanwhile the Patzinaks had been invading Thrace, and it was only after nine years of war that Alexius finally drove them out of his empire. He was next confronted by the far more arduous task of repelling the Seljuk Turks, but in this enterprise he was destined to receive assistance from vast armies of crusaders from western Europe.

Sources for the crusades

Our sources for the crusades are more ample than for any other wars or migrations of the Middle Ages. Besides numerous chronicles concerning them, there are diaries and letters written by the crusaders themselves. There is also a wealth of official documents bearing in one way or another upon the crusades and the states founded by the crusaders in the East, as well as numerous allusions to the crusades in the popular literature of the time. Yet many important points are still left in dispute; for instance, whether Alexius summoned the crusaders or not. Moreover, the narrators of the crusades introduce so many portents and miracles, and are themselves so convinced that these expeditions were especially favored by divine guidance and by providential intervention at critical moments, that their accounts sometimes seem to belong more to the realm of mysticism or romance than to that of sober history One suspects that they may even have exaggerated the losses and sufferings of the crusaders in order to make their victories seem the more remarkable

Definition of a crusade

The word "crusade" is derived from the practice of "taking the cross" — after the example and precept of Christ — which was adopted by those who went on the First Crusade and was then followed in the subsequent expeditions The crusader wore a cross of cloth upon his breast on his way to the Holy Land, on his return after fulfilling his vow, he bore the cross upon his back between the shoulders. A crusade has been defined as "a religious war, preached in the name of the Church, stimulated by solemn grant of ecclesiastical privileges, made by a more or less cosmopolitan army, and aiming either directly or indirectly at the recovery of holy places." Or, we may say more specifically that the crusades were initiated by the pope, that remission of sins was promised to sincere crusaders; that the various feudal states, monarchies, and city republics of western Europe shared in the movement; and that the main object was to recover Jerusalem from the Mohammedans.

Speech of Urban II

The crusading movement was launched by Pope Urban II in 1095 in a speech before a great concourse of two hundred and fifty bishops, four hundred abbots, many feudal lords and knights, and a multitude of the people at a council at Clermont-Ferrand in south central France. It is possible that the Emperor Alexius had appealed to the pope for aid against the Turks; at any rate, if he had not, one of his predecessors had already made such an appeal to Gregory VII. But in either case the Byzantine emperor merely wished some auxiliary mercenary troops to help him reconquer Asia Minor from the Turks On the other hand, at Clermont the pope broached the idea of an independent Western enterprise, having for its chief aim, not aid to the Byzantine Empire, but recovery of Jerusalem and the holy places. The Turks had taken Jerusalem in 1078, since when the pilgrims had brought home tales of ill-treatment of themselves and of the native Christians living there. Also Urban offered the participants in the crusade, not the wages of mercenaries, but the hope of an eternal reward Hence, whereas in 1074 the lords of western Europe had received rather coldly Gregory's request for troops to aid the Byzantine emperor, and he himself had finally dropped the project, in 1095 Urban's eloquent appeal brought forth from the assembled throng shouts of "It is the will of

God," and within a year many thousands had been persuaded to undertake the perilous pilgrimage to Jerusalem

Other causes of crusades

There were yet other reasons why so many hastened to take the cross For a long time Western Christians had been in the habit of making pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulcher — pilgrimages which seem to have been interrupted only during the first half of the tenth century — and of late they had often gone in large numbers and armed The crusades were a further development of this practice upon a still larger and more warlike scale We have seen, too, that the feudal noble was instinctively wandering and adventurous, that he loved fighting, and that he ever craved to gain new territory. Recently William the Conqueror had led a host against England, and Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger had invaded Saracen Sicily, in each case with the approval of the pope and with a consecrated banner; while in Spain many knights from other lands had fought with the Christian princes to win lands from the Moslems. The taking of Toledo in 1085 had been followed, however, by the defeat of the Christians at Zalaca in 1086 by the Almoravides Perhaps the pope thought to offset this repulse in the West by striking a blow against the Mohammedans in the East Moreover, the princes of the West were already of their own accord beginning to cast covetous eyes upon the East, as the recent effort of Robert Guiscard to conquer the Byzantine Empire had demonstrated Indeed, every foreign dynasty in southern Italy during the Middle Ages seems to have been tempted by the prospect of an Oriental empire France was now an overpopulated country where there were frequent famines and economic distress, but it was also a land overflowing with vigor and enterprise Many of its knights would eagerly seize an opportunity to conquer new fiefs for themselves in foreign parts. Pope Urban himself was a native of Champagne and he proclaimed the crusade in Auvergne, another region of France. In the coast cities of Italy, too, commercial enterprise and growing sea power did much to make the crusades possible Indeed, the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi had already made attacks of their own upon the Saracens of Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and North Africa

But while such political and economic forces and worldly motives probably would of themselves have resulted in some sort of secular expeditions directed toward the East, there would have been no crusades without the leadership of the pope and the influence of the Church, without the offer of indulgences and other spiritual benefits to those participating, without the medieval susceptibility to religious emotion and excitement, and without the spirit of self-sacrifice to Christ "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me " Such was the true watchword of the crusader It is a fact that many bad men went on the crusades — beggars, vagabonds, outlaws, criminals — but some even of these were actuated in this case by a good motive It is true that many who took the crusading vow in a moment of contrition and devotion afterwards sullied their cause by their actions along the route But the fact remains that for thousands the crusade was primarily a religious act, and that multitudes laid down their lives for the cause in the arid mountains of Asia Minor or on the hot sands of Syria, victims to famine, plague, and thirst, as well as to the swords of the Seljuks, but, in their own opinion and in that of the Church which sent them forth, "more than conquerors "

The First Crusade

After the council at Clermont, Urban visited many other places in France, preaching the crusade, and many other clergy did the same Chief among them was Peter the Hermit, who stirred especially the common people of central France and the Rhine Valley — women and children as well as men — to seek the Holy Land William Rufus, Philip I, and Henry IV, kings of England, France, and Germany respectively, were at this time all under papal excommunication and not one of them went on the crusade But the feudal nobility from both northern and southern France and from Norman Italy took the cross with avidity. The pope, who was still engaged in the investiture struggle, sent a French bishop as his representative

The bands that Peter the Hermit and similar popular preachers gathered together were made up partly of simple pious folk and partly of unruly vagabonds, contained few armed knights, and either never reached even Constantinople or were cut to pieces by the Turks in Asia Minor. Their depredations in the countries of southeastern Europe through which they passed often led the natives to attack them Or, if the crusaders were in too great force to be attacked, the peasants of the country would flee to woods and mountains until they had passed by. The feudal armies, more thorough and deliberate in their preparations than the ill-organized bands which had preceded them, crossed the Balkan peninsula to Constantinople in several contingents and by different routes Godfrey of Bouillon led a large force from northeastern France and Lorraine in a quiet march across Germany and Hungary, reaching Constantinople just before Christmas, 1096 The Duke of Normandy, the Count of Flanders, and others from northern France took about the same route as the Normans of Italy under Bohemond, whose march was to Brindisi and then from Durazzo to Saloniki. The knights from southern France, under Raymond of Toulouse and the papal representative, crossed northern Italy, then skirted the Adriatic to Durazzo and had to fight the Slavonians on their way. All these contingents arrived in the course of the spring of 1097 There were yet other leaders than those mentioned; and as the feudal lords were not inclined to take orders from one another, there was not likely to be much co-operation or maintenance of discipline In Bohemond, however, the crusaders had an able military strategist, who, by waiting with a reserve force of cavalry and then making an attack at the critical point at the critical moment, won for them most of the battles in which they engaged with the Turks.

Alexius must have been astounded when he heard from the pope that three hundred thousand men would be on their way to Constantinople. He was perhaps still more amazed when the motley following of Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless arrived Both with these and with the better equipped armies which arrived later, his policy was to get them out of the city and across the straits into Asia as rapidly as possible, before their numbers should be too greatly swelled by further arrivals In the case of the later, well-organized armies he also endeavored to have all the leaders take an oath of fealty to him and agree to hold all conquests that they might make as fiefs of the Byzantine Empire This they were naturally loath to do, and he had to attack some of them and bribe others in order to secure their oaths, while some never took the oath. In brief, Alexius' position was that he would allow the crusaders to reconquer for him the territory which he had not been able to prevent the Turks from taking away from him and which he unaided would probably have been quite unable to recover

The taking of Nicaea

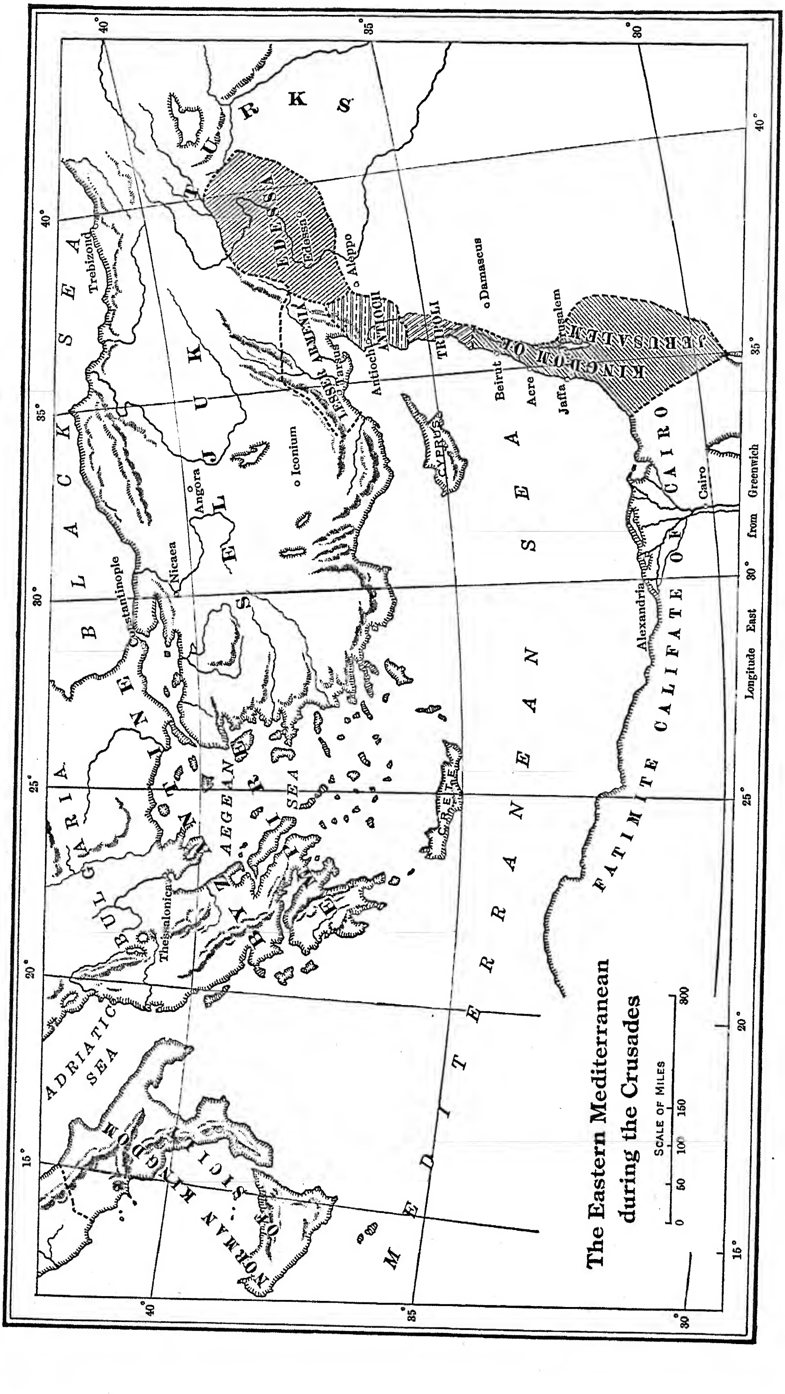
When the various bodies of crusaders had finally joined forces in Asia Minor before the walls of Nicaea, not far from Constantinople, and were just on the point of reducing it, Alexius arranged by secret negotiations that the city should surrender to him rather than to the crusaders, whom he refused to admit within the walls, although he tried to satisfy some of the leaders with presents. Thus he showed that he did not trust the pledges which the crusaders had recently made, and the result was that henceforth they did not trust him. He had been offended by the insolent manners of some of them at his court in the city, and by their plundering as they marched through his territories. They had against him the deeper grievance that instead of co-operating generously with them in their great enterprise, he tried by diplomacy, bribery, and tricks to make use of them for his own ends. From Nicaea they marched on and soon won over the Turks a victory in the field that opened up to them the route across Asia Minor. Alexius loitered in their wake, gathering up in western and southern Asia Minor the fruits of the victories which they had won, and later attempting to wrest from them the territories which they had occupied in Syria. Naturally, later relations between the crusaders and the Byzantine emperor were seldom cordial.

Crusaders at Antioch

After a terrible march across Asia Minor the crusaders reached Little Armenia, a Christian state founded by fugitives from Greater Armenia, and hostile alike to the Saracens and the Byzantine Empire. As the crusaders approached Syria, the leaders began to bethink them of the territorial conquests which each might make. Baldwin, a brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, left the main army and penetrated east of the Euphrates to Edessa, where he established a lordship of his own. This was nevertheless a useful exploit, as Edessa served to protect Syria against attack from that direction. The main army laid siege to Antioch for seven months. The city finally fell, owing to the treachery of one of the garrison with whom Bohemond had entered into secret negotiations; but in return for this service by Bohemond the other leaders had to relinquish Antioch to him, despite their oaths to Alexius and their own ambitions. Immediately, however, the Christians were themselves penned up in Antioch by a Turkish army, which had arrived just too late to save the city from their excesses. The crusading army was by now sadly depleted by famine, plague, and the desertion of many who had sailed away home. But the digging-up of what was supposed to be the lance that pierced the side of the crucified Christ suddenly inspired the host with renewed vigor and enthusiasm, and the Turkish force was driven off. For several months longer the crusaders tarried at Antioch, recuperating, while their leaders quarreled. At last the murmurs of the mass of the crusaders forced their chiefs to lead them on to Jerusalem.

The taking of Jerusalem

The Fatimite caliph of Cairo, whom the crusaders had been trying to obtain as an ally against the Turks, had recently captured Jerusalem from the Seljuks, but refused to surrender it to the crusaders. Therefore they marched south against Jerusalem, supported by the fleets of Genoa and Pisa, which followed the coast and kept them supplied with provisions. On July 15, 1099, the Holy City fell to them after a siege of two months, although they had but forty thousand men left. After slaughtering Saracens all day long in the temple precincts, at nightfall the crusaders, "sobbing for joy," paid their devotions at the sepulcher of the Prince of Peace. Their object


BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
AEGEAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BULGARIA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
SELJUK TURKS
NORMAN KINGDOM OF SICILY
EDESSA
ANTIOCH
TRIPOLI
LESSER ARMENIA
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
FATIMITE CALIFATE OF CAIRO
CYPRUS
CRETE
Trebizond
Edessa
Aleppo
Damascus
Jerusalem
Constantinople
Nicaea
Angora
Iconium
Tarsus
Antioch
Beirut
Acre
Jaffa
Thessalonica
Alexandria
Cairo
Longitude East 30° from Greenwich
15°
20°
25°
30°
35°
40°
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
300

The Eastern Mediterranean during the Crusades had been gained; and when we consider all the obstacles and difficulties which they had to surmount, we must agree that despite its shortcomings the First Crusade was one of the most daring and successful military expeditions recorded in history. The news of the taking of Jerusalem was received with boundless joy in Europe, and many pilgrims hastened east to the support of their fellows. Unfortunately, most of the reinforcements were massacred by the Turks in Asia Minor

Latin states in Syria

Nevertheless, the Christians continued to hold Jerusalem, and with the aid of the ships of the Italian cities they soon gained the towns of the Syrian coast Godfrey of Bouillon, the first ruler of Jerusalem, took the modest title, Defender of the Holy Sepulcher, but upon his death in 1100 his brother, Baldwin, was made king. The three other principalities in Syria founded by the crusaders — Edessa, Antioch, and the county of Tripoli, which Raymond of Toulouse began to conquer in 1102 to the south of Antioch — soon became dependencies of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which extended its frontier south to the Red Sea. Thus Western Christendom had acquired a strip of territory bordering the eastern end of the Mediterranean from the Euphrates to Egypt. It was, however, a narrow strip with Turkish emirates and fortresses lining its eastern frontier

The kingdom of Jerusalem was important for its trade as well as its holy places, especially so long as it touched the Red Sea waterway to the Far East and also intercepted the caravan routes from Cairo to Damascus. The Italian cities which aided the crusaders — Genoa, Pisa, and later Venice — received quarters of their own in coast towns and exemptions from tolls In these quarters they had their own courts; in fact, such Italian trading settlements were practically colonies ruled by their mother cities.

The Assizes of Jerusalem

Through the Assizes of Jerusalem, a code of law of the middle of the twelfth century, we are well informed on the constitution of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had a form of government that could be found only in the Middle Ages It was a sort of ideal feudal state, as one might expect from the fact that a feudal army had founded it. Just as Baldwin had seized Edessa for himself and Bohemond had taken Antioch, so the lesser lords of the crusading host seized various strongholds along the route before Jerusalem was reached and captured. Therefore the new-made king found his vassals already in possession of their fiefs and his power considerably limited in consequence Besides a central feudal court there were over a score of feudal courts in the various fiefs of the kingdom. We have seen, however, that the humbler crusaders could make their wishes felt on occasion and that this was a period of the growth of towns and of the acquisition of political rights by townsmen Therefore it is not surprising to find an independent class of burghers recognized in this new kingdom alongside the feudal nobles Indeed a burgher might rise to knighthood, while feudal nobles were forbidden to acquire property in the towns There were thirty-seven local courts for burghers as well as a central court of this type There were also independent church courts, and the military crusading orders came to have large powers in the kingdom

Westerners in the East

Few Westerners settled permanently in the East, and the population remained for the most part native Syrian Christian and Moslem. Some of the newcomers intermarried with the natives Pilgrims arrived in goodly numbers every year, and would perhaps tarry to fight for a year or two, but seldom stayed for long Even the bones of dead crusaders were often shipped home for burial after the flesh had been boiled off them, until the Church belatedly forbade the latter practice in 1300 Indeed, it was difficult to get enough troops, and the king made much use of native cavalry Two new religious orders, however, whose members took monastic vows but whose chief business was fighting, were established for the defense of the Holy Land; namely, the Knights Hospitalers, or "Poor Brethren of the Hospital of Saint John at Jerusalem" (originally a sort of medieval Red Cross organization) and the Knights Templars, or Knights of the Temple. Magnificent fortresses, whose remains are still visible, were constructed both by the members of these two orders and by the other crusaders in Syria.

The new lords of the land soon lost their bloodthirsty attitude toward the Mohammedans, and made little distinction of race or creed in their government The coinage of the kingdom of Jerusalem imitated the Arabic even to the extent of retaining verses from the Koran, until the pope forbade this The Westerners soon adopted Oriental dress and ways. They employed Mohammedan agricultural laborers, physicians, and dancing-girls They sometimes formed alliances with Moslems against one another, like the Christian states of the Spanish peninsula. They often came to prefer to live on terms of peace and commercial intercourse with their Mohammedan neighbors, and so did not always co-operate heartily with, nor cordially welcome, the new pilgrims and crusaders who came out eager to slaughter paynims.

The Second Crusade

These Latin states in Syria were not to be a permanent possession of Europeans In 1144 the Mohammedans captured Edessa. Saint Bernard took the lead in preaching a crusade to counteract this reverse, and Louis VII and Conrad III, kings of France and Germany, took the cross. Their armies started separately and were almost annihilated in traversing Asia Minor, the remnants that reached Syria failed to accomplish anything Those who have listed seven (a sacred number) chief crusades from among the many expeditions of the sort have called this the Second Crusade.[1]

Third Crusade, Saladin

In 1171 the rule of the Fatimites in Egypt was brought to a close by a young Moslem named Saladin, who seized the throne and soon extended his power over most of the Moslem emirs to the east of the Latin states of Syria In 1187 he took Jerusalem. This provoked the Third Crusade in which three well-known monarchs took part. Frederick Barbarossa, King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor, Philip Augustus of France; and Richard the Lion-Hearted of England, Normandy, Anjou, and Aquitaine. Frederick, who was now well along in years, took the land route via Constantinople and was drowned while crossing a small stream in southern Asia Minor. Most of his army thereupon dispersed

Richard, Coeur de Lion

Richard and Philip embarked their armies at Marseilles and Genoa, and wintered in Sicily There they began to quarrel and Richard broke off his engagement with Philip's sister At last they set sail for Acre on the Syrian coast, which the Christians had been vainly besieging for the past two years. But Richard, who was always ready for adventures, stopped to conquer the important island of Cyprus and to capture the Byzantine emperor In Cyprus, too, he married his new fiancée, Berengaria of Navarre, who had already joined him in Sicily. Then Acre was taken, and Saladin agreed to restore the true cross and many Christian captives and to pay an indemnity. But now news came that the Count of Flanders had died, and Philip, anxious to secure his territory, announced that he was ill and must return to France, where he was soon plotting to deprive Richard of his fiefs on the Continent. Richard, remaining in the Holy Land, performed many knightly exploits and prodigies of valor which made him the hero of romances for a long time to come, but failed to recover Jerusalem. He won, however, the respect of the chivalrous Saladin, who sent him snow and fruit when he was sick with a fever. They finally made a truce, leaving a portion of the coast in the hands of the Christians and allowing pilgrims free passage to Jerusalem for the next three years. The Christians also still held much of northern Syria On his way home Richard fell into the hands of his enemy, the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry VI, and his subjects had to pay a huge ransom to set him free

---

[1] Thomas of Cantimpré, writing in the thirteenth century, distinguished seven recent crusades: two against the Albigensians, two to the Holy Land, one against the Scadingi in Germany, one against Frederick II, and one against Ezzelino.

End of crusades to East

Many other crusades followed In 1197 a German expedition took Beirut, but accomplished little else A crusade in 1202–1204 which was turned against Constantinople will be described later in another connection In 1212 there was a crusading movement among the children, whose innocence it was hoped might prevail where sinful knights had failed Most of these bands of children wandered about western Europe a while and then broke up, some went to Rome and were sent home by the pope, some reached the Mediterranean and were disappointed that a dry path to Palestine did not open up through the sea for them, as had happened of old in the Red Sea for the benefit of the children of Israel Some of these were induced to embark by rascally shipowners, who carried them off to Mohammedan lands and sold them into slavery The King of Hungary went to Syria on a crusade in 1217, and during the next four years an expedition was directed against Damietta in the Nile delta The Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, went out in 1228, by skillful diplomacy, with little fighting, he secured from the Moslems the cession of Jerusalem and the country between it and the coast, and reconstituted the kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted until 1244 when the Turks retook the Holy City By 1291 the Christians had lost Acre, their last stronghold in Syria. The Italian cities, however, retained their quarters and trading privileges even under Mohammedan rule Meanwhile the last crusades of any importance were those of the saintly king of France, Louis IX, who in 1248 went to Egypt, where he was taken prisoner and ransomed, and in 1270 went to Tunis, where he died The Christian people of western Europe did not, however, entirely drop the idea of a crusade They continued to think and talk about crusades for the next two centuries; many popes had such a movement at heart, and princes sometimes planned a crusade Crusading had become a habit, an ideal, a psychological complex. But no great expedition directed toward the recovery of Jerusalem ever again actually took place

Other types of crusades

Meanwhile the name and idea of a crusade had been extended to other expeditions than those to the Mohammedan East, as in the case of the crusades against Constantinople and Tunis When Saint Bernard preached the Second Crusade, he at the same time permitted the Saxons to engage in a crusade against the Baltic Slavs. Several bands of crusaders to the East halted in Portugal and aided its monarchs against the Moslems in the Spanish peninsula; and military religious orders were founded in Spain as well as in the East. The Teutonic Knights, founded at Acre by Germans in 1190, forty years later transferred their activities to the shores of the Baltic and engaged in the conquest of the heathen Prussians. In 1208 a crusade was preached against the heretics in southern France Finally, Pope Innocent IV went to the length of offering the privileges of crusaders to those who would join in his war against an orthodox Christian prince and former crusader, Frederick II To those joining his crusade against Frederick's successor, Conrad IV, he "granted a larger remission of sins than for the voyage to the Holy Land, and included the father and mother of the crusaders as beneficiaries "

Privileges of crusaders

This leads us back to the theme of the privileges granted to crusaders Urban II at Clermont had simply decreed that "if any one, through devotion alone and not for the sake of honor or gain, goes to Jerusalem to free the Church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance " In subsequent crusades an increasing number of material privileges had been offered to induce men to take the cross, such as a respite from debts and lawsuits, permission to mortgage their lands without the consent of their lords, and the protection of the Church for their families and property during their absence

Results of the crusades

As wars, the crusades were unusually expensive and destructive for the times Whether this outpouring of blood and treasure checked to a great extent the spread of Islam, and whether it saved or weakened the Byzantine Empire at Constantinople, are disputed questions But we may note that hardly had the last Christian fortress in Syria fallen than the Turks began to threaten Constantinople again from Asia Minor. It thus seems as if Western Christendom, by taking the offensive, had held back Islam in the East for two centuries The crusades increased the prestige of the pope and the influence of the Church, and show how religion colored every side of medieval life. On the whole, the crusades seem to have weakened the feudal nobility, many of whom impoverished themselves in order to go on the crusades or neglected their fiefs by long periods of absence On the other hand, the association of so many knights in these expeditions stimulated the social side of feudalism and developed greatly the usages of feudalism, such as tournaments, heraldic devices and coats of arms, family names and genealogies The new military orders and the wide currency given to the exploits and adventures of the crusaders abroad added a new glamour and dignity to knighthood

The crusaders were travelers to strange and far countries as well as soldiers, and those who lived to return brought back with them new things, words, and ideas. We must remember, however, that what anyone gets out of a trip abroad depends a great deal upon himself. He may see splendid works of art or strange inventions without appreciating them If the crusades served as an education to the Westerners, it was because they were no longer ignorant barbarians We must also remember that Western Christians could borrow from Arabian civilization in Spain and Sicily without going to distant Syria. Probably the most lasting result of the crusades was the trade which the Italian cities established with the Orient, and this might well have developed without any wars at all The crusades, however, at least served to give European society a shaking-up Holders of fiefs died in Asia Minor and their lands passed to other lords Crusaders sold their property, borrowed money, bought supplies, hired ships, and took out letters of credit on Italian or Jewish bankers in Syrian ports All this brought money and land and goods into circulation, and made more business, and caused activity and change and bustle and excitement The crusades were in a sense a failure, but there was enterprise behind them, and enterprise is a good thing of itself

Bibliographical Note

On the Normans in the south, Haskins, *The Normans in European History*, chapter VII, on German expansion northeast and northwest, Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, II, 1–24, 25–54, or the longer account in J. W. Thompson, *Feudal Germany*, on "The Coming of the Seljuk Turks," Sykes, *History of Persia*, chapter 52, on the battle of Manzikert, C Oman, *History of the Art of War*, pp 216–221, on pilgrimages before the crusades, Beazley, *Dawn of Geography*, II, 122–131 General works on the crusades are by R A Newhall, 1927, Archer and Kingsford, 1895, Munro, Prutz, and Diehl, 1903. On particular crusades, A C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, translating the chief sources for it, F. Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade," *American Historical Review*, 26 (1921), 440–53, the Children's Crusade, Luchaire, *Social France*, 25–28; the Fourth Crusade, *Translations and Reprints*, III, i (*Ibid*, I, ii, Urban II and the Crusaders, I, iv, Letters of Crusaders). On military orders, Baron de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, and G King, *Military Orders in Spain*.

XIX

Church and State Under Innocent III

Innocent III

WITH the pontificate of Innocent III, at the opening of the thirteenth century (1198–1216), the papacy reached its height. Lotario de Segni, the son of an Italian noble, was handsome in appearance and commanding in manner, if slight in stature. Although he was the youngest of the cardinals, his colleagues promptly elected him pope on the same day that the preceding pontiff died. Thus, at the unusually early age of thirty-seven he entered upon the arduous duties and responsibilities of that high office with all the unabated energy and enthusiasm of the prime of manhood. He was already known for his eloquence and for the legal and theological knowledge that he had acquired at Bologna and Paris, and as pope he was to grant the University of Paris some of its earliest privileges and to fill his *curia* with canonists and jurists from Bologna. But he knew men as well as books, and it was probably less his learning than his ability as an administrator and man of affairs, as displayed in the papal court for the past ten years, that won him his election. Once pope, he took control with a master-hand, and in the very first year of his pontificate made his influence felt all over Europe. His letters, which constitute the best source for his reign, show how vigorously and incisively and sensibly he dealt with every situation and problem.

The Church universal

Western Christian Europe at that time was still a complex of contending feudal principalities and independent communes. The one thing that united men was the church to which they all belonged. There were Englishmen, Welshmen, Irishmen, Flemings, Bretons, Gascons, Castilians, Savoyards, Florentines, Venetians, Pisans, Bavarians, Bohemians, and Saxons; but there were no Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Christian Scientists, Quakers, Mennonites, and Congregationalists. The Church was the one universal institution of the age, and the pope in consequence exercised far greater authority than did any other potentate. In many ways, indeed, the Church was comparable to the Roman Empire of old, whose territorial and administrative organization it had taken over and whose official language, Latin, it still maintained in its services, records, and literature. Both institutions were international in character. Everyone recognized the pope as everyone had accepted the emperor. The Church had its legal system and courts. Its cathedrals added to the massive architecture and stately sculpture of triumphal arches and amphitheaters the glorious radiance of stained glass and the diaphanous stone lacework of spire, pinnacle, and flying buttress. Its missionaries and crusaders on the frontiers of Christendom were like the ancient legionaries on the Roman borders. Its monasteries were scattered over the face of the land as thickly as had been the Roman military camps and colonies. Its secular clergy corresponded to the administrative bureaucracy of the empire. And at the head and center of it all, watching over the whole world, interfering in everything, exercising temporal as well as spiritual power, receiving reports and questions and appeals from all quarters, and reserving to himself the settlement of all questions in the last resort, sat Innocent III with an authority quite comparable to that of a Trajan or a Diocletian.

Papal *curia* and legates

Associated with the pope at Rome was the college of cardinals, constituting a sort of cabinet, while a host of lesser assistants performed secretarial and legal functions or attended to the court ceremonial. At the beginning of his reign Innocent tried, like most popes, to reform the personnel of the papal *curia*, to restrict its membership to the clergy, and to prevent the taking of bribes. As he did not, however, absolutely forbid the giving of gratuities, most suitors at the papal court still deemed it expedient to scatter money with a free hand. It was indeed remarkable that, although many a pope reformed this body at the opening of his pontificate, it always seems to have needed reform by the time the next pope entered office.

From the pope's side, legates went forth to various parts of Europe to execute his will or to inspect conditions and report upon them to him. They were held to strict account if they failed to carry out Innocent's instructions to his satisfaction. One in particular, who absolved one of the rival candidates for the German throne without first securing from him the release of certain prisoners, was upon his return deprived by Innocent of his bishopric and banished to an island to pass the rest of his life as a simple monk.

Archbishops and bishops

It had long been customary for newly elected archbishops to receive from the pope a scarf or collar called the *pallium*. By withholding this badge of their office the pope could practically veto their appointment. In one of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, Innocent speaks of an archbishop's "receiving the *pallium*, that is to say, the full right to fill his office." The archbishop had a certain authority over a number of bishops whom he could summon to a provincial synod, but some bishops were practically independent of archiepiscopal control and the authority of different archbishops was very unequal. In England there were seventeen bishops under the Archbishop of Canterbury, only two under the Archbishop of York. Before Innocent's time the monasteries had pretty generally escaped from the control of the local bishop and had come directly under papal supervision. From the time of Innocent the popes claimed more and more the right to depose bishops and archbishops if their administration or character proved unsatisfactory, and to refuse on occasion to approve of the elections of bishops as well as to withhold the *pallium* from archbishops. Sometimes, however, it was not easy to depose a prelate whose see was far from Rome. In the case of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, for example, Innocent had to be content with scolding him by letter for living a life of plunder and keeping a court of brigands — an instance which also illustrates the fact that many bishops still followed the career of feudal lords rather than of ministers of Christ. When Richard the Lion-Hearted was asked by one of Innocent's legates to free Philip of Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais and a cousin of the French king, whom he was keeping in chains in a dungeon, he indignantly replied that Philip had not been captured as a bishop, but as a knight in full armor, and furthermore that he was a "robber, tyrant, and incendiary who did nothing but devastate Richard's lands day and night." Indeed, Innocent knew well enough that Philip was not a desirable type of bishop and afterwards refused to approve his election as Archbishop of Rheims.

Right of *regale*

Kings claimed the right to the revenues of a bishopric during a vacancy or the period that elapsed between the bishop's death and the election of his successor. In the case of the bishopric of Auxerre, Philip Augustus had renounced this right of *regale*, or of spoil, in favor of the cathedral chapter in 1182 and 1190. But when the bishop died in 1206, Philip cut down the forests and sold the wood. He likewise appropriated the fish with which the episcopal ponds were stocked. Animals, grain, wine, hay, and materials to build a chapel were all removed. Nothing was left in the episcopal palace but the walls and roof. The bishop's men were arrested, tortured, and put to ransom. The king denied having ever renounced his *regale*. Finally Innocent III intervened, and the new bishop by payment of a large sum of money obtained a royal charter renouncing the right of *regale*.

Each bishop had his own cathedral church, usually located in a town;

in fact, in England no place was called a city unless it had a cathedral The bishop shared his great church with a cathedral chapter of canons, each of whom by this time had a prebend or regular income for his support. They occupied the chief seats in the choir stalls. first came the dean, then the chanter in charge of the singing, then the archdeacons who aided the bishop in visiting his diocese and holding his ecclesiastical court, then the theologian or interpreter of Scripture, the schoolmaster of the cathedral school, the penitentiary, the treasurer, and the chamberlain The cathedral chapter of Liége in 1145 was made up of nine sons of kings, fourteen sons of dukes, thirty sons of counts, and seven sons of barons A century later Thomas of Cantimpré tells of having spent eleven years in a city where sixty-two canons enjoyed very fat prebends, while some of them held several additional benefices Churches which were large enough to require a number of clergy or canons to administer their affairs, but which were not the seats of bishops, were known as "collegiate" instead of "cathedral" churches

Chapter of canons

Parish priests

The parish was the smallest local ecclesiastical territorial unit The priest, although nominated by some lay or ecclesiastical patron of the parish church, had to be approved and ordained by his bishop, who was also supposed to visit and superintend the activities of all the priests within his diocese Because so large a proportion of the tithes which the people of the parish had to pay the Church and of the other parish revenues went to persons or institutions "higher up," the parish priest was generally poorly paid and hence was often a man of little ability. The priesthood also suffered from lack of episcopal supervision when bishops neglected their religious functions for other interests. There were, however, archpriests or rural deans, clergymen with the oversight of a few parishes other than their own, who stood in much the same relation to the parish priests as the archbishops to their bishops.

Pope and local clergy

Under Innocent we become aware of an increasing tendency of the local clergy and churches to refer everything to the pope for decision Innocent was an administrator of great industry and capacity for detail, and he did not object when archbishops, bishops, and abbots from all parts of Latin Christendom referred to him for decision even quite petty matters of local organization or problems in theology or ecclesiastical discipline which they should have been able to settle satisfactorily themselves by the exercise of a little common sense. For instance, in 1198 we find him permitting the division of a parish in the bishopric of Laon in northern France. However, in many cases the pope's interference was necessary in order to preserve the peace between two contending local parties The lesser clergy were often at odds with their bishops, and the clergy often had to appeal to the pope for protection against the feudal lords. Sometimes the reverse was the case, and in 1198 we find the Count of Auvergne asking Innocent's help against his brother, the Bishop of Clermont. Innocent also had to warn the bishops in Champagne to be a little less forward in heaping anathemas and interdicts upon the counts of that region for every trifling thing that they did Taken all in all, a vast business was dispatched at the papal court, and even Innocent at times complained that the burden of business left him no time for meditation or for the composition of religious works

The seven sacraments

While the medieval Church recognized the great importance of having well-educated men of pure life and attractive personality in its priesthood, it regarded neither preaching ability nor executive capacity nor moral conduct as the essential thing for one entrusted with the care of souls The essential was divine grace and power, and this the priest was believed to receive when he was ordained by the bishop Henceforth, regardless of his natural capacity or incapacity, he possessed "an indelible character" and could perform the sacraments upon which the obtaining of divine grace by his parishioners depended

The Church held that man could not save his soul by his own efforts, that he must receive divine grace through partaking of the sacraments In the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, written in the twelfth century, we find the number of sacraments stated as seven, itself a sacred number Two could be performed only by the bishop. namely, the ordination of priests, already mentioned, and the confirmation of children in their membership in the Church when they become old enough to distinguish good from evil Of the five which an ordinary priest could perform, three, like the two already described, applied to some important epoch in life and would normally be received but once by a given person, namely, baptism into the Church as soon as feasible after birth, the marriage ceremony which in the Middle Ages could be performed only by the clergy, and extreme unction just before death The two remaining sacraments of the mass and penance were often repeated — indeed, the oftener the better

The mass

The mass was the central feature of the church service Often the only preaching was done by the bishop when he paid a visit. By the saying of mass the priest was believed to perform a great miracle known as "transubstantiation," by which the bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ and his memorable sacrifice of himself on the cross for sinful humanity was renewed and perpetuated for the benefit of those present and partaking of the host or consecrated bread It became the custom for the clergy alone to drink the wine lest some drops of the precious blood be spilt in passing the cup among the rude laity, to whom it was explained that the bread or body contained full virtue Indeed, the mere celebration of the sacrifice of the mass by the priest was beneficial, and only on occasion did laymen actually receive the communion Moreover, masses might be said for the soul of an absent or dead person In fact, there was so great a demand and so much money left for the repetition of masses for such purposes that some priests had no parishes under their care, but devoted their entire time to chanting private masses and so were called "chantry priests"

Penance

The Fourth Lateran Council ordered Christians to confess their sins to the priest at least once a year In the early Christian communities sinners had perhaps confessed publicly before the congregation, but ere long the custom had grown up of auricular confession in private confidence to the priest Such confession and the penitent frame of mind which it implied were the first essentials in the sacrament of penance Next, the priest, to whom through Peter and his apostolic successors were supposed to have come the keys of heaven and the power to forgive sins, absolved the sinner from his guilt There still remained, however, a penalty to be paid, which would have to be worked off after death in purgatory, unless the offender performed some act of penance imposed upon him by the priest The *Penitentials*, or books informing the priest as to the proper penances for various sins, have already been mentioned in an earlier chapter

Indulgences

At the time of the First Crusade, Urban II decreed that "if any one, through devotion alone and not for the sake of honor or gain, goes to Jerusalem to free the Church of God, the journey itself shall take the place of all penance" Sometimes, moreover, the contrite sinner was permitted to give alms to the poor or to make a contribution to the Church instead of being required to perform the usual penance Especially in the later Middle Ages, the pope would from time to time proclaim a general indulgence, by which penitent persons were offered complete remission of all their past sins upon unusually easy and attractive terms which reduced to a minimum the amount of penance that they would have to undergo both now and in purgatory. In return for such indulgences or pardons the people were required to contribute generously of their means to the support of the Church Thus it became a temptation for the papacy to arrange for the preaching of indulgences whenever it needed money, while the people were likely to conclude that indulgences and money contributions were the surest road to salvation Yet, strictly speaking, the indulgence freed them only from immediate penance and the pains of purgatory, since by ordinary confession to their priests they could at any time secure forgiveness of their sins and divine pardon of their guilt, leaving only the penalty to be worked off either here or in purgatory

Excommunication, interdict

The seven sacraments meant everything to medieval men, most of whom never questioned but that water could be made holy, that there were sacred places which it did one good to visit as a pilgrim, that bones of dead saints had wondrous virtues, and that living priests could perform such miracles as the mass In their control of these sacraments the clergy had a tremendous weapon to use against the laity By excommunication they cut off an individual from receiving the sacraments, besides, perhaps, launching additional curses and anathemas against him By an interdict the clergy were ordered to cease the celebration of some or all of the sacraments in a given locality Thus, if a refractory lord paid no attention to his own excommunication, it might be possible to arouse his people against him by laying an interdict upon his territories. In one amusing case, as soon as a certain feudal noble entered the chief town on his domain, the church bell was rung and all religious services and administration of the sacraments forthwith ceased, to be resumed only when the bell rang again to announce his departure Naturally the people soon began to murmur, and he found it advisable to make his visits to town brief

The spread of heresy

Such measures were effective so long as the people believed in the sacramental power of the priesthood But what could be done if an entire region lost faith in the Church, its clergy, and its ceremonies? Such was threatening to become the situation in Languedoc when Innocent became pope. With the rise of towns, travel, and trade, and the reception of new ideas in science and philosophy, there had come in also through the eleventh and twelfth centuries strange religious doctrines and practices Often they spread by the same routes as trade The leading heresy of this period — that of the Cathari or Patarins or Albigensians, as they finally came to be called from the town of Albi in Languedoc (Figure 40) where they were especially prominent — spread from the East across the Balkans to the Adriatic, and then across Lombardy to Provence and Languedoc. Here the heretics flourished most, but they were also frequently heard of here and there in Germany, Flanders, Brittany, and other parts of northern France.

The Cathari or "The Pure," as they called themselves, were a revival

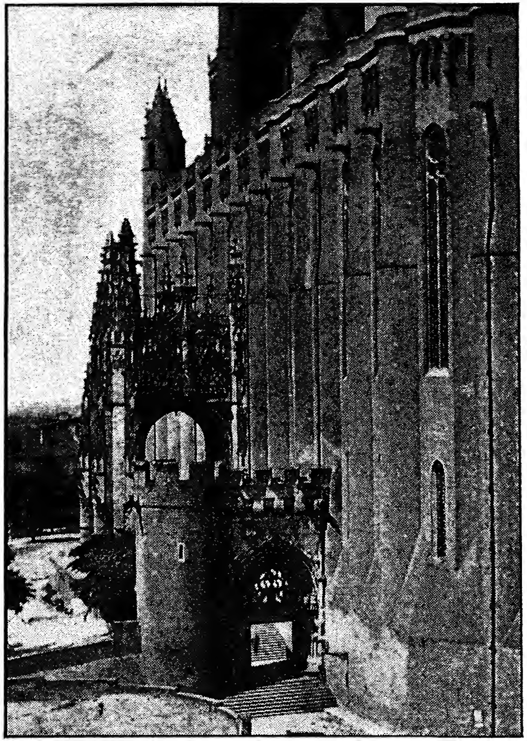


Figure 40

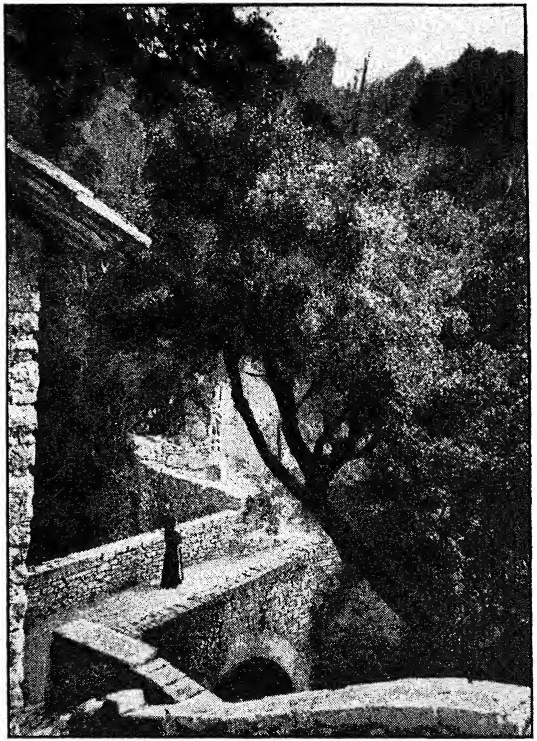


Figure 41

Left, cathedral of Albi; *right,* scene of Saint Francis's sermon to the birds

Cathari or Albigensians

of the Manichaeans of Augustine's day They regarded themselves as Christians, however, but accepted only the New Testament as their Bible What we know of them is derived almost wholly from their enemies, so that the following brief summary of their beliefs and rites may not do them justice It is hard to account for the existence of evil in the world, if we believe in but one good God The Cathari, therefore, held that two forces forever contend in the world, one a good, the other an evil, deity Everything material and physical and sensual they regarded as evil This world, in short, with its crimes and lusts, diseases and wars, worldly bishops and robber barons, was evil Christ was not a man born of a woman, but a pure spirit sent to introduce the new gospel of an "invisible, spiritual, and eternal universe" The pope and clergy of the Roman Church were not representatives of Christ, but servants of the evil spirit, for they did not renounce the things of this world as they should Instead of following them, one should turn for salvation to the "Perfected" of the Cathari, who had been ordained by laying-on of hands and had promised never to lie or swear, or eat meat, cheese, and eggs Instead of the elaborate mass, the Cathari had the simple blessing of bread performed daily at table The Perfected were looked upon as very holy men by the common people, who did not usually receive the *consolamentum*, or laying-on of hands, until just before death The Cathari were not afraid to die for their faith — the orthodox whispered that suicide was frequent among the heretics — and it has been said that "if the blood of the martyrs were really the seed of the Church, Manichaeism would now be the dominant religion of Europe" (Lea).

Waldensians

Another prominent heretical sect in southern France were the Waldensians, some of whom still survive They were followers of Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons who abandoned his business to lead a life of apostolic poverty and who went about preaching to the people At first sight there may seem to be nothing heretical in this, but Waldo was not an ordained priest When his disciples began to criticize the lives of the bishops and priests who did not adopt a life of poverty, and to say that laymen and women could preach, and that a prayer to God made in a barn was as likely to be heard as one made in a cathedral, and that the masses said for the dead did them no good, and when they began to refuse to pay tithes, the Church began to condemn them as heretics Such persecution only led them to oppose the clergy the more, and some of them were well on the road to the views of the later Protestants, while others adopted some of the teachings of the Cathari, although Waldo himself had written a treatise against the Cathari which is still preserved in a manuscript of the twelfth century at Madrid.

In most parts of Europe the people were afraid that their crops would fail, or that a pestilence would be sent upon them by divine wrath, if they tolerated heretics in their midst or even let heretical bones rest in consecrated ground. The practice of burning heretics at the stake grew up spontaneously and was not introduced by the Inquisition. The clergy, however, had taught the people to hate heresy, and we must remember that the most learned and the most saintly men of medieval times alike approved of the persecution of heretics.

But in Provence and Languedoc conditions were different. There society was worldly and tolerant, and the troubadours, feudal nobles, and municipal officials cared little for the Church. The clergy were worldly and neglected to give the people proper religious instruction, and could not be relied upon to take any energetic action against heresy. Even if they did, they could find no support in the lords of the land or the ruling bodies in the towns. Raymond VI, Count of Toulouse, the greatest feudal lord of the region, was a friend of the heretics and was strongly suspected of being one himself. The heretics preached publicly in town squares and at feudal courts and gained numerous adherents, so that Innocent came to the conclusion that in some archbishoprics there were more Manichaeans than Christians.

Albigensian crusade

Innocent often said that he preferred that the heretics should be converted rather than exterminated, and that they should be won back by preaching rather than by force. During the first ten years of his pontificate he sent a succession of legates to southern France, but with little result. He also, however, as early as 1204 appealed to Philip Augustus, King of France, for aid, but the latter was too much occupied by his struggle with King John of England. Finally, in 1207, Count Raymond was excommunicated. He submitted, promising to do as the papal legates wished, and received absolution. But Innocent went ahead and in November offered the feudal lords of central and northern France the same remission of sins as for crusaders to the East, if they would take part for forty days in an expedition to crush heresy in southern France. Just at this juncture, in January, 1208, one of the papal legates was assassinated by an official of the Count of Toulouse. This murder aroused a storm of indignation; the clergy preached the new type of crusade with great vigor, and soon a large army was on its way south. Raymond made no attempt at resistance, but, protesting his innocence of the murder of the legate, joined the army of crusaders. Thus, deprived of its natural leader, Toulouse made no united opposition. The crusading army occupied itself chiefly in storming Béziers, where thousands of men, women, and children were massacred, and in forcing Carcassonne to capitulate, whereupon its inhabitants were allowed to depart with but a single garment each

Most of the original crusaders then went home Béziers and Carcassonne were given as a fief to Simon de Montfort, who proceeded, with the aid of hired troops and of new crusaders who kept arriving, to enlarge his fief further at the expense of Raymond and other southern lords. Raymond was unable to make his peace with the Church, although he went to Rome to see Innocent The King of Aragon, who was Raymond's brother-in-law, and who did not like to see the barons of the north despoiling his neighbors of their fiefs, tried to interfere, at first as a peacemaker and then with an army, but he was defeated and slain in battle by De Montfort The latter in his turn perished while besieging the city of Toulouse This was after the death of Innocent, for the war in Languedoc went on until 1229 A second crusade was led by Prince Louis of France, who came again as King Louis VIII in 1224 Meanwhile Raymond VI had died and his son, Raymond VII, finally made his peace with the Church and also with the King of France, Louis IX, to whose brother he agreed to marry his daughter and leave his lands

Bogomiles of Bosnia

Innocent had less difficulty with the Bogomiles of Bosnia and Dalmatia than with their fellow heretics in Toulouse When he induced the King of Hungary to declare war upon the Ban of Bosnia, the latter potentate quickly submitted and asked that a papal legate be sent to receive the Bogomile leaders back into the Roman Church

The papal inquisition

Raymond VII of Toulouse in 1229 agreed to support the Church with all his might in the suppression of heresy. He would punish the heretics if the Church would point them out. Cases of heresy had hitherto been dealt with by the local court of the bishop, but now the pope took the detection of heretics under his charge and appointed special officials — known as "inquisitors," from the Latin word for an investigation or inquiry — to visit places infested with heresy. The coming of the inquisitor was announced in advance and the people were encouraged to assemble at a specified time by the promise of an indulgence. To this assembled multitude the inquisitor preached, urging them to give him all possible information and assistance against the heretics in the locality, or to confess and repent of their error if they were tainted with heresy themselves. A period of grace, usually a month, was allowed during which any heretic who acknowledged his guilt and promised reformation and told the inquisitor what he could about his fellow heretics was absolved with some light penance

When the period of grace was over, the inquisitor proceeded to the trials of those against whom he had gathered evidence and who had not already confessed. The accused usually had neither lawyer nor witnesses to speak for him, since others did not wish or did not dare to defend a probable heretic, lest they too be suspected. A notary was present to record the proceedings and two impartial men to see fair play, but they were sworn to secrecy unless some abuse occurred in the conduct of the trial. Until the close of the thirteenth century, the inquisitor did not have to let the accused know what evidence he had against him or who had given it, but Pope Boniface VIII decreed that the names of the witnesses against him must be revealed to the accused, although he still was not allowed to call them in and cross-examine them. The procedure, therefore, resolved itself mainly into a questioning of the accused by the inquisitor in order to determine if he really were a heretic. If he refused to answer or made statements that the inquisitor believed to be false, torture was employed to force the truth from him. He was then brought back into the courtroom and asked to sign, as a freely made confession, the words which had been wrung from him on the rack. But if he refused to sign, he might be put to the torture again. Even witnesses who were not themselves on trial were sometimes tortured. Ordinarily in cases in the ecclesiastical courts the testimony of criminals, heretics, and excommunicated persons was not admitted; but the Inquisition accepted such evidence and also that of young children. Assertions against the accused made by a deadly enemy were not, however, given credence.

The penalties varied according as the accused was an offender for the first time or a relapsed heretic, according to the magnitude of the offense, and according to whether his guilt seemed proved beyond question or still remained open to some doubt. The extreme penalties were life imprisonment on bread and water, and death, generally by burning at the stake. In the latter case the State inflicted the punishment; the heretic, after his conviction by the Inquisition, which in this case had to be approved by the bishop of his diocese, was handed over to "the secular arm" for the punishment decreed by its laws against heretics. In the kingdom of France the royal government financed the Inquisition and in return took over the confiscated property of heretics, but in Lombardy the records of receipts and expenditures kept by inquisitors indicate that the Holy Office there tried to pay its own way by taking a large part, if not all, of a deceased heretic's property and by imposing heavy fines on heretics during their lifetime.

The Inquisition must be estimated in the light of its time, when it was common to punish criminals with great cruelty and when torture was often used in secular tribunals. It was better to convict men on the basis of evidence, even if this was somewhat unfairly used against them, than to determine their guilt or innocence by recourse to ordeals, as had sometimes been done before even in the case of persons suspected of heresy. The use of ordeals by the clergy was forbidden by Innocent in 1215. But to say that there were other courts as bad as the Inquisition is no sufficient justification of it. The Church had constantly proclaimed its superiority to the State and must live up to its claim. Hitherto the ecclesiastical courts had been distinguished by their leniency and equity. Now the Church of the Prince of Peace and Love was basing its power upon brute force and killing those whom it could not convince. For the time being this harsh policy had an apparent success; the Cathari soon disappeared forever and the Waldensians ceased to be at all dangerous. Innocent did not establish the papal Inquisition, although he took a step or two in its direction. But by the cruel crusade which he turned upon a Christian land he started the policy of forcible extermination of heresy of which the Inquisition was the logical outcome.

The inquisitors did not visit all the lands of Latin Christendom. Scandinavian countries were entirely free from them, and they appeared in England on only one occasion. In the Spanish peninsula they were limited to Aragon until the Spanish Inquisition began under Ferdinand and Isabella at the close of the fifteenth century. In the Low Countries we hear of them only in Flanders and Brabant.

The men chosen by the popes to act as inquisitors were the Dominican and Franciscan friars. The founders of these two new religious orders, Saint Francis of Assisi in central Italy and Saint Dominic (1170–1221), a prior of Osma in north central Spain, had already begun their work in the pontificate of Innocent, although their orders were not completely established and did not spread over Europe until after his death. Many legends grew up about both these saints and have been preserved in paintings as well as in literature. Of Dominic we know little with certainty; of Francis we are better informed by contemporaries.

Saint Francis of Assisi

Saint Francis has always been regarded as one of the most beautiful characters in the Middle Ages. As a boy he had plenty of money to spend and led a gay life of pleasure, until a serious illness wrought a great change in him just about the time that he was coming of age. The life of the apostles, whom Christ sent out to preach the coming of the kingdom of heaven, telling them not to take money, food, or extra clothing with them — the ideal of apostolic poverty — came to appeal to Francis as it had done to so many others in the Middle Ages, and he determined to put it into practice. His angry father, by disinheriting him, only aided him in accomplishing his pur-

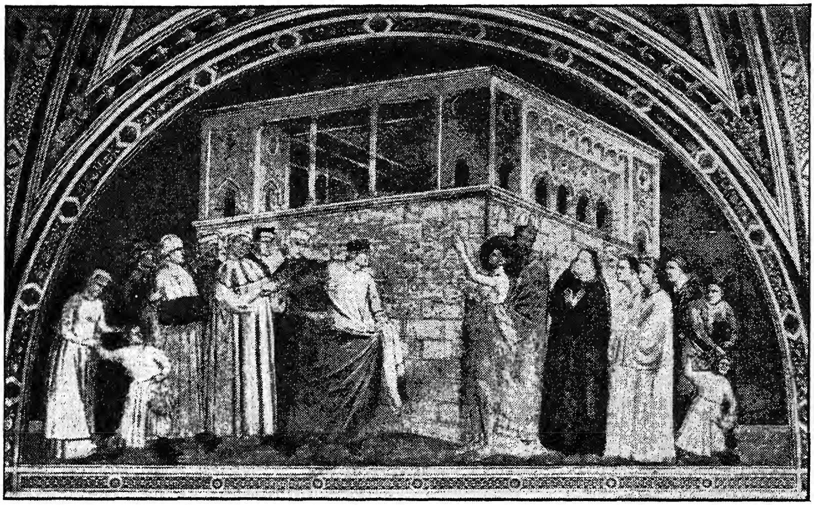


Figure 42

Saint Francis renouncing the world, by Giotto

pose (Figure 42), for Francis refused to keep even the clothes on his back, but entered upon his new life in a discarded and worthless garment. He had a hard time of it at first. He was hooted at and pelted with missiles in the city streets, and when he wandered outside the walls he met some robbers. When he informed them that he was "the herald of a great king," they stripped him naked and threw him into a snowdrift. But even this treatment failed to cool his religious ardor. He repaired some ruined chapels in the neighborhood, tended the loathsome lepers, and preached in the simplest style to any one who would listen to him — even, we are told, to the birds who were not afraid as he walked among them and reminded them how thankful they should be to God their creator (Figure 41).

Francis was as cheerful in his rags as he had been in the luxury of his father's house; a new inspiration had come to him and he was full of love for all mankind and even for forces in nature such as "brother fire"; moreover despite bare feet and patched garment, he remained a true gentleman. He threw away all the outward trappings of civilization, abandoning learning as well as property, and cleanliness as well as clothes; but he did so in order to get back to nature, to touch our common humanity, and to see God. What the modern city dweller tries to get by "roughing it" in the woods in the summer, what other men in the Middle Ages had sought to find by secluding themselves in monasteries, Francis sought by going into the world about him Sometimes the ambitious youth of today, in order to learn more thoroughly the business in which he proposes to engage, "begins at the bottom" in foundry or factory or freight train Francis began at the bottom in order to learn God's business The men of his age appreciated his worth and he was made a saint two years after his death, whereas Dominic had to wait thirteen years, and the great pope, Innocent, has not been canonized yet

Franciscans, or Minorites

Such a personality soon drew followers, and they went forth from Assisi two by two to spread the gospel. Sometimes they simply called themselves "Penitents"; sometimes they went by the gladder name of "God's troubadours" At first they were simple laymen and might have developed into heretics like the followers of Peter Waldo. But in 1210 Francis met Innocent and obtained his oral approbation, although the new order was not formally established until several years after Innocent's death By 1219, however, they had begun to spread outside Italy and were soon found in Spain, France, England, Germany, and Hungary. They were now called "Minorites" or "the lowly" because of their humility. They also have often been called "Mendicant Friars" or "Begging Brothers," because they had no property of their own and had to depend for food and lodging upon those to whom they preached and rendered other services. As their work was largely with the lepers and sick and poor and needy, they often had to beg their bread from other persons But they were not allowed by Francis to receive any money, and were supposed to earn their living when they could. Francis died in 1226 after two or three unsuccessful attempts to go as a missionary to the Saracens In 1212 a girl of eighteen named Clare left her family to become a follower of Francis, who thereupon instituted a separate order for women, known as the "Second Order of Saint Francis," or the "Franciscan Nuns," or the "Poor Clares." In the year 1263 there were 1130 Franciscan convents grouped in 32 provinces.

Saint Dominic

The youth of Dominic had been that of a student and cleric Early in the thirteenth century he accompanied his bishop on a diplomatic mission for the King of Castile, and they also visited Rome. In passing through Toulouse on their way north and again on their return, they were shocked by the prevalence of heresy. Dominic determined to remain there and devote himself to religious work. At Prouille he founded a nunnery where Albigensian orphan girls might be reared in orthodoxy, and he supported Simon de Montfort in his bloody work of orphan-making. Innocent had approved a new order called

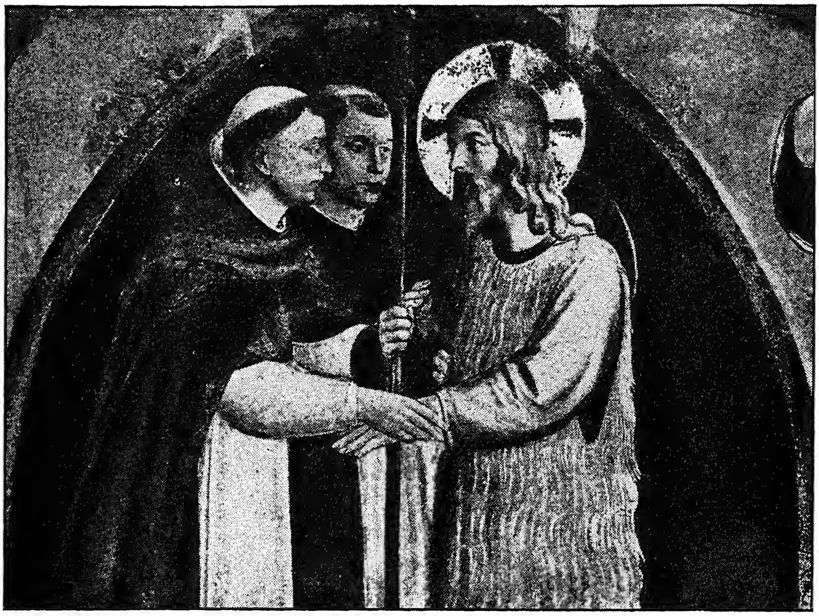


Figure 43

Jesus and two Dominicans, by Fra Angelico

"Poor Catholics," whose leaders were converted Waldensians who now proposed to combat heresy in southern France by leading the life of poverty themselves, by preaching and teaching, and by argument and discussion. They met with little success, however, because the other clergy were suspicious of them as former heretics. Dominic now took up this idea of training a body of men to combat heresy and teach the people the true faith. This order, known as the "Friars Preachers," was confirmed in 1216 by Innocent's successor and by the time of Dominic's death in 1221 was spreading over Europe. By 1277 it had 404 convents grouped in eleven provinces of Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy, Tuscany, Germany, Hungary, England, Sweden, Poland, and Greece.

The friars

Although the temperaments and ideals of their founders had differed considerably, Francis emphasizing poverty and social service, and Dominic stressing orthodox teaching and preaching, the two orders came to be much alike and are usually spoken of together as "Mendicant Friars," although there has generally been a certain rivalry between them. We also hear of "the four fraternal orders," the other two being the Augustinians and the Carmelites, the latter originally

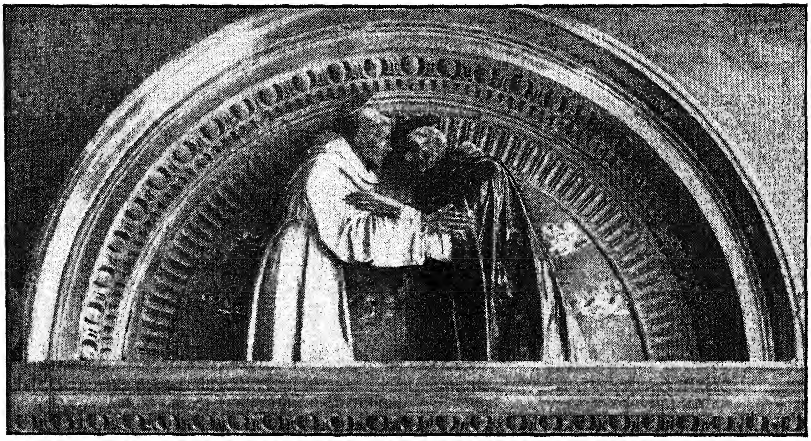


Figure 44

Saint Francis and Saint Dominic, by Andrea della Robbia

hermits of Mount Carmel in the Holy Land. The friars differed from the monks in that they went into the world and served society. They rendered especial service in the slums and wretched suburbs outside the walls of growing towns, where there often were not enough parish priests. Even if there were enough parish priests, the people often preferred the friars who seemed to them to lead a holier life, who were so sympathetic and cheerful, and who could preach so much better. In short, the traveling friars remedied the defects of the local priesthood and met the new demands of thirteenth-century society. Although Francis had forsaken learning along with father, family, and all other worldly interests, his followers often specialized in theology, or, like the Dominicans, taught at universities. The ablest and most learned of the clergy were now apt to be found among the friars. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas were Dominicans; Roger Bacon and William of Rubruk were Franciscans.

At the head of either order was one man, the general, who called an annual assembly of the heads or assessors of the various provinces in different parts of Europe. As the new orders became increasingly successful and influential in all Western Christian lands, the popes freed them entirely from the control of the bishops in whose dioceses they might live and work. Such of them as had been ordained were allowed not only to preach but also to perform the sacraments anywhere, which of course meant a further diminution in the influence of the parish priest. Although the individual friars had vowed to lead lives of poverty, both organizations were soon building large churches and convents and receiving large gifts which the world was anxious to shower upon such holy men. In time this excess of wealth and popularity had an injurious effect on the orders. At the start the friars, like the monks of Cluny, represented a reform movement, but like most previous monastic orders, they were to decline in the course of time. It was impossible to keep the clergy constantly up to the ideals of Saint Francis, when the Church continued to exercise so much worldly power and to possess so much of this world's goods.

Papal overlordship

Innocent aimed to be supreme, not only over the clergy, but over the kings and feudal lords of Europe. "We are established by God above peoples and realms," was one of his favorite utterances. The policy of making the monarchs of Europe vassals of the papacy reached the height of its success under him. During his first year in office he demanded prompt settlement of all arrears of tribute owed to the pope from these fiefs. As his pontificate proceeded, he brought yet other rulers into vassalage to the Holy See, or humbled them in one way or another. "The Duke of Bohemia was rebuked, the King of Denmark comforted, the nobles of Iceland warned, the King of Hungary admonished. Serbia, Bulgaria, even remote Armenia, received papal supervision and paternal care" (Luchaire). Innocent intervened to settle disputed successions to thrones or quarrels in royal families, to stop wars, and to induce rulers to join the crusade.

What Innocent intended the feudal relationships of these kings to himself to be may be inferred from two oaths of fealty taken by Peter II of Aragon, who came to Rome to receive his crown at the pope's own hand. At the coronation ceremony the king took the following oath:

> I, Peter, King of Aragon, confess and swear that I will ever be the obedient vassal of my Lord, Pope Innocent, and his Catholic successors, and of the Roman Church. I will faithfully keep my realm in his obedience, will defend the Catholic Faith, and will persecute heresy. I will respect the liberties and immunities of the Church, and will make others observe its rights. I will strive to establish peace and justice in all the territory subject to my control. I swear it by God's name and on these holy Gospels.

Pope and king then visited the basilica of Saint Peter where the king placed his scepter and crown on the Apostle's tomb with these words:

> I confess from the heart and with my mouth that the Roman pontiff, successor to Saint Peter, takes the place of Him who governs earthly realms, and can confer them upon whom it seems good to him. I, Peter, by the grace of God King of Aragon, Count of Barcelona, and Lord of Montpellier, desiring above all else the

> protection of God, of the Apostle, and of the Holy See, declare that I offer my kingdom to thee, admirable father and lord, sovereign pontiff Innocent, and to thy successors, and through thee to the most sacred Church of Rome And I make my kingdom tributary to Rome at the rate of two hundred and fifty gold pieces which my treasury shall pay every year to the Apostolic See. And I swear for myself and my successors that we will remain thy faithful vassals and obedient subjects.

On the other hand, Innocent opposed most strenuously any attempt of the State to seize church property or of kings to control ecclesiastical elections He instructed a Hungarian archbishop, when reading to the people the legendary life of Saint Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary, to suppress a passage which spoke of the religious authority conferred upon that monarch. When the King of Portugal drove out some monks who were deep both in crime and in debt and replaced them by nuns under his daughter as abbess, Innocent bade the Archbishop of Compostella restore the monks in order to teach the king that ecclesiastical liberty must not "suffer from the insolence of laymen," but then to oust them once more and allow the princess to start a nunnery if she wished, in order that "the depravity of the monks might not go unpunished."

Relations with France and England

Innocent's relations with the Count of Toulouse have already been mentioned in describing the Albigensian Crusade. It remains to speak of his relations with the two royal houses, Capetian and Plantagenet, who were now engaged in continual strife with each other and who at the same time were laying the foundations of the French and English national governments When Innocent became pope, Richard was still king of England and was defending against the attacks of the wily Philip Augustus of France the vast Plantagenet possessions upon the Continent, which he had inherited from his father, Henry II of England, Anjou, and Normandy, and from his mother, Eleanor of Aquitaine. Within a year the pope induced these two monarchs to sign a five-year truce. But straightway Richard died and his brother John, who succeeded him, within a few years lost Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou to Philip Augustus. Innocent regarded Philip's conquests as unjust aggressions, but his threats and protests failed to deter the French king in the least For taking the side of the English king, the pope had the further reason that John was an ally of the papal protégé in Germany, Otto of Brunswick.

John, however, soon showed himself such an unmitigated rascal and so complete a failure as a ruler, that he was unlikely to remain on good terms with Innocent for long He interfered in episcopal elections,

Misrule of John

seized episcopal revenues, and in general oppressed the Church and the clergy as he did everyone else His mother, Eleanor, and his brother's widow, Berengaria, both complained to the pope that John was pocketing their private incomes Furthermore, he had left his first wife and married the intended bride of another lord, and after he captured his young nephew, Arthur, whom Philip Augustus had stirred up against him, the boy disappeared forever and John was charged with his murder Arthur was the son of Geoffrey, an older brother of John, and by hereditary right, he, rather than his uncle, John, should have succeeded Richard on the throne

The Canterbury election

It was not these evil deeds by John, however, that directly caused the struggle between the king and the pope, but a disputed election to the archbishopric of Canterbury This highest church office in England had been held during the latter part of Richard's and the early part of John's reign by Hubert Walter, a faithful servant of the Crown Thomas Becket had resigned his position as chancellor when he was made archbishop and had henceforth served solely the Church and had opposed the king at every turn But Hubert served as justiciar under Richard and as chancellor under John at the same time that he was archbishop The cathedral chapter at Canterbury, composed of monks, had recently had a hotly fought dispute with their archbishop because Hubert's predecessor had instituted a community of secular canons in another church near by The case had gone to the papal court and was finally settled in 1201 by a compromise. When Hubert died in 1205, the younger monks met secretly, elected their sub-prior, Reginald, and dispatched him with equal secrecy to Rome to secure papal consecration As he passed through Flanders, however, he let it be known that he had been elected, and this news soon reached England. The other bishops were indignant because they claimed a voice in the selection of their archbishop, and they sent an embassy to Innocent to complain Meanwhile the monks seem to have regretted their hasty action in choosing Reginald; at any rate, they now agreed upon the king's candidate, the Bishop of Norwich After a year of deliberation Innocent annulled the election of Reginald on the ground that the procedure had been illegal and had denied the other bishops any share in the election, but he also set aside the election of the Bishop of Norwich and instead had those monks of Canterbury who were present at Rome elect a candidate of his own This was Stephen Langton, a noted scholar of English birth, though for many years he had been at the University of Paris and at the papal court.

John's rage at this rejection of his candidate was unbounded. He

John as the pope's vassal

refused to receive Langton and drove the monks of Canterbury into exile. Innocent replied by putting England under an interdict in 1208 and by excommunicating John the next year. Meanwhile John persecuted the clergy, confiscated church property, and instituted a reign of tyranny and terror. Innocent next freed all John's subjects from their oaths of allegiance and all his allies from their treaty engagements. Finally, in 1213 he deposed John and offered the English crown to Philip Augustus, who began to prepare for an invasion. John now was forced to give in after a bitter struggle of seven years, for he found that his barons and subjects, over whom he had tyrannized as well as over the Church, would give him little aid against Philip. Accordingly he not only agreed to receive Langton and to compensate the clergy for the injuries done them, but he became the vassal of the pope for his kingdom and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand pounds a year. This was a great triumph for Innocent. William the Conqueror had refused to make England a papal fief and to become the vassal of Gregory VII, now Innocent had succeeded where Gregory had failed. Since the reign of William, the Norman and Angevin kings of England had exercised the most absolute royal authority and had possessed the best organized state in western Europe, now they were reduced to vassalage to the Holy See.

Magna Carta

But Innocent's triumph was not unalloyed, for he had encouraged John's barons to revolt and had thus developed in England a power as hostile to the papacy as to the Crown. No sooner had John made his peace with the pope than he had to settle accounts with his nobility and people, who, under the lead of the very man whom Innocent had put in as archbishop, forced from their tyrant Magna Carta, the foundation of English liberties. Innocent declared this charter null and void, excommunicated the leaders of the opposition to his vassal John, and suspended Stephen Langton from his archbishopric. But the English barons took a leaf from Innocent's own book. They deposed John and called in French aid. Then, when John unexpectedly died and a new pope accepted the Great Charter, they too accepted John's nine-year-old son as their king and drove the son of Philip Augustus back to France, just as Innocent had countermanded the father's preparations to invade England in 1213. The English king remained the vassal of the pope, but the king's vassals in England had forced their sovereign to limit his power over them and to admit them to a share in the government, and neither pope nor king had been able to stop them. Innocent had triumphed over the weak personality of John, he had not conquered the English nation.

Moreover, Innocent's victory over John was partly due to the fact that the latter had already been greatly humiliated by Philip Augustus, who had destroyed most of the Plantagenet power on the Continent Thus, while the English king was weakened for a time, the French monarch kept increasing his power And he did not become a vassal of the pope On the contrary, his relations with the pope in temporal matters were far from satisfactory to Innocent, although the king always displayed a sufficient outward respect for the Church and for religion Philip conquered Normandy despite papal threats, he repeatedly refused to join the crusade against the Albigensians, he allied with the anti-papal party in Germany, and he allowed his son to invade England and aid the barons whom the pope had excommunicated

Philip Augustus

In only one matter can Innocent be said to have forced his will upon Philip, and that was a case where the king had clearly been in the wrong No sooner had he married Ingeborg of Denmark, a beautiful and pure girl of eighteen, in 1193, than for some unexplained reason he secured the assent of the French clergy to a divorce and married again Ingeborg appealed to Rome, and then for twenty years threats, negotiations, excommunications, pretended reconciliations with, and renewed separations from, and imprisonments of poor Ingeborg succeeded one another Finally, in 1213, when about to invade England as the pope's ally, Philip gave in and restored Ingeborg to her rightful place as queen, which she retained for the rest of the reign, and in his will he left a large sum of money to his "dearest wife"

From Innocent's relations with the English and French monarchs we turn to his interference in Italian and German politics The year before his election a disaster had befallen the Holy Roman Empire and the House of Hohenstaufen in the untimely death of the emperor, Henry VI (1190–1197). This son of Frederick Barbarossa, through a marriage which his father had arranged for him with Constance, the Norman heiress of Sicily and southern Italy, had acquired that well-organized kingdom And the party strife and interurban wars, which had at once begun again in the communes of Lombardy as soon as their danger from Barbarossa was over, gave Henry a chance to renew the influence of the empire there Thus he threatened to crush the political power of the pope in central Italy as if between two millstones He had already made his brother, Philip of Swabia, the duke of Tuscany, and had planted garrisons in Romagna, the March of Ancona, and Umbria, when death put an end to his ambitious designs

Italian policy of Henry VI

Immediately his power in Italy went to pieces. Philip was lucky to escape from Tuscany and across the Alps with his life The Tuscan towns, aided by Innocent's predecessor, formed a federation to maintain their independence after the model of the Lombard League The cities of Romagna and Ancona also united against German rule, and, assisted by Innocent, forced the imperial governor to retire to the southern kingdom

Innocent and Sicily

There, too, however, the widowed queen-mother Constance was hostile to German influence She had her three-year-old son Frederick crowned king of Sicily, and recognized that Innocent was feudal overlord of the kingdom Her Norman ancestors, too, had done this much, but Innocent was able to induce her to surrender the right which they had secured from the papacy of being themselves the sole papal legates in their lands and thus maintaining complete control over their clergy After making this great concession, Constance died before the first year of Innocent's reign was over, but not before she had made a will leaving the guardianship of her infant son and the regency of his kingdom to the pope During most of Innocent's reign, however, the kingdom of Sicily and southern Italy remained in a state of anarchy, with various persons and parties contending for the control of the person of the young king and disregarding the claims of the pope

Disputed imperial election

Meanwhile in Germany there was a disputed election to the imperial throne. Frederick, whom Henry VI had intended as his successor, was passed over as too young, and the majority of the great nobles and clergy chose Philip of Swabia to succeed his brother But a month later Otto of Brunswick, son of Henry the Lion, the Guelf leader against Barbarossa, was elected by the Archbishop of Cologne and a few lesser princes, and received support outside Germany from Richard of England, who thus had his revenge for the imprisonment which he had suffered at the hands of Henry VI on his way home from the Third Crusade Civil war ensued between the adherents of the two candidates and soon Germany was in a state of anarchy.

Both sides appealed to the pope, but he, while insisting that there could be no emperor without his approval, failed to declare for either of the rivals for three years Meanwhile confusion reigned in Germany and Innocent was free from any imperial interference in Italy. Finally, in 1201, he came out for Otto, the weaker of the two both in right and in might Otto in return promised to abandon the aggressive Italian policy of Henry VI and to leave Innocent the undisturbed possession of central Italy, or, more specifically, of the exarchate of Ravenna, the march of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, and the lands of the Countess Matilda of Gregory VII's time Otto, however, was not yet in a position to do more than make promises. Philip of Swabia continued the struggle and was getting decidedly the better of it when in 1208 he was assassinated Otto now was able to come to Rome and be crowned by the pope in 1209 at Saint Peter's, although the Romans were so hostile to him that he did not venture to cross the Tiber and enter the city proper But Otto, despite his promises, soon revived the Italian policy of Henry VI and in 1210 was excommunicated by Innocent, who now brought forward young Frederick as his candidate for emperor Otto also had Philip Augustus, the king of France, for an enemy, and when that monarch defeated him in 1214 at the battle of Bouvines in northern France, he gave up the struggle for the imperial throne and retired to his private estates. Again Innocent had seemingly triumphed

Innocent and Frederick II

It is true that Frederick was the son of Henry VI, that he was already king of Sicily, and that the papacy held it a menace to its independence to have Germany and southern Italy controlled by the same ruler But Frederick had thus far shown himself a docile vassal in Sicily; he promised to surrender Sicily to his son when he himself should be crowned emperor; he officially confirmed to the pope all the territory in Italy which Otto had promised, and he made further important concessions in connection with the control of the Church in Germany He surrendered the "right of spoil" or royal custom of seizing the goods of dead bishops; he granted freedom in ecclesiastical elections and freedom of appeal to the court at Rome. Finally he agreed to go on a crusade But after Innocent's death, as we shall see, he became the arch-enemy of the papacy

The Italian communes

The absence of any imperial authority in Italy during Innocent's pontificate — for the rival candidates spent practically all the time contending in Germany — would afford a good opportunity, one might suppose, for the pope to bring actually under his rule the territories which he claimed in central Italy. But the communes with which that region was now filled, while they had been glad to join with Innocent in driving out the imperial agents, had no desire to accept instead the rule of the pope within their walls Only after a struggle of ten years was Innocent able to master his own city of Rome, where previous popes had been unable to prevent the communal movement from spreading At one time Innocent and his brother Richard were expelled from the city, because the pope had aroused the jealousy of other prominent Roman families by the favors which he bestowed upon his brother, and because the commune as a whole had been alarmed by a gigantic tower which Richard had built In the Patrimony of Saint Peter, as the territory immediately north and south of Rome was called, Innocent succeeded in establishing something like order by 1207, when he held at Viterbo an assembly of the higher clergy, feudal lords, and magistrates of the communes throughout the patrimony. But his efforts to exert any real control over the towns of Umbria, Ancona, and Romagna were quite unsuccessful. They continued to revolt, to elect whom they pleased as officials, to permit party strife within their walls, and to fight with neighboring towns, until the pope gave up in despair and turned over his interests in the entire region to a lay lord as a fief.

Innocent was displeased that the constitution of the Tuscan League sanctioned by his predecessor made no mention of any subjection to the papacy, but he was unable to secure any real improvement in their relations to him. Moreover, the great Ghibelline city, Pisa, refused to join the league, and by its hold on the coasts of Sardinia prevented Innocent from making good his claim to that island. In Lombardy the communes displayed an increasingly secular spirit, and Innocent had to make use of excommunications and interdicts against some of them because of their support of heresy or attacks upon the rights and property of the Church or the persons of the clergy. But the various cities of Lombardy were too busy fighting one another to pay much attention to the pope and his thunders. On the other hand, Venice turned a whole crusade to its own profit. Its doge from 1192 to 1205, Enrico Dandolo, who had been blinded by order of the emperor Manuel in 1173 while Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, now wreaked a sweet revenge.

The Fourth Crusade

The Fourth Crusade, which occurred during Innocent's pontificate, was participated in chiefly by French knights, although their chosen leader was an Italian, Boniface, the marquis of Montferrat, in northwestern Italy. The crusaders determined to take the sea route, and Venice agreed, in return for a cash payment and the prospect of an equal share in all conquests, to provide a certain number of galleys, transport their army, and supply it with provisions for a year. The crusaders, however, did not keep their part of the agreement well. Some of them showed an inclination to set off by other routes of their own choosing; others were dilatory in starting at all, and when finally a number of them had been rounded up at Venice considerably later than the day appointed, they were fewer than had been expected and were unable to pay the full amount agreed upon. The doge offered to remit this deficit if before proceeding on the crusade they would aid Venice in conquering Zara, a rival city on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Now, Zara was a Christian city claimed by the King of Hungary, and consequently any crusaders who attacked it would be liable to excommunication. The Venetians, however, who refused to allow the papal legate to accompany the expedition, cared little about being excommunicated, while the other crusaders had a shrewd suspicion that the pope would pardon them immediately afterwards, as turned out to be the case. Therefore they aided in the storming of Zara.

Latin empire established

Then the expedition, instead of proceeding to Syria or Egypt, went to Constantinople, where the Venetian merchants were already very influential, and overthrew a usurper and restored the hereditary candidate to the Byzantine Empire. When he failed to keep the promises which he had made in order to procure their aid, they deposed him in turn and disgraced themselves by sacking the rich city, burning many buildings, wantonly destroying works of art, and committing many atrocities and brutal crimes. In place of the Greek empire and Comnenian dynasty, whose treachery Western public opinion believed to have been largely responsible for the failure of previous crusades, a Latin empire (1204–1261) was set up with Baldwin IX, Count of Flanders, as its first emperor. Outside Constantinople itself, however, his rule extended only to Nicomedia, a part of Thrace, and to four islands in the Aegean Sea. Venice received Crete, Euboea, Corfu, many other islands and coast cities of the Greek peninsula, and certain quarters of Constantinople. Boniface of Montferrat was given a kingdom about Saloniki and numerous other petty fiefs, such as the principality of Morea and the duchy of Athens, were created for the crusaders in central and southern Greece. Their holders were nominally vassals of the Latin emperor. The Greek patriarch of Constantinople was replaced by a Venetian, and Innocent, who had distrusted and forbidden the digression of the crusade to Constantinople, was now reconciled to it by the prospect of seeing all southeastern Europe under papal control. But this did not alter the fact that the pope and his legate had failed to direct the course of the crusade. Moreover, all prospect of the crusaders continuing their route to Syria had vanished; the crusade ended at Constantinople.

Innocent and the Crusades

During the next few years Innocent was occupied first with the Albigensian Crusade and then with preaching a crusade to aid the King of Castile against the Mohammedans in Spain. The pathetic Children's Crusade also occurred during his pontificate. The crusade to the East was again urged at the Fourth Lateran Council, but no armed expedition of consequence resulted. Innocent was always talking about the recovery of Jerusalem, but he himself was partly responsible for keeping the armies of Europe otherwise employed, as when he incited the barons to rebel against John and when he urged Philip Augustus to invade England, or when he allowed the King of Hungary to delay indefinitely his crusading vow because his presence was needed as a check upon Philip of Swabia, or when he kept a French knight, Walter of Brienne, in southern Italy to aid him in conquering the Sicilian kingdom. But while Innocent had failed to recover Jerusalem, the crusades of his reign led to an extension of Latin Christendom in both the Balkan and Spanish peninsulas

Innocent probably deserves to be called the greatest monarch of the Middle Ages He wielded a wide international authority But while he achieved notable triumphs, he also had his setbacks and failures

Fourth Lateran Council

In 1215, toward the end of his reign, Innocent held at the Lateran in Rome a great church council, regarded by Roman Catholics as the most important in the Middle Ages. Through this council Innocent attempted to reform various evils in the ecclesiastical system but without much lasting success, although some seventy reformatory decrees were promulgated This Fourth Lateran, or Twelfth Ecumenical Council, was notable for the numbers present, for the wide territory represented, showing how Latin Christendom had expanded, and for the supreme control exercised by Innocent over all the proceedings The council simply agreed to what he proposed The first eight general councils of the whole Christian Church had been held in the East, and the pope had not exerted much control over their deliberations and findings, although their decrees are accepted by the Latin Church But since the Eighth Council held at Constantinople in 869, the Roman Catholic Church had recognized only those councils which popes had summoned in the West. All four of these had been held at the Lateran, the first in 1123. In 1215 there were present over four hundred bishops, eight hundred abbots and priors, besides many other clergy and the ambassadors of secular princes

Latin Christendom, 1215

Latin Christendom now extended from the distant shores of Greenland and Iceland to Cyprus, Little Armenia, and the coast cities of Syria. A Serbian prince ruling in Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina, had asked Innocent in 1198 to send a legate to receive those territories into the Latin Church A year or so later negotiations began between Innocent and the ruler of Bulgaria and Wallachia which led to the incorporation of that country into the Latin Church and to the coronation of its ruler as king by the papal legate The participants in the Fourth Crusade set up a Latin empire in Constantinople which brought the rest of the Balkan peninsula and Greece at least nominally under papal control. Hungary and most of Poland and the Scandinavian peninsula were Roman Catholic lands Over half the Spanish peninsula was already Christian territory and the victory of 1212 at Navas de Tolosa over the Almohades meant that Mohammedan rule would soon be limited to Granada.

Bibliographical Note

The best work on Innocent III is in French by Luchaire in six handy little volumes. The classic *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi* is by Sabatier Essays in commemoration of Saint Francis were edited by W Seton, 1927 Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages,* in three volumes, did pioneer research but is sometimes objectionable in tone. Briefer treatments since are by Vacandard, Turberville, or Maycock, and in French, Guiraud Special studies are. R W Emery, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne*, G W. Davis, *The Inquisition at Albi* Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars,* is an old favorite, more recent treatments are Chapter 21 in Volume VI of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, Formoy, *Dominican Order in England,* Jarrett, *English Dominicans,* R. F Bennett, *Studies in Early Dominican History*, A G Little, *Guide to Franciscan Studies*, Ozanam, *Franciscan Poets*, and H E Goad, *Franciscan Italy* Coulton's *Medieval Garner* and *From Saint Francis to Dante* contain many excerpts from the sources concerning the clergy *The Conquest of Constantinople* (by the Fourth Crusade) has been translated by E H. McNeal from the Old French of Robert of Clari

XX

Failure of the Holy Roman Empire in Italy and Germany

Frederick II

FREDERICK II has been called "a subject of perennial interest to the historian " "The riddle," says Haskins, "of his many-sided personality, his place at the center of one of the great struggles of European politics, the striking anticipation of more modern ideas and practices in his administration, the brilliant and precocious culture of his Sicilian kingdom, have attracted the attention of two generations of scholars without definitive results " Frederick has been called "a baptized sultan," and has been accused of lumping Moses, Christ, and Mohammed together as "the three impostors " Yet we find him passing severe laws against heresy He has been represented as a libertine in morals as well as a free-thinker, and as having a harem Yet in 1235 we find him at Worms trying to persuade the German princes not to waste their substance on actors, as was their wont, and arguing that it was mere madness and folly to give away one's property to mimes and actors Amid many military campaigns and administrative measures he took time to engage in scientific conversation with his astrologer, Michael Scot, or to found the University of Naples. However, the epithet, *Stupor mundi* (Wonder of the World), which some have applied to Frederick, was previously applied to Innocent III and constituted the opening words of Geoffrey of Vinsauf's dedication to that pope of his *Poetria nova*

Early reign

Frederick was left an orphan in infancy, as we have seen, but as he grew to manhood he proved not to be the "mamma's boy," with reference to the papacy, that the will of his mother Constance and his own lamblike submission to the demands of Innocent III had seemed to suggest From 1212 to 1220 Frederick was in Germany; he then returned to Italy and was crowned emperor by the pope at Rome, thereafter he made but two brief visits to Germany and concerned himself chiefly with Italian affairs. This was the fundamental cause of his strife with the papacy. Before Frederick left Germany the princes there chose his young son Henry as king of Germany, and the pope was persuaded to permit Frederick to remain king of Sicily. In return Frederick promised to start on his crusade before the following August and issued various laws against heresy and in favor of the Church. But he found much disorder to suppress in southern Italy, and in Sicily it was necessary to crush the rebellious Saracens. To this end he secured another postponement of his crusading vow, and it was only after five years of absorption in the affairs of his southern kingdom that he once again promised to set sail for the Holy Land by August, 1227, or become automatically excommunicate. He had meanwhile in 1222 married the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The Italian cities

Frederick had already made it pretty clear that he was no friend of the communes. In Germany he had granted powers to the rulers of ecclesiastical states at the expense of the rising towns, and in his southern kingdom he annulled the trading privileges and monopolies of the Italian and Provençal ports like Marseilles, Genoa, and Pisa, which had hitherto enjoyed freedom from tolls and customs and had practically held the chief harbors of Sicily as their own trading stations and colonies. He intended to develop a merchant marine and navy of his own rather than allow these foreigners to control all the trade of the land or have to depend on them for transportation when he wished to visit Germany or go to Palestine. Therefore the cities of Lombardy were suspicious of Frederick's intentions when he summoned the feudal nobility of Germany to meet him at Cremona at Easter, 1226, to make arrangements for the crusade, and when he marched north from Apulia at the head of an armed force to meet them. Milan and her allies straightway formed a league and blocked the Alpine passes so that the Germans were unable to reach Cremona. The Lombard cities had been so independent since the death of Henry VI that now they were unwilling to observe even the terms of the Peace of Constance which they had forced from Barbarossa. A few towns, however, looked eagerly to the emperor for aid against the others.

First breach with papacy

The pope undertook to arbitrate between Frederick and the towns, but as he secured from them merely a promise to suppress heresy and supply a few knights for the crusade, but no recognition of the imperial claims, Frederick was naturally dissatisfied. Honorius III (1216–1227), however, who had directed Frederick's education, remained on friendly terms with his former pupil and perhaps was somewhat duped by Frederick's plausible promises and excuses and wily diplomacy. But now a more uncompromising pontiff and one less likely to have patience with Frederick succeeded to the papacy as Gregory IX (1227–1241). When the emperor at last set sail from Sicily to the heel of Italy to put himself at the head of the assembled crusaders, a pestilence broke out in the army and Frederick himself was taken sick and accordingly postponed the expedition But the pope refused to accept any excuse and excommunicated him When Frederick, despite his excommunication, set sail for the East the next summer, the pope did what he could to render his expedition a failure The sultan, however, was having so much trouble with an obstreperous brother that he had no desire for war with Frederick Therefore, although the latter arrived with only about ten thousand troops, he soon gained by negotiation more than the Christians had possessed since the recapture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, namely, the possession of Jerusalem and Bethlehem and other holy places and a right of way to these from the coast

Rule in Sicily

When Frederick returned to Europe, he found that during his absence papal troops had been overrunning his kingdom, but he rapidly drove them out and in 1230 secured the removal of his excommunication He then built up in Sicily and southern Italy the most absolute monarchy and strongly centralized state of his time He had great capacity for administrative detail and ruled the feudal nobility with a strong hand They were deprived of their castles and forbidden to wage wars with one another, and the king kept criminal justice under his own control Such methods of judicial procedure as the ordeal and wager of battle were abandoned, and court procedure was fully controlled by the judges and was not in the hands of the litigants Frederick took from his subjects not only feudal dues, but taxes in the modern sense on land, persons, and trade Salt, metals, and dye-works were state monopolies, as indeed they had been in the period of Moslem rule But we learn of these matters from a book of laws compiled for his kingdom by Frederick in 1231 He also promoted the economic welfare of his kingdom with the result that he soon received a handsome income from it

War with Lombard League

Frederick, however, was about to become embroiled in wars with the Lombard cities and the papacy which would require the last penny that he had in his treasury The pope had again undertaken to arbitrate between the emperor and the Lombard League, but had failed to secure from the cities the least submission to the imperial authority and had aroused in Frederick a strong suspicion that he was secretly encouraging the communes in their attempt to maintain a complete independence In 1234 young Henry rebelled against his father in Germany and formed an alliance with the Lombard League, but he was captured and replaced as king of Germany by his brother Conrad. In 1237 Frederick administered a crushing defeat to the league, and, although Milan and several other cities remained untaken, he promptly introduced his administrative system wherever he could in the north But he appointed Italians as his officials instead of Germans as Barbarossa and Henry VI had done

Renewed strife with papacy

The pope was alarmed by this turn of affairs, and still more so by Frederick's occupation of Tuscany and the marriage of Enzio, one of Frederick's illegitimate sons, to a Sardinian heiress, and his assumption of the title of king of that island, which the papacy claimed as its fief Accordingly, while he gave many other reasons for his action, such as that Frederick was a heretic and had oppressed the Church in Sicily, Gregory IX in 1239 again excommunicated him, freed his subjects from their allegiance, vainly endeavored to set up a rival candidate to the throne in Germany, and allied with the Lombard League and Venice and Genoa against Frederick in Italy But from 1241 to 1243 there was a vacancy in the papacy, and when Innocent IV finally was elected, he soon fled from Italy to Lyons There a council was held in 1245 and Frederick was excommunicated and deposed once more

End of Hohenstaufens

With this began a struggle to the death between the papacy and the House of Hohenstaufen Anti-kings made trouble in Germany, Heinrich Raspe from 1246 to 1247 and William of Holland from 1247 to 1256, then followed until 1273 a period of interregnum during which there was no imperial authority in Germany. In Italy young Enzio, who was something of a poet, was captured in 1249 and kept in honorable captivity at Bologna for the remaining twenty-two years of his life The Palazzo del Re Enzio, where he was kept prisoner, fronted on the Piazza del Nettuno, one of the finest squares in Italy, and was restored in 1905 and remained intact through the bombardments of World War II. Frederick himself died in 1250, and his son Conrad four years later, leaving an infant son Conradin Manfred, however, another son of Frederick and half-brother of Conrad, continued the struggle in Italy as king of Sicily. Henry III of England was induced by the pope in 1254 to accept the throne of Sicily for his second son Edmund and to supply the pope with money in return, but Edmund never gained Sicily. Then Urban IV (1261–1264) offered the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king Manfred was defeated and slain in 1266 and two years later the young Conradin, the last representative of the Hohenstaufen line, was captured and executed.

Career of Urban IV

The career of Urban IV is a good illustration of how a person of low estate could rise to the highest position in the Church The various offices which he held in different cities and countries also reflect the international character of the Church and the world-wide activity of its clergy Born in the Champagne fair town of

Troyes in 1185 as Jacques Pantaléon, the son of a cobbler, he became attached to the cathedral there at the age of ten, attained the priesthood at twenty, was chancellor to the Bishop of Laon at twenty-one, and received the degree of doctor of theology at twenty-five Later he was archdeacon of Liége, legate in Poland and Pomerania, bishop of Verdun, and patriarch of Jerusalem. There were only eight cardinals in 1261 to elect a new pope, and it was only after three months that their choice finally settled upon him There is still a street named after him in Troyes between the church of Saint Pantaléon and that of Saint Urban, a beautiful little example of pure Gothic architecture which the pope himself founded in 1262 The distinguished Italian mathematician and astronomer, Campanus of Novara, was a chaplain of Urban IV and dedicated to that pope his *Theory of the Planets.*

Sicilian kingdom divided

Charles of Anjou was not able to hold the entire Sicilian kingdom of Frederick II, which he received from Urban IV After a few years the Sicilians rose against his French troops and officials, who were massacred in the "Sicilian Vespers" of 1282 Eventually the island of Sicily passed as a separate kingdom to a younger branch of the royal line in Aragon and became essentially a Catalan state, while the House of Anjou had to be content with southern Italy, or the kingdom of Naples

Results of papal triumph

The papacy had thus triumphed over the Hohenstaufens and had prevented the growth of a strong territorial state in Italy, just as it had done earlier in the case of the Lombard kings. But this political triumph had been purchased at a great price. To raise the necessary money and troops, and to secure the support of influential persons and families against the Hohenstaufens, the popes had had to tax the clergy heavily and to sell church offices or bestow them upon unsuitable candidates So while Gregory VII had begun the struggle with the empire in order to root simony out of the Church by attacking lay investiture and by securing local freedom of election, Innocent IV, in order to defeat Frederick, had taken the appointment to many ecclesiastical benefices away from the local clergy into his own hands and had condoned, if not actually practiced, simony in making his appointments. He regarded such appointments or "provisions" as a necessary but only temporary evil, but the practice was continued by his successors, and the papacy kept demanding more and more taxes and filling more and more church offices with its own candidates

Outwardly it might seem that the pope had even more power toward the close of the thirteenth century than at its beginning under Innocent III. But this heavy taxation of the local clergy and this filling of church positions with foreigners and place-hunters aroused a local, popular, or national opposition which manifested itself at this time especially in England and which in the end was to cost the papacy dear Moreover, the popes had shown themselves too bitter and unrelenting against the Hohenstaufens and thereby lost something of the moral support which public opinion had hitherto almost invariably accorded to the Church in its quarrels with the State. Finally, the popes had not been able to put down the Hohenstaufens unaided; they had sought the aid of England and France, they had fled to Lyons themselves and had brought Charles of Anjou into Italy They had blighted in the bud, it is true, the promising beginning toward a strongly centralized state made by Frederick II in Sicily, but the Angevin rulers of the kingdom of Naples were not destined to get on with their papal neighbors much more harmoniously than their predecessors had done

It was also now evident that in Italy at large and in Germany there was no longer any hope of national states developing in the Middle Ages In fact, they were not to do so until the nineteenth century and, at the present time of writing, it seems doubtful whether those belated developments will endure

Italian political decline

In the northern and central portions of the Italian peninsula the constant strife between cities and within cities, of which we have had to speak whenever we mentioned the Italian communes, had three outcomes: first, the rise of despots or princes, absolute rulers who deprived the citizens of the political rights which they had failed to exercise harmoniously; second, the aggrandizement of a few cities at the expense of the rest, which were for the most part reduced to subjection and deprived of their self-government; third, the employment of mercenary troops and leaders, called *condottieri*, who were moved not by patriotism but solely by self-interest These three things ruined public spirit and were accompanied by a great deterioration of political morality The *condottieri* had reduced war to a science of getting as much pay as possible out of their employers, as much plunder as possible out of the country, and as great victories as possible for the sake of their military reputations without either losing many of their troops or terminating a war which was profitable to them They would change sides at almost any moment if offered enough pay

The rise of despotisms

A despotism was the logical outcome of the single magistracy of the podesta which at the beginning of the thirteenth century had replaced the earlier boards of consuls in the Italian communes. Although at first the tenure of office was annual, a podesta who showed himself capable of allaying party strife and of giving the city order and prosperity was very likely to be elected for several successive years and finally for life Gradually the office might cease to be elective and become hereditary In some towns it was not the podesta of the commune who thus transformed himself into a prince, but the podesta of the merchants, or the *potestas populi* ("captain of the people"), chosen by the *popolo*, which included members of all the gilds and constituted a broader suffrage than the original commune In other places the vicars, who had been entrusted with the town government by pope or emperor, altered their appointment to a permanent princedom. Besides slipping into power by these peaceful and gradual methods, one might suddenly force one's way into a princedom as the leader of a successful revolution or as a commander of the city's army It was especially during the troubled times of the warfare of Frederick II and his sons with popes and communes that ambitious and unscrupulous individuals were able to establish despotisms .

Some despots, like some of the ancient Roman emperors, won an unenviable reputation as cruel and vicious monsters. But taken as a whole their crimes and violence were little if any worse than those of the contending parties which had preceded them As a rule they were able, alert, resourceful men indeed, they had to be in order to retain their offices, which often had no legal justification They could not "muddle along" like a king on the strength of his royal title They also were more likely than were republican governments to encourage artists and writers, partly from their greater sympathy with genius, partly from a concern for their own fame They usually treated the lower classes in the city, the peasants outside the walls, and the population of conquered towns better than had the preceding form of government, which had almost always been characterized by a limited citizenship. The sixteenth-century historian, Guicciardini, wrote on this point "It is better to be the subject of a prince than of a republic, for a republic keeps all its subjects under and gives no share of its greatness save to its own citizens A prince is common to all; one man is as much his subject as another; therefore every one can hope to be favored or employed." Although a despot who ruled well could, therefore, count upon at least the passive moral support of the masses, he had to be constantly on his guard against those whom he had supplanted in office or deprived of the franchise, against influential noble families and ambitious individuals The air was full of conspiracies and banishments, of assassinations and imprisonments and suspicions of poisoning Power was too much valued for its own sake and all other considerations were subordinated to political and personal ones.

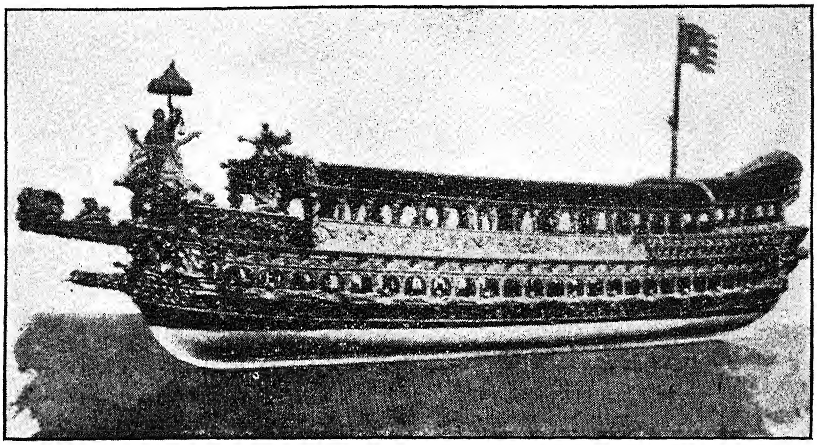


Figure 45

Galley used for state ceremonies at Venice

Otto Visconti was archbishop of Milan from 1263 to 1295. His nephew Matteo was despot from 1295 to 1302 and again from 1311 to 1322, after which time various other members of the family shared the power or held it singly into the fifteenth century.

Venetian government

Venice was one city in the north which remained free from despotic rule. The power of the doge was more and more limited until his position became largely a ceremonial one. He was paid a princely salary and was expected to maintain great state and magnificence; he presided over all the various boards and councils of the government; but he now had almost no opportunity for independent action. His six councilors were supposed to be in constant attendance upon him, and without their presence he was not allowed to open a letter or grant an interview. Then there was the College of Experts or Sages, a sort of cabinet of sixteen members, subdivided into three sections; namely, a board of five for maritime matters, another board of five for the Venetian possessions on the mainland, and the six grand sages for city or home affairs. These sixteen specialists, together with the doge and his councilors and the three heads of another body known as "The Forty," constituted the "Full College," or chief executive council. In the course of time the Forty became primarily important as the supreme court of Venice, and their other functions passed to the senate of one hundred and sixty members, which had developed out of the doge's earlier custom of occasionally inviting groups of leading citizens (*pregadi*

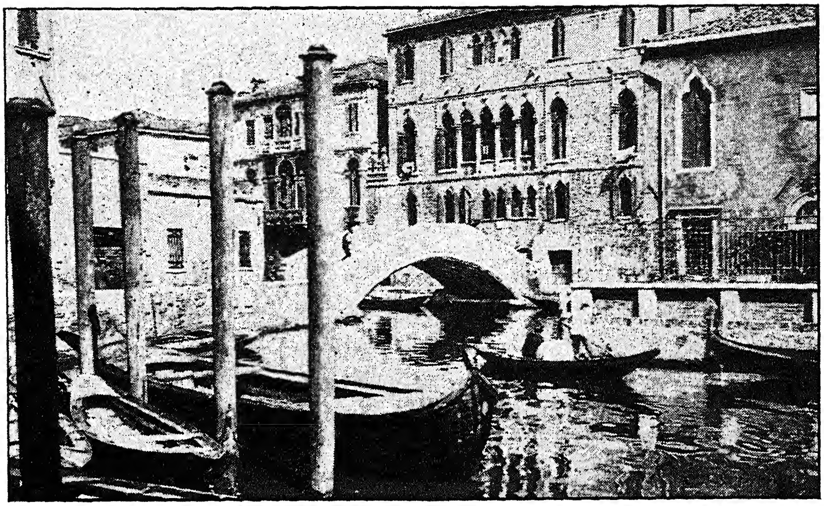


Figure 46

Scene in Venice

— "the invited") to give him their advice. The senate was the chief legislative body and also considered questions of foreign policy and received the ambassadors of other states. Debate was limited to experts, and business was transacted smoothly and rapidly.

While the Venetians had thus limited the power of their doge, they by no means had a democratic government. All the above-named magistracies were elected by the Great Council and filled from its membership, which varied from one thousand to fifteen hundred. In 1297 membership in this Great Council had been limited to certain families. Venice was thus ruled by an oligarchy of nobles who represented but a small fraction of its total population. They were, however, for the most part merchant princes and not a feudal or landed nobility. They took shares in the public debt, participated personally or financially in the voyages of the galleys which were organized by the government, and served the state as naval or military commanders. Many of them were completely absorbed in public life and office. The patricians of Venice were seldom money-lenders either at home or abroad. In Venice itself money-lending was largely in the hands of Tuscans or citizens of Padua and Verona.

In Genoa a political crisis of 1257 resulted in the naming of Guglielmo Boccanegra as Captain of the Republic and Defender of the People, but in 1270 Oberto Spinola and Oberto Doria, who represented the popular

Genoese politics

as opposed to the noble party, joined forces as "Ghibellines" and became joint Captains of Liberty and Defenders of the People. In the early fourteenth century internal strife grew worse than ever, and the four leading families in town began to ally with foreign ruling houses. But in 1339 the office of doge was made permanent and closed to the nobility, many of whom in consequence emigrated to foreign parts such as the Spanish peninsula and the Low Countries.

Florence gild government

At about the time that Venice was restricting both voting and office-holding to its nobles, Florence took an opposite course. In 1282 the supreme magistracy was put in the hands of six priors representing the gilds and elected anew every two months, and in 1293 the members of thirty-seven noble houses were forever disqualified from these offices. There were twenty-one gilds making up the *popolo* of Florence. Of these the seven richer gilds of notaries, cloth-makers, money-changers, wool-weavers, silk-weavers, physicians, and furriers were known as "the fat people." The "little people" consisted of the fourteen gilds of linen-makers and mercers, shoemakers, smiths, salt-dealers, butchers, wine-merchants, innkeepers, harness-makers, leather-dressers, armorers, ironmongers, masons, carpenters, and bakers. Sometimes, however, the first-named five of these constituted a middle group with privileges superior to the other nine. These Florentine gilds were composite structures, each containing a number of *membri* (limbs or branches) representing different industrial and commercial occupations. The poet Dante belonged to the gild of physicians and spice-dealers, while the gild of silk merchants (*Arte della Seta* or *Por S. Maria*) originally embraced goldsmiths and silversmiths, retailers of cotton and linen, cloaks, hoods, veils and trimmings, ivories, mirrors, combs, rugs, basins and pitchers, doublet-makers, hosiers, tailors and embroiderers, and dealers in feathers and mattresses. All these occupations had united in one large gild which the silk merchants gradually came to dominate.

The Interregnum

In Germany after the extinction of the Hohenstaufens the Holy Roman Emperors had little authority. From 1256 to 1273 no one was generally recognized as emperor. There had been conflicting elections in 1257 of Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England, and Alfonso the Wise of Castile. Both these foreigners continued to be rank outsiders, for Richard returned to England after a year and a half, while Alfonso gave practical demonstration of his wisdom by not coming to Germany at all.

During this period of interregnum King Ottocar II of Bohemia, an ally of the pope against the Hohenstaufens, was the strongest prince in the empire, and Bohemia became under his rule one of the most powerful states of Europe. Indeed, Ottocar brought together under his rule districts and peoples and tongues suggestive of the later Austria-Hungary, namely, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola Hungary itself, however, was not under his rule, and its king, Bela IV, tried to resist his expansion Ottocar forwarded the movement of German colonists eastward by encouraging them to enter Bohemia, where they brought woodland under cultivation and helped to found many new cities He himself twice participated in crusades to Prussia to aid the Teutonic Knights in extending the territory of Christendom northeastward

Ottocar II of Bohemia

After the death of his friend Richard of Cornwall in 1272, Ottocar became a candidate for the imperial office But the other princes regarded him as already too powerful, and instead chose in 1273 Count Rudolf of Hapsburg, one of the lesser lords in the empire He was of a family hitherto obscure, but already rapidly rising and destined to become one of the greatest ruling houses in Europe, long reigning in Austria-Hungary The original possessions of the family were in Alsace; to these they had added various fiefs and offices in what is now Switzerland Rudolf had increased his territories by marriage, inheritance, and war He had also shown military ability in the employ of the cities of Basel, Zurich, and Strasburg, and had been marshal at the Bohemian court He was fifty-five years old when chosen emperor and was a man of unusual height — seven feet tall, says a chronicle of the time. He was an affable, energetic, and popular warrior

Rudolf of Hapsburg

Rudolf's main achievement was to recover Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia from Ottocar and then to keep them — with the exception of Carinthia which he gave to his ally, the Count of Tyrol — as his own possessions. He was so occupied with Austria that he did not intervene in Italian affairs, and allowed French influence to increase in Lorraine and the county of Burgundy. His scheme of reconstituting the kingdom of Arles in the regions along the Rhone failed Especially in the entire north of Germany did he exert little influence In the south he tried to check private wars by "land-peaces" — in which the states of a certain region would co-operate to keep the peace — and to collect taxes especially from the towns, which during the absence of Frederick II in Italy and the Interregnum had attained to prosperity and self-government Sometimes he summoned representatives of the cities to him in order to procure a subsidy, but not in company with the ecclesiastical and lay princes Often he went instead to the cities or dealt with each separately, so that he failed to establish a parliament or estates general as his contemporaries, Edward I and Philip IV, did.

The seven electors

The right to elect the emperor had by this time become limited to seven of the leading lords of the land, three ecclesiastical, namely, the archbishops of Cologne, of Mainz or Mayence, and of Trier or Treves, and four secular princes, each bearing a different title namely, the Count Palatine of Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia, whose electoral right, however, was sometimes contested by the Duke of Bavaria These seven electors in many cases did not elect the son of the preceding emperor, but chose someone from an entirely different family Often, too, they imposed conditions upon the man whom they selected, and if he did not live up to these pre-election promises or in other ways disappointed them, they would depose him and choose another Sometimes they disagreed among themselves and elected two candidates simultaneously

Rudolf was not able to hand on the empire to his son Albert Instead the electors chose Adolf of Nassau (1292–1298), but he proved even more eager to increase the possessions of his own family at the expense of others than Rudolf had been The electors accordingly turned back to Albert who met Adolf in a battle which was decided by Adolf's death After Albert's reign, however, the electors again passed by the House of Hapsburg and chose Henry VII of Luxemburg (1308–1313), who proceeded to acquire the kingdom of Bohemia for himself and his descendants In 1314 there was another double election and both Louis of Bavaria and the Hapsburg, Frederick of Austria, claimed the crown.

Bibliographical Note

A relatively recent work in English on Frederick II is that by E. Kantorowicz, 1931. On his struggle with the papacy, Tout, *Empire and Papacy*, pp 358–392. On Germany, Henderson, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, chapters 22 to 26, Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, II, 167–200, Stubbs, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages*, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI, chapters 3 and 4. On Italy, *Ibid*, chapters 5 and 6, Butler, *Lombard Communes*, chapters 9, 10, 11. G. Barraclough has translated essays by several German historians in *Medieval Germany, 911–1250*, 2 vols., 1938.

XXI

The Growth of National Institutions in England

Early union

ENGLAND became a distinct nation before any other European country Ever since the decline of the Roman Empire its history had been distinctive The Romans abandoned it before their other western provinces, and it was the one land of any size where the language of the German invaders replaced that of the Roman provincials. The British Isles were almost the only Christian lands of the West that were not included in Charlemagne's empire When that empire dissolved into local lordships, the petty Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, on the contrary, began to coalesce into one state The Northmen and other invaders disrupted the Frankish Empire But under King Alfred and his successors the Anglo-Saxons united in resistance to the Danish invaders. The Danes, too, soon fused with their Anglo-Saxon kinsmen into one homogeneous people Feudal tendencies manifested themselves, it is true, but William the Conqueror and his sons greatly strengthened the royal power and developed a businesslike central administration which did much to hold the country together The Normans in their turn were absorbed into the mass of the population. The language gradually altered under French and Latin influence from Anglo-Saxon to something more like our modern English Art and culture and ecclesiastical usages were affected by the Continent But the Norman kings retained the old local institutions and agreed to observe the ancient customs of the reign of Edward the Confessor

King and feudal nobles

The Norman kings, nevertheless, had introduced feudal institutions into England and were themselves obliged to rule largely by feudal methods However, they were successful in crushing all attempts at rebellion on the part of their barons until the twenty years of disputed succession and civil war between Stephen and Matilda. Then the feudal lords were able to do much as they pleased, but they so misconducted themselves that in 1154 the new king, Henry II, had little difficulty in quickly restoring order Of this and of Henry's vast feudal possessions on the Continent and of his struggle with Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, we have already spoken

Henry II

Henry was somewhat corpulent, but none the less a dynamo of energy He could not sit still in church, he was ever on the go from one part of his wide dominions to another, he devoted himself with equal rapidity and zest to hunting or state business or literature and learning His anger was terrible when aroused, and even when in good humor he kept his ministers and courtiers in a state bordering upon nervous prostration by his incessant activity Henry's troublesome Continental possessions forced him to spend more of his time on the other side of the Channel than in England But he drew up many measures for the government of England, and his brief periods of residence in that country were very busy times He appointed able ministers to carry on the central government in his absence, and he sent itinerant justices to extend his authority throughout the land These officials resembled the *missi* of Charlemagne and had already existed under Henry I, but had disappeared during the disorder of Stephen's reign So well did Henry II develop the governmental machinery that his son and successor, Richard the Lion-Hearted, was enabled to spend only six months of his ten years' reign in England

The common law

Henry's greatest contribution to English government and nationality was the founding of the common law. Elsewhere in Europe at this time there was the greatest diversity of courts and legal systems There were canon law and feudal law and the law merchant and the revived Roman law There were hundreds and thousands of independent municipal and manorial courts There was an infinite variety of local custom and usage, from which in England alone was to develop in the Middle Ages a national body of law In England alone were the royal courts and judges to be supreme over the entire land This was to a large extent the work of Henry II and his itinerant justices They traversed the country looking after royal interests and holding courts or "assizes" throughout the shires in the king's name By means of royal writs they took certain cases away from the courts of the feudal lords, and at the same time they brought the old English local courts of justice in shire and hundred directly under royal control They combined the popular legal customs which they found in the various localities with new methods of procedure which emanated from the king, thus gradually building up a common law for all England These royal judges and administrative officials often had studied the Roman law and were influenced by its spirit and scientific character, but they did not attempt to introduce it as a whole in the place of English custom This is shown by two important treatises of the time upon the laws and customs of England, the one written either by Ranulf Glanville or by Hubert Walter toward the close of the reign of Henry II, and the other written by Bracton in the thirteenth century

Not only did the judges go about the kingdom on circuit, but when with the king or at Westminster they constituted central courts of justice which became permanent and ultimately supplanted all other jurisdictions Three such courts of common law grew up in the course of the thirteenth century, namely, the Court of the Exchequer which at first considered cases connected with the royal revenue, the King's Bench which originally dealt with important criminal cases and other suits in which the Crown was concerned, and the Common Pleas whose jurisdiction covered lawsuits between private parties But "in the end it came about that, while each court had some work all its own, each could entertain any of the common civil actions "

Courts of common law

A chief feature of procedure by the royal justices under the common-law system was the *inquisitio*, or sworn inquest of the neighborhood This process, which seems to have come down from late Roman times through the Frankish Empire, we have seen developed by the Church in the thirteenth century into the hated Inquisition. In England it was the seed from which has grown modern trial by jury and perhaps also the House of Commons William the Conqueror had employed this institution in collecting the necessary information for his Domesday Book, and some further use of it for administrative or even judicial purposes had been made by the other kings before Henry II But it was he who first made systematic and steady use of it He had inquests made about this, that, and everything — an inquest of sheriffs, inquiries as to the keepers of castles, inquiry into feudal aids for marrying his daughter, inquiry as to the state of repair of buildings on the royal demesne

The sworn inquest

Henry introduced the sworn inquest in both civil and criminal cases He decreed that certain suits concerning the ownership or possession of land should be settled in his courts by the sworn testimony of twelve knights or freeholders of the neighborhood. By 1300 this method had become "part of the normal procedure in almost every kind of civil action " At first those men were selected who were most likely to know the facts of the case, and they were put upon their oath to tell what they knew Their evidence, however, was also in the nature of a verdict that settled the suit Moreover, they were allowed to consult documentary evidence and to take the testimony of others, until gradually a distinction grew up between the witnesses and the jurors, as in modern trials

Trial by jury

Our grand jury, which determines whether there is sufficient evidence to warrant putting a person on trial for the crime in question, seems to have grown out of another sworn inquest of Henry's time, in which twelve knights or freemen of each hundred were to take oath to tell the royal judges whom they suspected of having committed robberies and murders in their localities. Such suspected persons were then forced to undergo the ordeal to determine their guilt or innocence of the charge thus brought against them. Henry II, however, was dissatisfied with the ordeals as methods of proof long before Innocent III forbade the clergy to take part in them. Henry showed this by ordering these accused persons to leave England even though they passed through the ordeal successfully.

At some later date the jury came into use for the actual trial of criminal cases, and after Innocent's decree the ordeals went out of use. The trial jury also consisted of men of the neighborhood and sometimes was the same as the accusing jury. At that time there was no objection to having jurymen who were already informed about the circumstances of the crime or who had formed an opinion about the case. At first, indeed, these were the very men for whom the king's justices were looking.

Local activity

In the institution of the sworn inquest we see central and local governments working together. The new process was introduced by the king and his justices, but its execution required the services of the knights and freeholders of the neighborhood. Indeed, it is probable that the new procedure would not have taken such general hold, had not the English people already been accustomed in the Anglo-Saxon period to take an active part in keeping the peace and in settling cases in their local courts of the shire and hundred. In fact, one law of the reign of Ethelred II might suggest that there had been something like a grand jury already in the Anglo-Saxon period: it prescribes that a court shall be held in every wapentake, a local division similar to the hundred found in some parts of England, and that "the twelve senior thegns go out and the reeve with them, and swear on the relic that is given them in hand, that they will accuse no innocent man, nor conceal any guilty one." However that may be, in the case of the sworn inquest under Henry II the officials of the central government went to the localities for information, which they obtained from a certain number of leading or representative men — the same method by which the Conqueror had been enabled to determine how much property there was in the land available for purposes of taxation.

Another way of achieving the same end would be to summon these men of the localities to one central meeting-place, instead of having the royal officials go to them. The idea of a general assembly and representative body was already familiar through the church synods and councils and the feudal court attended by vassals and tenants-in-chief Also in England the vills or townships had long been accustomed to send six men each to represent them at the court of the hundred, and the hundred in its turn sent twelve men to the shire court All that remained to be done, therefore, was that the shires — and also the towns which had recently grown up — should send representatives to a national assembly The first known instance of the shires' being asked to send representatives was in the reign of John in 1213, two years before Magna Carta, when the king summoned four men from each shire "to confer with us about the affairs of our realm" Some time was to elapse, however, before this development toward a representative national assembly was completed, and meantime we must pause to consider Magna Carta itself

A national assembly

While England had submitted much more docilely than Henry's Continental fiefs to the legal methods and the constructive enactments of his strong government, it would not endure the illegal and capricious despotism of John, who was selfish, treacherous, unjust and oppressive Moreover, John was unsuccessful and lost most of the French possessions which Henry and Richard had held, and then was worsted in his quarrel with Innocent III and became the vassal of the pope Therefore, toward the close of his reign the feudal nobility of England banded together — by feudal theory they were entitled to take up arms against their lord if he exceeded his powers over them — and forced the king to promise, by signing the Great Charter, to reform all the abuses of which they complained in his government

The tyranny of John

Although the Great Charter is the most important single document in English medieval history, it was not the first instance of a written charter in which a king of England made promises and concessions to his people William Rufus seems to have made merely verbal promises of good government in order to secure English support against his older brother Robert, whose claim to the throne the Norman barons were inclined to support. At any rate, whatever promises Rufus made, he did not keep them. But Henry I had issued at the opening of his reign a written charter of liberties in fourteen articles promising to abolish the evils of Rufus's reign Henry II confirmed this charter at his accession, and it was taken as the precedent and model of the much longer Magna Carta

Early charters

Hitherto in feudal England the nation had usually sided with the king against the barons. The king, although at times a hard master, seemed to the people to represent law and order better than the feudal lords

Under the tyranny of John, however, public opinion changed sides, and the barons, who by this time had themselves become more English, received general support in forcing the king to sign the charter They were therefore in a sense representatives of the nation, and the provisions of the charter were beneficial to the country at large as well as to the tenants-in-chief of the king A majority of the sixty-three clauses deal, it is true, with feudal matters, and the greater part of these in turn are concerned with the relations of the king with his immediate vassals He is not to increase the amounts of their feudal reliefs, nor exceed his rights of wardship and marriage, nor take any other than the three customary feudal aids without the consent of the common council composed of his vassals There are, however, provisions for the benefit of subvassals, of the merchants who are guaranteed standard measures and are allowed to move about freely, and of the freemen in general, while one clause mentions even the humble villein Prominent among the provisions which benefit freemen in general are the articles correcting abuses in the administration of justice and promising that no freeman shall be imprisoned or punished without a legal trial, and that "to no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice"

Magna Carta

It is noteworthy that there was such united action by the English feudal nobles against the Crown This was largely due to the fact that all the great lords and many of the lesser nobles held their lands directly of the king, and that out of the feudal custom of court attendance, which as vassals they owed to their lord the king, had grown a great council of the leading nobles. It was at a meeting of this body in 1213 that the agitation began which led to the signing of Magna Carta two years later. The charter in turn assigned to the Great Council an important place in the government and declared that its assent was necessary for all taxes other than the three customary feudal aids The Great Council had come to consist mainly of the leading nobles, because the number of tenants-in-chief who held their fiefs directly of the king was too great in England to make it advisable that all of them should be strictly held to the feudal duty of court attendance The charter therefore directed the king to summon individually by letter the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons, while other tenants-in-chief were to receive merely a general invitation from the sheriffs and bailiffs in the shire

The Great Council

In 1216 John died while vainly struggling to repudiate the charter and to crush the barons. He was succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Henry III. During Henry's minority the regency was shared between the papal legates (for the pope as feudal overlord of England claimed Henry as his

Misrule of Henry III

ward), the barons, and Hubert de Burgh, one of the chief royal officials of John's reign Their rule conformed, on the whole, to the provisions of the charter But as the king came of age, he came into conflict, like his father before him, with the nobility of the realm. Henry was a better man than John and a sympathetic patron of the Church and of art and learning But although he meant well, he was a weak personality; and he fell too much under the influence of clever and greedy foreigners from Poitou, Provence, and Savoy, and asked for too many taxes Moreover, during his reign the popes were constantly calling upon the English clergy and people for contributions to help them in their wars against the Hohenstaufen emperors, and were selling offices in the English Church to foreigners or giving them to members of influential Italian families whose aid the popes wished to secure The king, too, often engaged in costly campaigns on the Continent in a vain effort to recover the fiefs which his father had lost

The Great Council became the chief organ of national opposition to Henry's misrule, as may be briefly illustrated by one of its sessions in 1242 at London On this occasion the nobility steadfastly refused to grant the king any taxes for a military expedition which he had planned on the Continent and in connection with which he had already contracted alliances They went further and bitterly criticized his government. They wished to know what had become of previous grants of money which he had received from them, they asked that the king consult first with them before committing himself to such perilous and expensive foreign expeditions. After a vain attempt to bring pressure to bear upon the individual members of the council, Henry finally dismissed the assembly in anger, but without securing any financial aid

Provisions of Oxford

Thus it went until the king accepted the crown of Sicily at the hands of the pope for his second son, Edmund — an undertaking which would benefit England little even if it were successful, and which involved large expenditures for troops and payments to the pope. The barons consequently lost patience, and in 1258 took the government out of Henry's hands and by the Provisions of Oxford appointed various committees from their own number to conduct the government and to reform the constitution. This arrangement did not work well, however, and the lesser nobility or knights wrote to Prince Edward, the king's oldest son, protesting against it as too oligarchical.

By this time the Great Council was coming to be called a "parliament," or meeting to talk things over We have heard the same word used in the Italian cities for a popular mass-meeting, *parlamento,* and in France it came to be applied to the chief court of justice, *parlement.* In

Simon de Montfort's Parliament

England also, Parliament had judicial functions, but was to be transformed from a council of magnates summoned by the king into a national assembly of two houses, one a hereditary body composed of nobles, the other a locally elected body representing the commons or people. Under Simon de Montfort, a son of the leader of the Albigensian Crusade, who for a time had been one of the king's foreign favorites but who now led the movement toward reform, a Parliament was held in 1265 to which were summoned not only prelates and greater barons, but two knights from each shire and two burgesses from each of twenty-one towns. But the next year Simon was defeated and slain in battle by royal forces under Prince Edward, who for a time had supported De Montfort but then had become reconciled with his father.

Edward I

After the death of Simon, Prince Edward won back the other barons by his conciliatory attitude and then went off on a crusade. While he was thus absent, Henry III died, but no attempt was made to dispute Edward's succession. He was the first truly English king since the Norman conquest. He was tall, with fair hair and red cheeks, and he had no liking either for foreign favorites or foreign ways (Figure 47). He opposed papal interference in English state affairs, and joined Philip the Fair of France in resisting Pope Boniface VIII, as the next chapter will tell. His reign (1272–1307) showed that the government of England was henceforth to be controlled neither by an absolute monarch nor by an oligarchy of nobles, but by a sovereign whose power was limited by the permanent existence of a national representative and legislative body.

Parliament developed

Edward adopted De Montfort's scheme of summoning both townsmen and knights of the shire to his legislative assemblies, and these two groups of men came to make up the House of Commons, composed of representatives of the localities, while the House of Lords included only the prelates and great nobles who received a special summons from the king. We first hear of the two houses sitting apart in 1332 early in the reign of Edward III. Historians have often called an assembly summoned by Edward I in 1295 the Model Parliament, on the ground that it was the first body legally summoned by the king which represented all classes fully. It contained two representatives from each of one hundred and ten boroughs instead of from only twenty-one towns as in the case of De Montfort's Parliament. There were two knights from each of thirty-seven shires, ninety bishops and abbots, and forty-one barons. But there were also various representatives of the lower clergy — deans, archdeacons, and delegates chosen by the parish priests. These lower

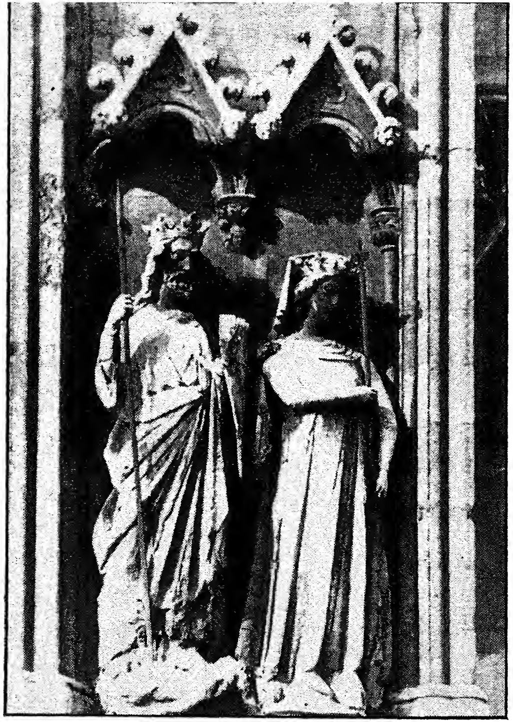


Figure 47

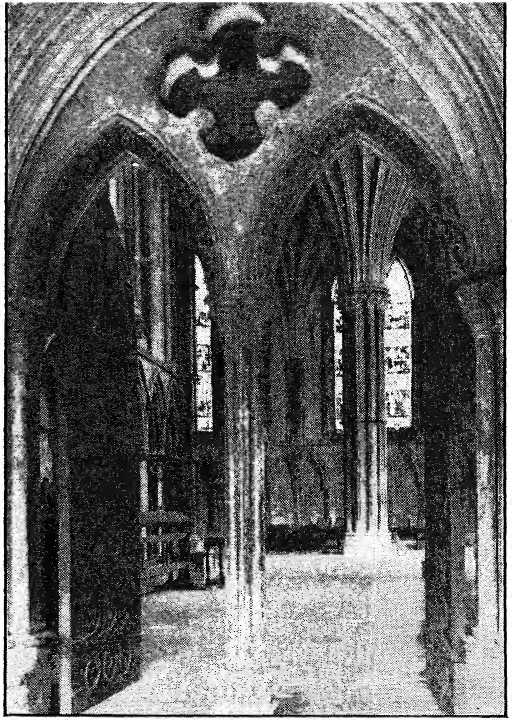


Figure 48

Left, Edward I and Queen Eleanor; *right*, chapter house, Lincoln, where several parliaments met during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II clergy had not been summoned by De Montfort and they soon disappeared from subsequent Parliaments, so that in its inclusion of them the Parliament of 1295 was scarcely a true model.

Edward was a great legislator and issued many statutes during his reign Some of them reformed or amended the police and judicial systems, others restricted feudal tendencies, the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, and the passing of landed property into the hands of the clergy The term "statute" came to indicate a law promulgated by the king to which both houses of Parliament had agreed In the following reign of Edward II, after a period of civil war between the Crown and the barons and another unsuccessful attempt by the latter to manage the government themselves, the principle was reaffirmed that all royal and national matters "shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by the king and the council of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm" These were no idle words, public opinion made itself felt by petitions and other means, so that "nearly every interest in medieval society left its trace on the enactments of Parliament and council"

Edward's wars with the Welsh and Scots, and his frequent fights with the Capetian king in Gascony and Flanders, were expensive, and he often had to appeal to Parliament for funds. The king had a certain regular income from his crown lands or private estates, from fees and fines, feudal incidents, and from his right of coinage, his forest rights, and his superior claim to such finds as hidden treasure and wreckage He also might raise money by selling honors and offices, or by negotiations with the Jews and foreign merchants Too often, indeed, did he favor foreign capitalists against the interests of local towns and labor by granting them special licenses contrary to the statutes But if he wished to levy any direct tax upon the property of his subjects, he had to get the consent of Parliament Edward, it is true, when he found Parliament penurious, sometimes took taxes without its consent But the members were sure to complain of such conduct when next he appealed to them for financial aid. In 1297 they insisted that he confirm the Great Charter and promise that henceforth he would take no "aids, tasks, or prises" without their consent Thus Parliament early asserted its control over the purse.

Deposition of Edward II

Edward II, a young man fond of frivolity and of low life, was disgracefully defeated by the Scots at Bannockburn in 1314 and displayed no capacity as a ruler. He was the prey of greedy and insolent favorites, and early offended the chief nobles of his realm. As a result his reign was full of disloyalty, civil war, and anarchy. But the discontented barons used Parliament against him, and he, whenever for a time he recovered his power, employed Parliament against them Parliament, it must be admitted, was subservient to whomsoever happened to be in power for the moment, but on the other hand, neither side in the struggle could dispense with this national assembly. So Parliament was active throughout the reign, and finally in 1327 it deposed Edward II and chose his son to reign in his stead as Edward III.

Lords and Commons

Today the House of Commons is supreme in the English Parliament, but at this time the Lords took the lead in resisting the royal power or initiating new legislation However, the Commons occasionally ventured to submit humble petitions of their own These, if accepted by the Lords and King, would become regular statutes of the realm, although their wording might be considerably altered from that of the original petitions. In the House of Commons the knights from the shires, though less numerous than the burgesses, were more influential and received twice as large salaries. The English towns were still small at this time

It is noteworthy that the knights had become detached from the nobility and were simply the elected representatives of the freemen holding lands in the shires The knights were ceasing to live the fighting careers of the typical feudal noble and were becoming simply the more prosperous landowners in the counties. Indeed, many such men were never formally knighted, so that it became increasingly difficult to secure knights as shire members and the government often had to be content with ordinary freemen. One of Edward I's legislative measures, known as "distraint of knighthood," provided that all freeholders whose land yielded an income of twenty pounds sterling a year must become knights or pay a fine. But many preferred to pay the fine and remain simple esquires. Being a knight was even more expensive

The unfree classes

Serfs and villeins could neither be elected to Parliament nor vote for members Their place was on the manor where they were subject to the rulings of their lord in the private manorial court The common law of the royal courts was not for them The manorial system, however, had never been universal or complete in England, and some of its features were disappearing by the end of the thirteenth century. Payments in kind and the performance of personal service on the lord's demesne lands were being largely replaced by money payments of corresponding value Men who legally were villeins bound to the manor, in actual practice were moving about from place to place working for wages as hired agricultural laborers

In its general civilization, thirteenth-century England was in large measure indebted to the Continent, yet in some respects peculiar Fran-

English civilization

ciscans and Dominicans appeared in England soon after their Orders were founded, and English churches and universities formed one religious and scientific world with the clergy and schools of the Continent. England, however, produced an unusual number of learned writers, some of whom displayed marked originality. After the Norman period the English developed their own style of Gothic architecture, called "early English." As for the literature of the period, most writing was still done in Latin or in French, but a thirteenth-century English poem such as Layamon's *Brut* displays a good vocabulary without much use of Romance and Latin words. England was a wealthy country in the thirteenth century, but its towns were small compared to those across the Channel and they were not so far advanced in industry and commerce.

Ireland, Scotland, Wales

While England was developing national unity, the other peoples of the British Isles — Welsh, Scots, and Irish — remained independent. Neither the Anglo-Saxons nor the Normans had succeeded in conquering them. But they lacked any strong political union among themselves, and in civilization fell behind England which was richer and nearer to the Continent. Henry II, not content with his other extensive Continental possessions outside England, invaded Ireland and received the submission of various native chiefs, while John, to compensate for the lands that he had lost across the Channel, tried to introduce English law and government throughout Ireland. He did not thoroughly subdue the country, however, which during the remainder of the medieval period was in constant turmoil and disorder, with the authority of the English king at most times limited to a small area around Dublin.

Kings of Celtic race had gradually acquired a certain authority over all Scotland. At times they had recognized the overlordship of the English kings, but it was not until 1291 that Edward I took advantage of a disputed succession to the Scottish throne to try to bring that country really under his rule. As a result the Scots formed an alliance with France against England which was to be often renewed in the course of the later Middle Ages. The Scottish patriot leader, William Wallace, was captured and cruelly executed in 1305, but Robert Bruce continued the struggle against annexation, Edward II was decisively defeated at Bannockburn, and Scotland remained an independent country.

Edward I was more successful against Wales, which he subjugated and divided into shires in English fashion, but to which he did not grant representation in Parliament. The Welsh revolted several times against English rule during the later Middle Ages, but without success, and the oldest son of the English king has borne the title, Prince of Wales, ever since the reign of Edward I.

It should not be thought that England alone among medieval lands possessed parliamentary institutions. In most states of western Europe there developed from the feudal courts of the great lords, whether kings or dukes or counts, tax-granting and legislative bodies representing the three "estates" of clergy, feudal landed nobility, and townsmen Such assemblies existed in Normandy, Vermandois, Brittany, Artois, Burgundy, Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and elsewhere. The Cortes or "courts" of Aragon embraced four instead of three estates, since the nobles divided into great and small like the English barons and knights of the shire National sentiment made itself felt in Aragon in a united protest of the estates against Peter II's submission to Innocent III ten years before the English barons forced their king, John, another of Innocent's vassals, to sign Magna Carta In Aragon as in England the Cortes came to insist that their grievances must be redressed before they would grant the king taxes, and no law could be enacted without the consent of all four estates The King of Denmark in 1250 called representatives of the towns to his coronation assembly (Rigsdag) He died on a campaign against Frisian peasants who had refused to pay a new tax called the "plough-penny." His successors during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had to consent at the time of their election to such conditions as annual parliaments and no arbitrary imprisonment

Continental assemblies

But most of these other medieval states were smaller than England; most of them were in the course of time to lose their independence and become absorbed into the larger European states of later times; in most of them the medieval representative assemblies ultimately disappeared or sank into insignificance Only in England was a parliament founded in the Middle Ages destined to lead a healthy and continuous existence into modern times and down to the present day, and to furnish a model for other nations which have reintroduced parliamentary government in the last century England also was the only large state to emerge from the Middle Ages with a unified national law. It may be because of such deep-rooted traditions and slow development that she was able to bear the brunt of two recent World Wars

Bibliographical Note

Magna Carta and important statutes may be read in English translation in Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History* Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England,* long regarded as a standard work, is now somewhat decried as tending to push modern conceptions too far back It may be qualified by reading such subsequent manuals as those of Maitland, Medley, and A. B. White, C. H McIlwain, *The High Court of Parliament*, and Helen Cam, *The Legislators of Medieval England*, 1946, a 24-page pamphlet On medieval Estates elsewhere, see *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, chapter 23

XXII

The Growth of Royal Power in France

Union through king

FRANCE was not yet a nation, but a land of ambitious feudal lords and enterprising communes It was still a congeries of distinct peoples and even its nobles were divided into groups according to locality By the thirteenth century, however, the royal power began to make great strides Many districts which formerly had been practically independent feudal states now came under the king's authority. But before a given region passed under royal control, it often had evolved distinct customs and legal usages of its own and also a representative assembly of the estates of that locality As the king gradually extended his lordship over such feudal areas, he left to each its local customs and often granted numerous charters assuring the ancient privileges of this or that town or abbey or provincial group of nobles Thus each part of France was governed in a slightly different way from its neighbor and no common law like that of England was created On the other hand, there was little united action in opposition to the French king, who signed no such general and sweeping concession as Magna Carta. The local charters which he did sign were easier for him after a time to disregard or to take away, since in each case only a certain district or group of persons was concerned to defend the charter Thus in the end the French monarchy became more arbitrary and absolute than the English England became a strong nation through its law and Parliament and constitutional government But in France the king and his court and officials were the chief force uniting the different provinces, lords, and communes, and welding them at last into one people All those small nationalities of the feudal world were ultimately swallowed up by the conquering Capetians, except Flanders which survives in the Belgium of today

Why royal power grew

There were reasons for the growth of the Capetian monarchs at the expense of the feudal lords. First, the kings had the advantage of a superior title; they were the successors of Charlemagne, and were overlords where the others were merely lords Second, their unbroken succession in the direct male line, with few minorities and regencies from 987 to 1328, enabled them to outlive most of the feudal dynasties, to regain much feudal territory either by escheat or by intermarriage and inheritance, or at least to see the power of their rivals weakened by long regencies of widows or by struggles over the succession to fiefs Third, there evolved an efficient and centralized administration in place of the clumsy governmental machinery of the feudal court Fourth, a succession of able kings reigned energetically after Louis VI in contrast to the feeble Capetians who preceded him And fifth, the kings were usually quick to take advantage of the many opportunities for alliances with the pope, clergy, communes, or sub-vassals against the great feudal lords — or with the nobility of one part of France against those of another as in the Albigensian Crusade The King of France was called "the first son of the Church" and in attacking its enemies usually gained something for himself

Central government

Already in the twelfth century the kings began to take the advice of councilors of their own choice in place of the vassals who owed them feudal court attendance, and to fill their offices with men of more education like the clergy, or of special legal training like the students of Roman law from Bologna, or of better business ability like the townsmen These made more capable and more faithful officials than the feudal warriors and were able to give all their time to the royal service, if the king could find the money for their salaries With the advent of this trained administrative class came also a greater specialization in government The old feudal and ceremonial household offices gradually disappeared, and the much more numerous new royal officials came to divide into three chief central bodies· the Council of State corresponding to the Privy Council in England, the Chamber of Accounts (*Chambre des Comptes*) similar to the English Exchequer, and the *Parlement* or royal court of justice which in one way resembled the English Parliament as a high court of justice but may also be set against the three English central courts of common law The kings also created new officials called *baillis*, who were much like the *missi* of Charlemagne or the itinerant justices of Henry II of England, and who traveled about overseeing the *prévôts* (provosts) or royal agents in the localities, who resembled the English sheriffs By the middle of the thirteenth century each *bailli* was assigned a definite territory, but was frequently transferred from one region to another. The king also began to hire troops instead of depending upon feudal military service.

Our account of feudal France in Chapter 15 ended with the successful reign of Louis the Fat, who completely mastered the territory immediately about Paris and forced even the rulers of distant Auvergne and

Louis VII

Aquitaine to recognize his overlordship. His son, Louis VII, however, did little more than hold his own during a long reign from 1137 to 1180. It is true that he established friendly relations, which were valuable later, with some of the feudal and ecclesiastical lords in what is now southeastern and southwestern France, when he passed through those regions upon pilgrimages to the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse in the Alps and to the shrine of Saint James at Compostella in Spain But he left his realm and wasted troops and treasure on the Second Crusade, and he made the grave political error of divorcing his capricious wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, although he loved her immoderately She thereupon married the young Count of Anjou, who soon became Henry II of England, and whose great Plantagenet empire became an extreme menace to the Capetian monarchy. Louis, however, succeeded in preventing Henry from adding Toulouse to his vast holdings, and he stirred up a deal of trouble for him with his sons and vassals.

Philip Augustus

The medieval king of France who probably most increased the royal power and territory was Philip II, or Augustus, during his long reign of forty-three years from 1180 to 1223 Of his participation in the Third Crusade, and his relations with Richard and John, kings of England, and with Pope Innocent III, we have already spoken. At his accession, "the feudal aristocracy was still the great territorial and political power on French soil At his death the situation had been completely reversed" and the monarchy prevailed The chronicler Rigord gave him the epithet "Augustus" of the old Roman emperors, partly because Philip was born in August, but more because he had augmented the territory and power of the French monarchy — for Rigord believed that the word was derived from the verb *augere* (increase) Another contemporary called him "Karolides," or "descendant of Charlemagne," and a fourteenth-century poet named him "Philip the Conqueror " For a long time it had seemed that his father, Louis VII, would leave no male heir to succeed him, and twenty-one years passed after he had first been married before his third wife bore an heir to the throne Thomas Becket, then an exile under Louis VII's protection, tells how darkly Henry II of England scowled when he first saw this young prince — then aged four — who was destined to make the English king and his sons so much trouble and to take from John most of the vast Plantagenet fiefs in France Little Philip showed his precocious ability by a speech which he made to the Plantagenet king on this occasion; but he had scant time to receive an ordinary education; his life from his early teens was absorbed in practical politics and wars He turned out to be an able warrior and military engineer, especially in conducting sieges Even more was he a wily diplomat, quite unscrupulous about breaking promises that were not to his advantage, and this in relations with his own people as well as in foreign affairs

Philip added to the royal domain about Paris and the province of Berri, which had comprised the possessions of Louis VII, all the territory between Flanders and Champagne on the north and east and Brittany and the Loire on the west and south, including Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and several other districts Indeed, he had some lands south of the Loire in Poitou and Saintonge as well as Touraine and Berri These gains were made chiefly from King John of England and from the Count of Flanders The number of royal *prévôts* had to be increased from thirty-eight to ninety-four to administer this greatly enlarged royal domain Philip also increased his influence as feudal overlord in regions not directly under his control, interfering in feudal marriages and in the garrisoning of castles, and confirming legal transactions between the lords and their sub-vassals or towns or serfs. Many lords, especially ecclesiastical ones, now began to share their fiefs or "go half-and-half" with the king This practice generally resulted in the long run in royal annexation of the entire fief in question.

Philip was a great amasser of treasure and always had a surplus on hand for emergencies. One contemporary complained of his financial oppression. The extension of his royal domain and feudal overlordship greatly increased his financial resources and the revenue doubled in the course of his reign The growing towns on his domain supplied him with militia for his wars or paid him sums of money. Louis VII had been more favorable to the gilds and communes than Louis VI, and Philip yet further encouraged towns and trade Their representatives appear in his reign in all assemblies, together with the clergy and feudal nobles He not only paved the streets of Paris, enlarged the circuit of its walls, increased the number of its markets, and improved its police force, he even put bourgeois of Paris on the council of regency during his absence on crusade But he usually protected the jurisdiction and property of the clergy in the towns against the communes In return for such protection, however, he felt at liberty to squeeze a good many contributions from church coffers. He made use of the Templars as bankers and sometimes of the Jews

Louis VIII

The brief reign of Louis VIII was memorable chiefly because he paved the way for the extension of the royal power into Languedoc by his participation in the wars against the Albigensians He died of dysentery on the way home, leaving a son of only twelve years to succeed him. This seemed a fine chance for the King of England

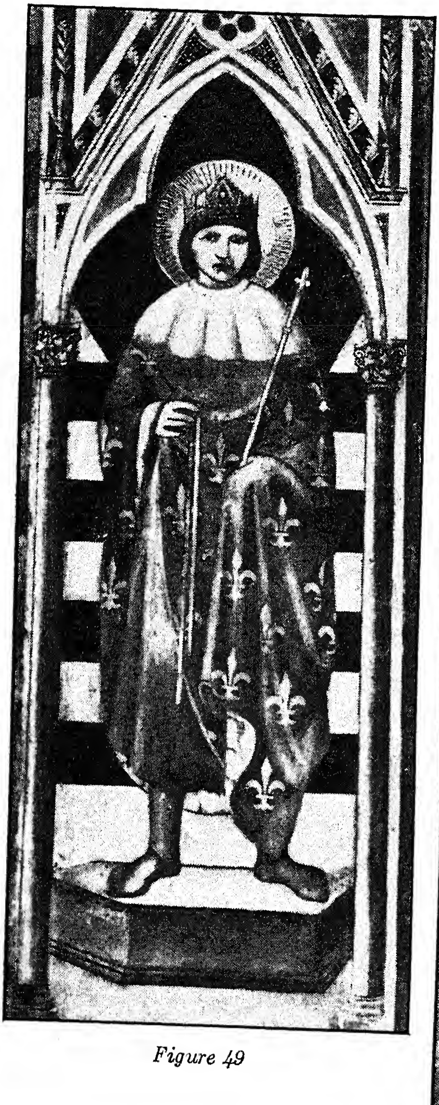
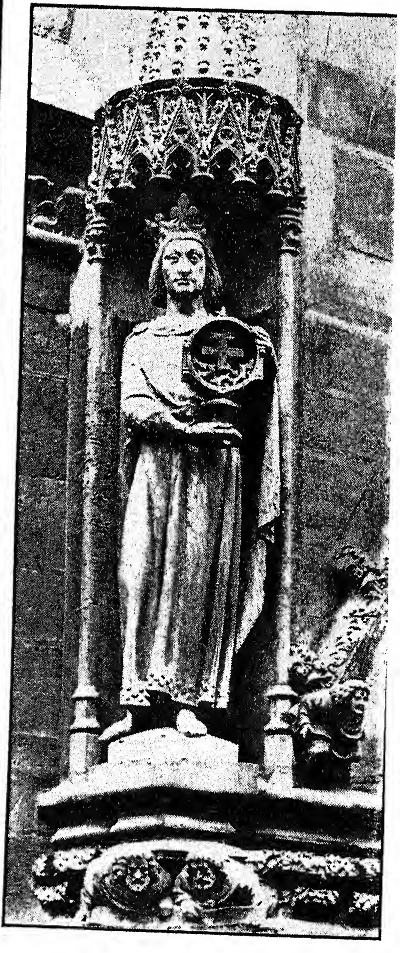


Figure 49

Left, painting of Saint Louis by Giott
in San Croce, Florence; *below*, statue
him on Sainte-Chapelle

Figure 50



to recover some of his lost possessions and for the French vassals to revolt. Several coalitions were formed by the feudal lords, who had come to see that it was hopeless for them to struggle singly against the royal power. But all such efforts were thwarted by Blanche of Castile, the widowed queen-mother, a very religious and also very energetic woman, who ruled the realm with a firm hand until her son attained his majority. Indeed, she continued to influence the government until her death in 1253 while he was away on a crusade.

Saint Louis

Louis IX (1226–1270) was a dutiful son in whose education the rod had not been spared and whose mother often told him that she would rather see him dead than have him commit a mortal sin. In consequence he led such a holy life that he was canonized before the close of the thirteenth century, and we shall henceforth speak of him as Saint Louis (Figures 49, 50). His personal beauty became almost angelic in the eyes of contemporaries because of the pure life and piety that lay behind it. He wore a haircloth shirt and rose at midnight for matins like a monk. He attended many early masses, was fond of hearing sermons, and read much religious literature. He fasted punctiliously, went to confession every Friday, and sometimes had himself whipped with small chains. He entertained paupers at his table, and washed the feet of the poor, or even, like Saint Francis, waited on lepers. His eulogists also inform us that, despite his detestation of beer, he drank it all through Lent in place of wine. His penances, however, were usually performed in private. What his court and the world saw in him was a fearless knight thoroughly trained in all the arts of war, an enthusiast for the crusading movement, a conscientious, just, and energetic ruler, who was usually good-humored, kindly, and courteous in speech and manner, but at times impatient and angry, who in later life dressed soberly, but who was always dignified and sometimes imperious. Like many good people, he could not entirely refrain from admonishing others. His six sons and five daughters stood in considerable awe of their father, with whom they apparently were not on very intimate terms, although he gave his personal attention to their education. No scandal ever disturbed the strictly moral and incorruptible court of Saint Louis, who insisted that all his servants should be of irreproachable character. And if he could not prevent crime and irreligion in his kingdom, he could at least severely punish such offenses.

There were some resemblances between the reigns of Saint Louis and of his contemporary, Henry III of England. Both began their reigns as mere boys; both married daughters of Raymond Berengar of Provence; and their brothers, Richard of Cornwall and Charles of Anjou, married his third and fourth daughters. Both Henry and Louis were religious and peaceably inclined They had conflicting territorial claims in France, and the kingdom of Sicily was offered by the pope to members of both their families Both met with sharp opposition from the feudal nobility, and the clergy at this time in both France and England protested vigorously against the increasing pressure of papal and royal taxation alike But Henry was weak in character, Louis was strong, although a certain unsuspiciousness, which inclined him to believe what any one said, was at times abused by unscrupulous persons Henry's wife dominated him, while Louis kept the upper hand of her equally ambitious and energetic sister The pope made Henry a cat's-paw to pull chestnuts out of the fire for him; but Louis, for all his piety, would not yield to bishop or pope when he believed himself to be in the right Henry's barons were often successful in their revolts, and dictated schemes of government to him, and made trouble almost to the end of his reign. The last feudal revolt that Louis had to crush was in 1241–1242, when the lords of Poitou joined with many of the nobles and towns of Gascony and Languedoc against him, and received support from Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse, and the kings of England and Aragon

Compared with Henry III

After this there were no more feudal risings against Louis, who gave good and strong government, whereas Henry III and his foreign favorites were guilty of misrule. Louis then proceeded to broaden the jurisdiction of the royal courts at the expense of the feudal tribunals and to encourage appeals to the Parlement of Paris, to do away with the wager of battle in trials within his own domain and to forbid private wars the realm over. He improved the royal coinage so that the people would prefer it to that of the feudal lords, and he forbade the circulation of any other coins in his own domain, but could only secure that his coins should not be excluded from the fiefs of his great vassals, who still retained the right of coinage within their own territories. Louis's brothers became lords of a number of the chief feudal states: Robert was Count of Artois and other northern provinces, Alfonse was Count of Poitou and Auvergne and heir to the vast county of Toulouse; Charles of Anjou also held Maine, gained Provence by marriage and gradually subjected its cities, and then went off to conquer southern Italy. After numerous hostilities, truces, and long negotiations, Louis made with Henry III in 1259 the Treaty of Paris, by which Henry abandoned all claim to the lost provinces of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Maine, and Poitou, while Louis surrendered Guienne and Gascony to the English king, who, however, was to be his vassal for these The preceding year Louis had made the Treaty of Corbeil with the King

Feudal and foreign relations

of Aragon, settling their boundary along the Mediterranean coast

Philip III, Philip IV

Philip III, who was too devoted to the interests of his uncle, Charles of Anjou, and of the pope, prepared a vast expedition to punish the King of Aragon for having deprived Charles of the island of Sicily, but the undertaking turned out a complete failure As the comparatively unimportant reign of Louis VIII had intervened between those of Philip Augustus and Saint Louis, so that of Philip III comes between the more momentous reigns of Saint Louis and Philip the Fair (1285–1314) Philip IV was a good-looking blond, whence his epithet of "the Fair"; his manners and conversation were refined, he was outwardly religious, but we hardly know whether he or his legal advisers really controlled the government. At any rate, the royal power was now further developed, the records of foreign embassies and diplomacy greatly increased in bulk, and the amount of royal taxation and extortion multiplied Philip's reign is further notable for his relations with England and Flanders, for the first known session of the Estates General, the national assembly corresponding to the English Parliament, and for his struggle with and triumph over the papacy

Situation in Flanders

Philip the Fair resumed the policy of Philip Augustus of trying to bring Flanders and the Continental possessions of the King of England under his control Flanders, with its large towns and flourishing industries and trade, was of great economic value and was naturally coveted by the French king But the Flemish towns had close economic relations with England, whence they obtained much of the raw wool for their weaving industries, and whose import trade too they largely controlled Flanders, however, was divided within itself Besides its count there were rival parties in the communes themselves As elsewhere in northern France, toward the close of the thirteenth century there were uprisings of the artisans against the few rich burghers who had secured control of the machinery of municipal government and distributed all the offices and favors among themselves, while they not only taxed the masses heavily, but kept wages down to starvation rates This caused risings against the ruling class in 1280 and 1281 in Bruges, Ghent, Tournai, Ypres, and Douai in Flanders, as well as in some towns of northern France. In the reign of Philip the Fair the rich burghers and employers of labor looked to France for aid and the workingmen to England. The count was sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other

Philip rather than Edward I was the aggressor in breaking the Peace of Paris arranged by their predecessors, Saint Louis and Henry III On the other hand, it was Edward's aggressions against Scotland which led

Wars with England and Flanders

that country to form the alliance with France which was renewed again and again through the later Middle Ages. In the third place, it was French aggression which now drove the Count of Flanders into an English alliance. After considerable fighting Edward and Philip made peace and arranged marriages between their families, and left their allies, Flanders and Scotland, to each other's mercies. What the Scots did to Edward II at Bannockburn has already been noted, and the Flemish artisans treated the French in very similar fashion. In 1300 Philip imprisoned the Count of Flanders, declared that fief forfeit, and occupied the country. Two years later in the "Matins of Bruges" the French were massacred as they had been in the Sicilian Vespers twenty years before. Uprisings in the other towns followed. Then in the battle of Courtrai (1302) the townsmen successfully withstood the charge of the French chivalry. The conflict is also called the "Battle of the Spurs," from the many spurs taken from the fallen French knights and hung up on exhibition in the cathedral of Courtrai. Indecisive warfare and vain attempts at treaties of peace then occupied many years, and the last of the three sons of Philip IV also made war upon England again. From 1323 to 1328 a terrible revolt of the peasantry raged in Flanders, and the count was forced to call on the French king for aid to suppress it.

Increased taxation

As Edward I's wars with France and Scotland forced him to appeal to the English Parliament and resort to other devices to obtain sufficient revenue, so Philip's expensive wars with England and Flanders caused him to adopt all sorts of methods of raising money, from gifts and loans which he seldom repaid, to direct property taxes of one, two, or four per cent on capital, and five, ten, or twenty per cent on income. Some of his methods were ill-advised, notably (1) the burdensome taxes upon trade and the sale of commodities (*gabelles*) which helped bring about the decline of the once flourishing fairs of Champagne, (2) the depreciation of the coinage, (3) ruinous measures against the Lombards, Jews, and Templars, who were the chief bankers, financiers, and capitalists of the time. Of his treatment of the Templars we shall speak in another connection; he despoiled and exiled the Jews; the Lombards, too, were driven out, their goods were confiscated and debts to them were canceled, except that the principal was to be paid to the Crown.

Philip's officials found it no easy task to collect the direct taxes upon capital and income, to which the country was not yet accustomed. They generally allowed the feudal lords to collect it from their sub-vassals and keep a fraction for themselves, and the towns to compound for a fixed sum which they might raise from their citizens by any assessment they chose Those who strenuously objected to the tax were assured that it would not serve as a precedent and that they would probably never again be called on to contribute, if they would help the king in his dire need this time Nobles who refused to pay were mentioned by name to the king But the collectors less often treated with individual communes and holders of fiefs than with the assembled nobility and town representatives of an entire feudal region. In this case they often had to make concessions and promises, expressed in written charters, in order to get the desired grants of money The feudal nobility thus regained some of the privileges of which Saint Louis had deprived them, and various local charters were granted. The Church, too, extracted charters guaranteeing its liberties in return for the contributions which it was forced to make to the king; but the concessions made were so qualified by reservations or so vaguely expressed that the king seldom observed them afterwards And, as we have said before, no document like the Great Charter was forced from the king and then enforced upon him thereafter by united action, and no power over taxation like that of the English Parliament was acquired by any general assembly representing the French nation

The Estates General

A representative assembly did, however, now come into existence Hitherto there had been provincial estates of Normandy, Vermandois, Burgundy, and so on, now, on at least three occasions during his reign, Philip the Fair summoned the Estates General in 1302 to secure general support in his conflict with Pope Boniface VIII, in 1308 against the Knights Templars, and in 1314 to obtain funds for a war in Flanders. To this gathering were summoned the tenants-in-chief lay or clerical, representatives of the towns, and also of the cathedral chapters and monasteries The assembly divided, not into lords and commons, but into the three estates of clergy, nobility, and townsmen The session usually lasted only a day and there was no general debate, but each estate was free to submit a *cahier*, or list of grievances, for the king to remedy if he saw fit. In 1314 the nobles and towns joined in opposition to a *gabelle* which fell heavily upon both seller and buyer, and secured its withdrawal and the promise of improvement in the coinage But the Estates General was not destined to gain the control of taxation and legislation possessed by the English Parliament There was no obligation upon the king to call it; he could, instead, deal separately with different provincial estates and keep the opposition to himself divided Moreover, when the Estates General did meet, there was a lack of common feeling and interests and action among the three estates, which seldom agreed upon any united program Perhaps this was because great lay lords and bishops were not grouped together in one body as in the English House of Lords, nor knights and townsmen associated together as in the English House of Commons But we must also remember the greater chasm between the feudal fiefs and the communes in France, the greater size of the country, and the greater diversity of its parts in their local customs and recent history It should be added that the so-called Estates General usually included representatives of northern and central France only; the southern provinces insisted upon making their grants through their own Estates of Languedoc

The meetings of the Estates General during the reign of Philip the Fair were entirely under his control The Estates called during the brief reigns of his three sons, Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV, were in the main provincial and partial. Local leagues of feudal nobles with some following among the clergy and communes sprang up in the last year of Philip the Fair's reign to oppose new taxes which he had introduced Some of these federations even extended over several provinces, and they continued into the reign of Louis X. But they did not result in any permanent check upon the royal power Charters were granted by Louis X to the nobles in a number of provinces, but the concessions made were intended to preserve old feudal customs and privileges and not to upbuild any new national and popular institutions And through the remainder of French medieval history we shall find it in general true that, while there is occasional opposition to the Crown, it fails to put itself into permanent institutional form

Royal opposition to papacy.

Philip the Fair gave the supreme proof of the progress which the secular royal power had made up to his time by refusing to admit in French affairs any such theories of papal overlordship and supremacy in international relations, or of papal interference in the internal politics of the realm, as the popes had been maintaining both by word and deed since the days of Hildebrand In this he was not alone, other secular rulers of his time displayed a tendency toward greater independence from ecclesiastical control and less regard for papal wishes and threats; and they were supported in this stand by their people. The State was at last becoming more powerful than the Church But Philip the Fair, as the most powerful monarch of his age, naturally went furthest in opposition to the papacy. Indeed, he went so far that he was able to make a pope the tool of his policies Innocent III — a century before — had found Philip Augustus refractory and independent; Philip the Fair was to find Pope Clement V subservient to his wishes

The crisis between Church and State was precipitated by the pontifi-

Boniface VIII

cate of the haughty old man, Boniface VIII (1294–1303), who, unmindful of the growth of royal power and of national states with their increasing hold upon the people during the thirteenth century, tried to carry still further the ideals of ecclesiastical supremacy of Gregory VII and Innocent III. He seemed to forget, too, that his own personal position was rather precarious. In the first place, he had been elected, not as a result of the death, but of the almost unprecedented resignation, of Celestine V, the previous pope, "who made from craven heart the great renunciation," and was placed by Dante among those souls whom both heaven and hell rejected. Second, Boniface had quarreled with the powerful Roman family of the Colonna and had ousted two of its members from their posts as cardinals. Third, he had offended others of the nobility about Rome by building up a strong feudal lordship there for his nephew, Peter Gaetano.

Clericis laicos

Boniface not only annoyed both Philip and Edward I of England by trying to interfere as arbitrator in their wars with each other and with Flanders and Scotland, but greatly offended them by his bull *Clericis laicos*, in 1296, which forbade the clergy to pay taxes to the State. Edward disregarded the bull and threatened his clergy with outlawry if they obeyed it. If they would not contribute to the support of the State, they should not enjoy its legal protection. Similarly Philip decided that if the French clergy would pay him no taxes, the pope and other Italians should derive no income from France. He forbade the export of any money, jewels, food, or military supplies from his kingdom, but ordered all foreigners to depart at once, leaving, of course, their property and business and debtors behind them. It was a sign of Philip's royal power that these commands were strictly executed. Boniface soon saw — or felt — the point, and explained that the bull was not intended to apply to certain classes of clergy, nor to prevent any clergy from helping their native land with contributions in a time of dire need. The pope also tried to placate Philip by other measures, among them the canonization of Saint Louis, and the king thereupon rescinded his embargo upon the flow of French gold to Rome. Boniface's partial withdrawal of *Clericis laicos* did not fully satisfy Philip, however, and before the close of his reign he had secured from the pope's successors a complete exemption of France from the provisions of that bull.

Philip and Boniface

Meanwhile other causes of disagreement and bitterness arose between Philip and Boniface. The Viscount of Narbonne did homage for his fief to the king instead of to the Archbishop of Narbonne as his predecessors had been accustomed to do, while a haughty papal legate gave Philip great offense by his demands. This legate was ordinarily the Bishop of Pamiers in southern France, accordingly, when his legateship expired and he returned to his diocese, Philip had him seized and tried for sedition, heresy, simony, blasphemy, disrespect to royalty, and what-not This seemed an outrage to the indignant pope Moreover, Boniface had been made overconfident of the support of Christendom against Philip by the success of the Jubilee, or centenary of Christ's birth, held at Rome in 1300 There had been a vast concourse of pilgrims and a great outpouring of gifts to the papacy Accordingly in the bull *Ausculta fili charissime* (December, 1301), Boniface demanded the bishop's release and rendition to Rome, where, too, he summoned the clergy to consult with him how the excesses of the French monarch against their order might be stopped He also asserted the superiority of the papacy over all kings and realms Early in this same year Edward I had submitted to Parliament a complaint from Boniface against his occupation of Scotland and a contention that Scotland was a fief of the papacy. Parliament had completely repudiated the papal claims Philip now followed this example and in 1302 submitted to the Estates General a garbled version of *Ausculta fili*, which caused that assembly to sympathize entirely with the king Philip was thus assured of national support in the coming struggle, even the French clergy had declared in his favor.

Unam sanctam and Anagni

The pope for his part proceeded to hold his synod, which some French clergy attended and at which he launched against Philip the bull *Unam sanctam* The assertion in this bull that it was necessary to their salvation that all human beings should be under the Roman pontiff has been generally regarded as the extreme contention of papal theory This proud declaration was swiftly followed by a terrible humiliation Nogaret, one of Philip's advisers, was dispatched to Italy with instructions to seize the pope and bring him to France for trial by a church council to be summoned there. Nogaret was joined by the Colonna and other local enemies of Boniface, while no secular power came to the pope's aid. Boniface had left Rome and was at Anagni, his birthplace, preparing to excommunicate Philip and free the French from their allegiance, when Nogaret and his confederates entered the gates of the town without opposition When the pope refused to accept their terms, which included the restoration of the Colonna family and his resignation from the papacy and captivity in France, they stormed the palaces of the pope and his nephew, and took Boniface prisoner. Although in danger of his life, for the head of the House of Colonna wished to kill him, the old man bravely persisted in refusing to yield an inch to their demands. After he had been a prisoner for three days, the townsmen of Anagni rose and freed him, but his strength and spirit were broken and a month later he died at Rome

The humiliation of Boniface VIII at Anagni may be contrasted with that of Henry IV at Canossa by Gregory VII over two centuries before. The tables had been turned, but by the emissaries of the French king, not by a Holy Roman emperor More powerful now in temporal and secular matters than either Holy Roman emperor or Roman pope was a national monarch, the king of France

Subserviency of Clement V

This was not, however, the first time that violence had been done a pope by secular rulers Philip's strength was manifested more in the fact that Boniface's successors took no steps to punish the French king for the outrage Benedict XI, who reigned for only a few months, excommunicated Nogaret, Sciarra Colonna, and eleven of their associates, but displayed a conciliatory spirit toward Nogaret's master After Benedict's death, eleven months passed before the election of a new pope Then the choice of the cardinals fell upon a weak compromise candidate, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, who became Clement V (1305–1314) Instead of taking up his residence at Rome, Clement was crowned at Lyons, a city which six years later became French territory, and in 1309 he came to Avignon on the Rhone, where the popes were to live for nearly seventy years Since 1274 the neighboring County of Venaissin had been a papal possession In 1348 the pope purchased Avignon from the Countess of Provence, it became a city of 80,000 inhabitants, and the papal court the richest and most colorful in Europe Avignon and County of Venaissin were not annexed to France until 1791. But Provence was under the rule of a French line, the House of Anjou, and the popes at Avignon were near enough to the French boundary to be under French influence, just as Clement himself proved to be a tool of Philip, although the city of Bordeaux of which he had been archbishop belonged to England Clement named twenty-eight new cardinals, among them sixteen from his native Gascony and five of his own family, so that the Italians and the sympathizers with Boniface were outnumbered in the college of cardinals Also Clement and Philip together despoiled the French clergy, taxing them heavily and giving the choice positions in the French churches to their own favorites Finally the pope even freed Nogaret from excommunication, restored to the Colonna family its two cardinalates, and abolished the Order of Knights Templars at Philip's suggestion

The wealthy and secret Order of Knights Templars had grown unpopular, and scandalous stories were whispered about them. The royal government, which needed money and perhaps also wished to keep the pope in a state of embarrassment and under its control, now seized upon this gossip to trump up a number of shocking charges of idolatry, irreligion, immorality, and what-not In August, 1307, the pope together with the grand master of the order, Jacques de Molai, ordered an investigation of the charges But Philip IV took things into his own hands On October 13 all the Templars in his kingdom were arrested simultaneously and their property seized When examined by royal agents, they confessed to the accusations made against them But when the pope assumed charge of the investigation, they retracted their confessions as made under torture Philip IV, however, frightened the pope into allowing fifty-four Templars to be burned on May 12, 1310, as relapsed heretics, because they had withdrawn their confessions and had protested their innocence When the Church Council of Vienne hesitated to condemn the Templars, since in other lands not under French influence investigation had not pointed to their guilt, the pope himself suppressed the order and transferred their property to the Hospitalers But Philip IV succeeded in keeping most of their French possessions for himself. Jacques de Molai and the other chief officials of the order were burned at Paris on March 18, 1314 When Clement V died in April and Philip IV in November of the same year, the rumor spread that the soul of Molai had summoned them to answer before the judgment seat

Fall of the Templars

This chapter has thus far emphasized the growth of the royal power at the expense of the Church and of the feudal system But it must be realized that much of the ground won from feudalism was not thoroughly subdued, or after a little was lost and had to be regained later For instance, we have already seen Philip the Fair concede again to the nobility some of the feudal customs which Saint Louis had forbidden Again, there were many fiefs, escheated to the Crown or coming to it by conquest or marriage, which the king did not venture to incorporate at once in his domain and to rule directly by his own administrative officials It can readily be imagined that a region which since time immemorial had been under a ruling dynasty of its own would not care to give up suddenly its count and court and local customs, and instead be administered by the ignoble and unfeeling agents of a distant king Such a newly acquired territory the king might grant as an appanage to one of his younger sons who would take the place of the previous duke or count; these appanages, as their holders with succeeding generations became less and less closely related to the Crown, tended to become again distinct feudal states. On the other hand, the newly acquired territories, instead of being granted again as fiefs or appanages,

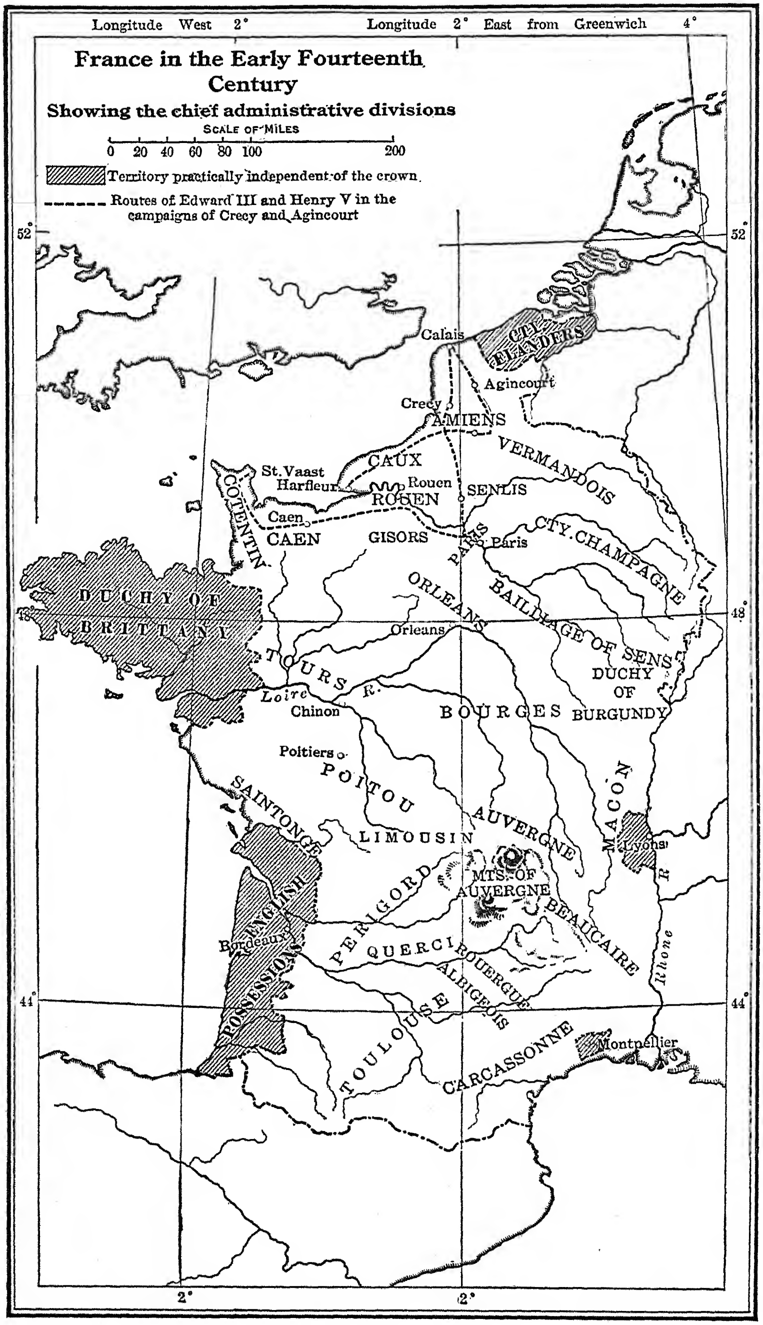
Persistence of feudalism

might be superintended by seneschals instead of by *baillis* as was the royal domain A *bailli* was merely a royal creature and agent, the seneschal was some local noble who became a combination of royal agent and hereditary feudal lord When Philip Augustus won so much territory from John, he put seneschals rather than *baillis* over the lands south of Normandy — William of Roches over Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, and Aimeri, Viscount of Thouars, over Poitou, Saintonge, and Guienne Moreover, the local customs, feudal and otherwise, of different parts of France were preserved either by guaranty of written charter or simply by survival as unwritten customs about which nothing was said. Finally, while monarchy was gradually getting the better of feudalism as a system of government, the feudal land system with its fiefs and manors and the feudal social system with its knights and nobles were still flourishing in France of the early fourteenth century, where it had now become the rule that there was "no land without its lord"

French monarchy extent

It would be hard to draw on a map a definite boundary line for the French monarchy at the close of the reign of Philip the Fair in 1314 or at the end of the direct Capetians in 1328 It would also not be easy to distinguish sharply between the royal domain, the possessions of great feudal lords who were nevertheless loyal enough to the French king to be reckoned as within his territory, and the fiefs of those who, like the King of England, while nominally vassals of the King of France, were really to all intents and purposes independent sovereigns But roughly we may say that Brittany, although brought in Philip Augustus's time under a younger branch of the Capetian family, and the English possessions in the southwest in Guienne and Gascony were quite outside of the French king's control, as was the Mediterranean city of Montpellier which owned the jurisdiction of the King of Aragon In the southeast the river Rhone was approximately the French boundary To the northeast the Count of Champagne and the Duke of Burgundy were now docile vassals, and French influence had recently been pushed yet farther east in Lorraine and the county of Burgundy We are fortunate in having a list of the chief administrative divisions of early fourteenth-century France In southern France there were twelve seneschals of Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Périgord, Auvergne, the mountains of Auvergne, Querci, Toulouse, Albigeois, Rouergue, Beaucaire, and Carcassonne Over Normandy were five *baillis*, and there were nine others in the north, at Paris, Senlis, Vermandois, Amiens, Sens, Orléans, Tours, Bourges, and Mâcon

The language spoken in and around Paris had now begun to spread over the rest of France, supplanting the other dialects It had already



France in the Early Fourteenth Century

Showing the chief administrative divisions

Longitude West 2°
Longitude 2° East from Greenwich 4°
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 200
▨ Territory practically independent of the crown.
------ Routes of Edward III and Henry V in the campaigns of Crecy and Agincourt
52°
48°
44°
2°
2°
Calais
CTY. FLANDERS
Agincourt
Crecy
AMIENS
VERMANDOIS
CAUX
St. Vaast
Harfleur
Rouen
ROUEN
SENLIS
COTENTIN
Caen
CAEN
GISORS
PARIS
Paris
CTY. CHAMPAGNE
DUCHY OF BRITTANY
ORLEANS
BAILLIAGE OF SENS
Orleans
TOURS
Loire R.
Chinon
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
BOURGES
Poitiers
POITOU
SAINTONGE
MACON
AUVERGNE
LIMOUSIN
Lyons
R.
MTS. OF AUVERGNE
PERIGORD
ENGLISH POSSESSIONS
Bordeaux
QUERCI
ROUERGUE
BEAUCAIRE
Rhone
ALBIGEOIS
TOULOUSE
CARCASSONNE
Montpellier

become recognized as the standard literary language and polite speech of the upper classes, and it also, of course, was the official language of the royal government and court. But French continued to be a foreign language south of the Loire until the sixteenth century

Bibliographical Note

There are several English translations of Joinville's Life of Saint Louis Volume III of E Lavisse, *Histoire de France* covers this period In English there is G Masson, *Story of Medieval France,* marked by interesting detail but misleading generalization, or, for "Institutions of Capetian Royalty," Bémont and Monod, *Medieval Europe,* pp 421–444 More specialized is J R Strayer and C H Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*

XXIII

A Widening World

The Mongol invasions

THE chief event in the history of Asia and of eastern Europe in the thirteenth century was the rise of the vast empire of the Tartars or Mongols and their invasions as far west as central Europe and the Balkans The Tartars — "hard-drinking, loose-living, and supremely arrogant barbarians" (Beazley) — were of a kindred race to the Huns and other Asiatic mounted nomads whose incursions westward we have already noted, and whom they closely resembled in life and customs But their home was farther east, and they were of Mongolian rather than Ural-Altaian stock They soon, however, included the Altaian nomads in their empire The founder of this Mongol Empire was Jenghiz Khan, under whom the Tartars united in a vast conquering horde which swept over Asia in a career of victory after victory Early in the thirteenth century they broke through the Great Wall of China and took Peking, they rapidly subdued central Asia, and about 1222 they reached Europe and defeated the Russian princes and the Kumanians who lived between the Don and the Danube The Kumanians and the Russians continued their resistance, nevertheless, and received aid from the Bulgars and the Magyars, who were respectively located south of the Danube and east of the Carpathian and the Transylvanian Mountains Then the ruler of the western dominions of the Mongols, Batu by name, a grandson of Jenghiz Khan, sent east for reinforcements In 1237 this new wave of nomads reached the Volga, the next year they took Moscow; in 1239 they so defeated the Kumanians that these took refuge in Hungary; in the following year Kiev, Cracow, and Breslau were sacked, in 1241 King Bela IV of Hungary was completely crushed and his army almost annihilated The cruel and savage Tartar host then fearfully devastated the Hungarian plain, and also ravaged Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia The emperor, Frederick II, wrote to Henry III of England and other Christian monarchs urging common action against them, but the papal see was vacant from 1241 to 1243, and nothing was done. Meanwhile the news of the death of the Great Khan had caused the invaders to withdraw eastward. Much, however, of what is now Russia remained under their rule until almost the close of the fifteenth century, and for a still longer period was more influenced in its civilization by the Orient than by the Western world A collection of Russian laws which has come down to us from the period before the Mongol invasion shows that the country was then little behind western Europe in its customs This past civilization was blotted out and future development was long retarded by the Asiatic inroads The kingdom of the Golden Horde, as the westernmost encampment and dominion of the Mongols was called, extended from Turkestan and the Caspian Sea to the river Don and to Novgorod, a city which the Mongols had been unable to capture, but which was compelled in 1260 to pay tribute to the khan

Conquests from Islam

Mohammedan as well as Christian lands suffered terribly at the hands of the Mongols It was said at the time, so great was the slaughter, that even if nothing else until the end of the world should happen to check the growth of population, it would never again reach even one tenth of what it had been before the Mongol conquest After overrunning Christian Armenia, they defeated the Seljuk sultan of Asia Minor in 1243 North Persia was ravaged by their attacks and some cities ceased to exist, but South Persia luckily escaped Even Bagdad was taken and sacked in 1258, but soon recovered a measure of its former prosperity, although its greatness under the Abbasid caliphs was gone. After taking Bagdad the Mongols had pressed on into Syria, but were driven out by the Mamelukes of Egypt. These Mamelukes were captives in war of whom the Seljuk sultans had composed their bodyguard, but one of them had recently made himself sultan of Egypt

Relations with the West

The Mongols at first struck Christian Europe with much the same horror that the Huns had produced, and many looked for them to fulfill the prophecies concerning Antichrist and Gog and Magog Then, however, came hopes of using them as allies against the Moslems in the East and even of converting them to Christianity. Ambassadors were dispatched from the West to the court of the khan, and Roman Catholic missionaries also went out to the Far East, where hitherto only Nestorian Christians had been known Letters, reports, and books were written by such travelers to Asia and by merchants like Marco Polo Kublai Khan, at whose court and in whose employ Marco Polo spent so many years, had taken up his residence in Peking and had adopted much of Chinese civilization, although in the summer he still migrated, in nomad fashion, north to his native Mongolia The envoys from the West failed to effect much of diplomatic advantage in their long-distance interviews with the khan, and the missionaries had no lasting success. The western Tartars were gradually converted to Islam, and those in China adopted the heathen faiths current there In 1368–1370, however, the Chinese revolted and drove the Mongols out.

Trade routes

The fact that the whole breadth of Asia was under the despotic rule of a single head made it easy to trade with the Far East The Great Khan was feared far and wide, for he maintained relays of swift horsemen between the different parts of his extensive empire, to keep him informed of what was going on, and his dreaded cavalry would descend rapidly upon any region that disregarded his commands or attacked persons who were under his protection Marco Polo informs us that about every twenty-five miles on the khan's post roads there was a station with horses, making in all ten thousand handsome buildings and three hundred thousand horses Besides these, human runners equipped with belts of bells were stationed at intervals of three miles

The shortest trade route to Cathay and Peking from Europe was the northern one from ports at the mouth of the Don or on the Sea of Azov. This ran north of the Black Sea, beyond the Volga, past the Caspian Sea and then across the expanse of central Asia From Trebizond on the south shore of the Black Sea, and also from the Cilician ports of Lesser Armenia, trade routes converged on Erzerum, and thence led to Tabriz, which was the chief market of western Asia under Mongol rule A Spanish traveler in 1404 described it as containing over two hundred thousand dwelling houses and as reported to have once had an even greater population. From this center routes continued east to Bokhara and Samarkand, while others led south to the great port of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, whence one could proceed to India and Ceylon by sea. There was also, of course, the southernmost route by the Red Sea which did not pass through Mongol territory. Westerners could reach the Black Sea by either of two water routes, the Mediterranean or the Danube, or by an overland journey from Danzig through Plock to Lemberg (Lwow), or from Breslau and Poznan through Cracow to Lemberg, and thence from Lemberg to the Genoese ports on the Black Sea. Lemberg was full of Germans, Poles, Russians, Crimean Jews, and Armenians

Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary

While both Poland and Hungary had suffered terribly from the first Mongol invasions, they escaped the later domination of the Golden Horde These two countries and Bohemia were contiguous, and as a result tended to form dynastic unions or to engage in wars over questions of boundaries with one another. In all three countries the kingship was elective Silesia, comprising the upper valley of the Oder, was the disputed territory lying between Poland and Bohemia. Galicia, just north of the Carpathians, was the frontier region between Poland and Hungary, while Moravia intervened between Hungary and Bohemia

During much of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Poland had been divided into several contending states, but in 1288 the kingdom was re-established From 1300 to 1306 the king of Bohemia became king of the Poles also, and when the two countries again had separate rulers, the duchy of Silesia went with Bohemia On the other hand, when the native line of princes came to an end in Galicia, that region was annexed to Poland Before 1386 the sources for Polish history are all in Latin

Russia

Russia remained under the sway of the Golden Horde until nearly the close of the fifteenth century The Mongols allowed the Russians their own religion and to some extent their own laws and princes, who were, however, liable to be executed at any moment by order of the khan But the Mongols forced the Russians to serve in their armies, burdened them with oppressive taxes, and enslaved them if they did not pay. Under such conditions economic or intellectual progress was impossible

Penetration of Asia

After Edrisi, geographical knowledge continued to make great strides during the later Middle Ages The rise in the first half of the thirteenth century of a great Mongol empire stretching from China to Russia made it possible for Western ambassadors and missionaries, travelers and traders, to penetrate in person to the Far East and to learn of regions of which the Greeks and Romans have left no accounts From the thirteenth century we have interesting narratives, by the friars John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk, envoys of the pope and of the King of France respectively, of their journeys into the heart of Asia to the court of the Great Khan at Karakorum, and the fuller and even more fascinating book of the Venetian merchant, Marco Polo, who spent the better part of his life in China and other Asiatic lands There he traveled widely in the service of the khan, who had by that time moved his capital from Mongolia to Peking and had adopted much of Chinese civilization. Marco was the first writer to reveal that civilization to the Western world, and to tell of many other regions such as Madagascar, Abyssinia, Tibet, Burma, Siam, and Cochin-China, as well as Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, and other islands of the East Indian archipelago Some regions that he traversed were not visited again by Europeans until the nineteenth century He left Venice with his father and uncle in 1271 and did not return until 1295 Three years later he was captured by the Genoese in a sea fight and while in prison dictated the story of his travels In 1291 John of Monte Corvino went as a missionary to India, whence he sent back a description of the Deccan, or southern part of the peninsula, and its people. He then proceeded to China, of which the pope made him archbishop and sent other missionaries out to serve under him. He died in 1328, "not only the first but also seemingly the last effective European bishop in the Peking of the Middle Ages" Other envoys, missionaries, and traders penetrated yet other parts of Asia and have left records of their travels John of Florence (Giovanni de' Marignolli) left Avignon in 1338 as papal envoy to the Great Khan He reached Peking in 1342, spent four years there, and returned to Avignon in 1353 by way of India Francesch des Valers, who in 1342 had commanded two vessels sent to the Canaries, about twelve years later took the eastward route to Tartary, and forty years afterward the King of Aragon heard the story of this expedition from a survivor For centuries thereafter we know of no other European who reached China by the overland route through central Asia

Africa, the Indian Ocean

There was also at this time considerable Christian penetration of the interior of the African continent Raymond Lull, about 1300, tells of one of the cardinals dividing the world up into twelve provinces and sending a scout to each. The one who crossed the Sahara Desert with a salt caravan to Negro land was the first Christian white man seen there. In 1316 eight Dominicans, with a sister of the Third Order who was to found a school for girls, went far up the Nile just as the last Christian king of Nubia at Dongola was supplanted by a Moslem Despite this, another Dominican was named Bishop of Dongola in 1330. Dongola is as far south of Assouan as Assouan is from Cairo Patriarchal crosses dot the interior of Africa in maps of 1339 and 1367, while the Catalan Atlas of 1375 shows Timbuktu on the upper Niger Bernard of Verdun about 1300 described the Indian Ocean with its various ramifications and islands He said that the largest island in the remoter part of the Indian Ocean had a circumference of three thousand miles. Perhaps he had Borneo or Australia in mind In 1317 Guillaume Adam, who had been cruising for twenty months in the Indian Ocean and had seen southeast Africa, suggested that the Genoese build a fleet at Ormuz or in the Maldives or on the Malabar coast and use it to bottle up the Red Sea against the Moslems, as the Portuguese were to do in the sixteenth century. In 1324 he was made archbishop in Persia. In that same year, Jordan the Catalan, writing from India, similarly suggested that it was easy to cross from India to Christian Ethiopia or Abyssinia, home of the legendary Prester John

Westward Ho!

Besides overland penetration of the vast continents of Asia and Africa, there were westward voyages of discovery to the Canary, Madeira, and Azores Islands, and other voyages along the west coast of Africa in an effort to circumnavigate that continent and so reach the Indies. Deep-sea sailing had been assisted by the invention of the mariner's compass and the rudder We are apt to associate such enterprises with the later period of Prince Henry the Navigator and of Columbus, but the age of discovery had really begun by the late thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century Indeed, Edrisi tells us of eight explorers who sailed west from Lisbon in the early twelfth century in a vain effort to find the limits of the western ocean In 1291 two Genoese galleys tried to establish a direct sea trade with India by circumnavigating Africa, but never returned. Bernard of Verdun spoke of islands in the Atlantic as well as in the Indian Ocean About 1312 Lanzarotto Malocello went with Genoese vessels to the Canaries In 1341 a Portuguese fleet explored the Canaries and found only natives there But a Spanish geography written at about the same time lists the Madeiras, nine of the Canaries, and eight of the Azores, while a map of 1351 indicates accurately the location and contours of the three groups Apparently they had been known for some time. Yet the Azores are seven hundred and fifty miles from the nearest point on the Portuguese coast, and one third of the way from Gibraltar to New York Therefore long before Columbus there were deep-sea sailors who were not afraid to venture far out of sight of land, farther even than the Northmen who had ventured still earlier from Norway to the Orkneys and Shetlands, from these to the Faroe Islands, and thence to Iceland, to Greenland, and to Vinland

Portolani

The map of 1351 to which we have just referred is known as the *Laurentian Portolano.* It also, possibly by a lucky guess, represents the shape of the continent of Africa more nearly correctly than does any other map before the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope at the close of the fifteenth century. There is some indication, however, that the outline of Africa on the map may have been altered at a later date The word *portolano* means a "handy-plan," and is applied to the charts of the coastline of which our earliest examples date about 1300 But these first extant *portolani* are so elaborate and accurate that there must have been a preceding period of preparation before such detailed and correct charts could be produced. They are evidently the result of close observation by practical men and were made by sailors for sailors They are the first true maps in the modern sense in the history of the world, and represent an immense advance in cartography They give a large number of place names and indicate headlands, bays, and even shoals Those which we possess are chiefly the work of Italians and are especially accurate for the Mediterranean Sea, but often display other coasts of Europe with fidelity, and sometimes expand into world-maps like the *Laurentian Portolano* already mentioned Engelbert of Admont, who died in 1331, says that sailors of his day had a magnetic needle mounted on a pivot in the center of a copper table From this center lines radiated to the circumference along which were designated the names of coastal cities and harbors and their distances apart — much as the peaks of mountain ranges are shown today on indicators at lookout points When the needle was set revolving and came to rest pointing north, the sailors could adjust the table accordingly, and so shape their course even on a dark night A portolan chart was similarly made up of lines radiating from a number of centers in mid-sea to various ports. One portolan map gives a more correct representation of the Mediterranean Sea than we again encounter until the eighteenth century

Bibliographical Note

In J Curtin, *The Mongols*, chapter V is on "Jinghis Khan's Triumph and Advance", chapter VIII on "Death and Burial of the Conqueror." Recently four books were published within as many years in English, French, and German on Jenghiz Khan In Sykes, *History of Persia*, chapter 55 is on "The Mongol Cataclysm." In the *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol IV, chapter 20 is on the Mongols, in vol. VI, on the thirteenth century, chapter 11 deals with Scandinavia, chapter 13 with Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary Beazley, *Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol II, gives William of Rubruk's account of his mission at pages 320–375, John de Plano Carpini's at pages 275–317, see also III, 508–519 *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* is in Everyman's Library, Jordan the Catalan was translated by H Yule for the Hakluyt Society back in 1863, *The Book of the Spanish Friar*, by Sir Clements Markham, 1912, see also Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither being a collection of medieval notices of China*, 3 vols , 1913–1915, revised edition by H Cordier. Ch de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, 2 vols , 1924–1925, is fascinating reading. G. H T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, 1938, is the latest general summary. On medieval-Poland a French book is Pierre David, *Les sources de l'histoire de Pologne (963–1386)*, 1934, on Russia, A. Eck, *Le moyen âge Russe*, 1933

XXIV

Scholasticism and the Universities

In western Christian Europe in the course of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries there developed a new civilization Feudal enterprise, church reform, and Christian expansion were forces that contributed to it Its material and economic and social side we have seen in the rise of towns and trade and industry, the emancipation of a large part of the common people, and the growth of municipal institutions and liberties We now turn to parallel developments in thought, education, science, literature, and art

A new culture

The new culture in these fields was a curious mixture of things old and new It was in part a recovery of the writings and science of antiquity which had almost passed away during the early Middle Ages It was in part a breaking away from ancient traditions and styles and the beginning of modern methods in speaking, writing, investigating, and teaching It was in large measure the product of the medieval Church and clergy, the expression of the religious motive and of Christian interests. Yet, as the communes were antagonistic to the clergy, so in the science and literature of the period we see the rise of an independent secular spirit Finally, the artists and the scholars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries learned and borrowed from the Byzantines and the Arabs as well as from the ancients and the church fathers But their own output was neither classical nor patristic nor Byzantine nor Moorish; nor was it as yet wholly modern in character; it was medieval and scholastic

Latin writings

The scanty learning and literature of the early Middle Ages had been limited to writing in Latin by clergymen, and for centuries there were only a few names of consequence, such as Gregory the Great, Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, and John the Scot For a time after the break-up of Charlemagne's empire this state of decline continued and even seemed to grow worse Then progress becomes gradually apparent. Someone has figured out that fewer names of writers have come down to us from the tenth than from any other century between Charlemagne and modern times. In Italy, where cities were first to develop and where we might expect to find the most education, on the contrary books were scarce, one had to go a long way to reach a school, and there were many complaints of the ignorance of the lower clergy and against men of no education in high places in the Church The complaints, however, indicate an awakening intellectual conscience. But knowledge was at a low ebb and what literature there was consisted of barren rhetoric The Latin poems of the time seem mere exercises in meter and language without feeling and genius There was still a strong feeling that a Christian ought not to study too deeply in classical literature and philosophy, and even in the field of theology there was no writing of real importance

Bruno and Hrosvita

North of the Alps names of scholars were scarcer than narratives of miracles in the chronicles of the time Bruno, the brother of Otto the Great, was one of these rare apparitions His biographer, writing immediately after his death, tells us that the chief aim of Bruno's own writing and of his teaching at the palace school was the cultivation of a good Latin style, and that he read the ancient tragedies and comedies through gravely without tears or laughter. "He thought that their meaning was worthless; the style was what he considered all important." A German nun, Hrosvita, who died about the year 1000, not only read the plays of Terence, but composed some dramas herself, the first that have come down to us since Seneca's Although these seem very stiff and crude to the modern reader, they possessed more plot and human interest than the liturgic spectacles which were presented about this time by the clergy in cathedrals and monasteries in connection with the Christmas and Easter services, but which developed later into the important mystery and morality plays. Hrosvita's plots are either legends of Christian martyrs or love stories in which celibacy, not marriage, is considered "a happy ending"

Gerbert

In Gaul, Gerbert was the greatest scholar of the tenth century. He studied grammar in a monastery in Auvergne, and then went to the county of Barcelona in northern Spain and imbibed some mathematics, a field in which he later wrote treatises He became schoolmaster in the cathedral at Rheims and for a year was abbot of a monastery in Lombardy Afterwards he twice tried to obtain copies of scientific manuscripts which he had seen in its library Gerbert was an attractive letter-writer and his correspondence is important for the history of the times, with whose rulers, especially the last Carolingians, the first Capetians, and the emperors Otto II and Otto III, he was closely connected He became an archbishop and finally Pope Sylvester II, which indicates that the age at least respected scholarship Later medieval legend made of him a magician and necromancer, but he seems to have done nothing more wonderful than to construct an abacus and build a pipe organ Some scholars, however, would credit him with knowledge of the Hindu-Arabic numerals

Historical writing

Gerbert's clever letters dealing with contemporary events lead us to note an improvement in the writing of history which became manifest in the late tenth and early eleventh century Several writers now displayed a more animated and individual style than the ordinary dry and meager monastic annals of the early Middle Ages or than the empty rhetoric of the tenth-century poets Widukind narrated with spirit and vigor the story of his own Saxon people Liutprand the Lombard told of his trips to Constantinople and had a good grasp of the general state of Europe in the middle of the tenth century Thietmar recorded the story of the German kings and of his bishopric of Merseburg to 1018 Raoul Glaber, writing about the middle of the eleventh century, entertains us hugely by his *pot-pourri* of portents and disasters, marvels and mysteries of the preceding sixty years, and, ere he closes, confides an account of his early sinful life and subsequent monastic adventures. Hermann the Lame, of Reichenau, who died in 1054, and Marianus Scotus (1026–1083), an Irish monk who wandered to Germany, wrote world histories, and they are noted for their chronological researches With these men and with Adam of Bremen, who introduces us to the history and geography of northern Europe, and Lambert of Hersfeld, who gives a detailed and well-written, though partisan, account of the eventful years 1073–1077, we find the writing of history well developed before the time of the First Crusade All these works are in Latin.

Famous teachers

A large number of the famous men of the next generation were said to have been pupils of Gerbert One of them praised his master as "a man of lofty genius and wonderful eloquence, by whose light, as of a brightly burning torch, all Gaul, already growing dark, was again illuminated." Gerbert's school at Rheims was followed in the eleventh century by famous teachers or cathedral schools in other French towns such as Chartres, Angers, Paris, Laon, Orléans, Poitiers, and Périgueux Some monasteries also were noted for their instruction, such as the famous Cluny in Burgundy and Bec in Normandy, whence William the Conqueror took his first archbishop, the learned Italian lawyer Lanfranc. Both the teachers and alumni of these ecclesiastical schools rose to high positions in Church and State; but what was taught and learned at these places seems very scanty to us today The main point, however, was that the students thought that they were learning something and sang the praises of their instructors forever after. There was at least, therefore, a growing enthusiasm for learning.

Progress in medicine

Presently the amount of learning also began to increase The first notable advance was in medicine In northern Africa about 1015 was born Constantine, usually known by his Latin name, Constantinus Africanus, from his birthplace After many years of travel in the Orient in quest of knowledge, he came to the court of the Norman ruler of southern Italy, Robert Guiscard, at Salerno Later he retired to the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, founded by Saint Benedict himself, and there he died in 1087 During this residence in Italy he composed several medical treatises in Latin which were in large measure merely translations of works in Arabic, but which none the less helped to increase the knowledge of the Christian West, where Constantinus Africanus was henceforth a much-cited authority

Salerno had been famous for its physicians as early as 946, but its earliest extant medical writings are of the early eleventh century *Circa Instans,* which is much superior to previous medieval herbals and even to the ancient Dioscorides, was perhaps the work of Matthaeus Platearius, a Salernitan physician who died in 1161 Of uncertain date is a very popular Latin medical poem called the *Regimen Salernitanum,* or *School of Salerno,* or *Flower of Medicine* There are over one hundred manuscripts and about two hundred and fifty printed editions of it It seems to have been added to from time to time The female practitioners or women of Salerno were also cited, but largely for empirical and even superstitious remedies

Roman law at Bologna

A legal revival on a much larger scale in northern Italy soon followed that in medicine in the south. The rush of law students to Bologna at the very end of the eleventh century was an intellectual movement contemporaneous with the First Crusade Some acquaintance with Justinian's law books seems to have survived in Italy through the early Middle Ages, but it was only at the close of the eleventh century that the old Roman law proper, set forth in the *Digest,* began to be studied with scientific thoroughness by students from all over Europe, who flocked to the law school at Bologna presided over by the great Irnerius He was the first of a group or series of men known as the "glossators" or commentators upon the Roman law, from the glosses or marginal notes which they made in their copies of the *Digest* (Figure 52) At first they had only as far as the third title in the twenty-ninth book, which part is accordingly known as the *Old Digest* The *New Digest,* which came to light subsequently, ran from the third title of the thirty-eighth book to the end of the *Digest* The intervening portion also was eventually found and was known as the *Infortiatum* Separate lecture courses were often given on these three sections of the *Digest,* on the *Code*

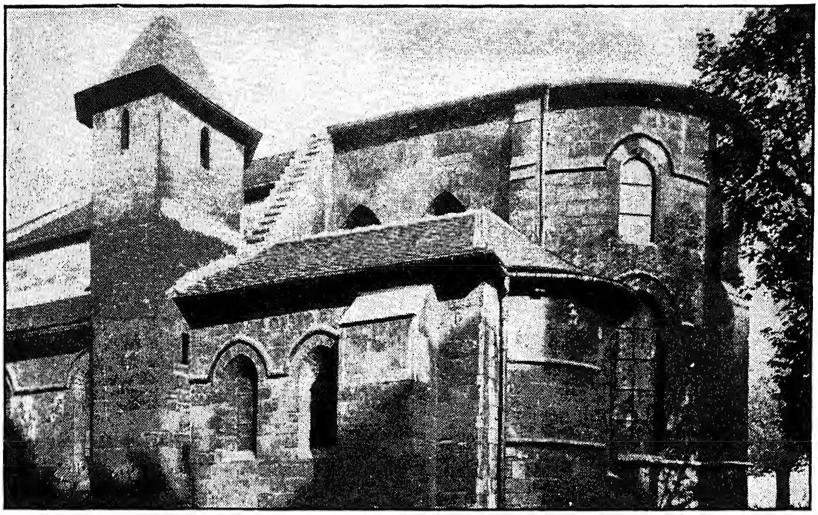


Figure 51

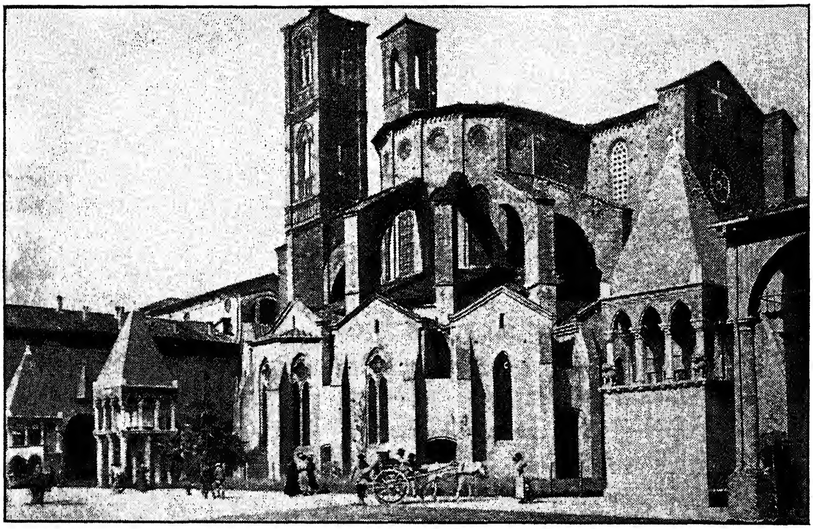


Figure 52

THE UNIVERSITIES

Above, church of Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, where the faculties of the University of Paris held their meetings; *below*, the tombs of the Glossators at Bologna of Justinian, and on the *Volumen*, which included both the *Institutes* and the *Authentica* or Latin translation of the *Novels* A writer of the fifteenth century says that the *Old Digest* was bound in white, the *Infortiatum* in pitch black, the *New Digest* in red, and the first nine books of the *Code* in green

From 1100 on, the Roman or civil law (*ius civilis*) became an increasingly important force in western Europe We have already noted its influence at the Diet of Roncaglia held by Frederick Barbarossa What was called the *Great Gloss* was written by Accursius in the thirteenth century Those who had studied law at Bologna or Pavia found lucrative posts open to them in both Church and State, for canon as well as civil law was taught

No fewer than thirty-seven collections of canon law have been counted from the tenth and eleventh centuries. About 1142 a professor at Bologna, the monk Gratian, made a compilation of the canon law which henceforth superseded its predecessors as the standard work Its original title was *The Harmonizing of Conflicting Canons* (*Concordantia discordantium canonum*), but it was usually more briefly called the *Decretum* Of ecclesiastical courts and canon law we have already treated European universities today still give courses in canon law and grant the degree of "doctor of both laws," J.U D (*juris utriusque doctor*)

Boncompagni, who in 1253 composed an *Up-to-Date Rhetoric* especially for the law students at Bologna, distinguished fourteen different sources of law in Italy The first was "in the heavens," which may mean either divine law or God acting through the heavens and stars as second causes The second was "in the paradise of delights," which presumably refers to the Garden of Eden The third was in Adam who discovered natural law after the fall The fourth was the Mosaic law given on Mount Sinai, the fifth, the *ius gentium* or law of the Roman provinces; the sixth, custom; the seventh, Athens; the eighth, the Gospels. The ninth was in the the statutes of the holy fathers which Gratian later compiled The tenth was Justinian; the eleventh, the Goths, the twelfth, the law of the Lombards; the thirteenth, municipal legislation, the fourteenth and last, Mohammed, which refers to the influence of Moslem law in Sicily and southern Italy.

As fixed by royal ordinance in France, the maximum honorarium allowed a lawyer was twenty-four hundred francs in 1274 and fifteen hundred in 1344, but this maximum seems seldom, if ever, to have been reached, and from ten to sixteen francs a day was good pay for the average fourteenth-century legal practitioner

North of the Alps, in the early twelfth century, teachers had become

Education outside Italy

much more numerous than before. Indeed, one writer of the time, William of Conches in Normandy, complained bitterly that education had already become too popular, that many were teaching without adequate preparation, that most students took easy courses with popular professors instead of with the truly profound and original scholars, and yet that every teacher's time was so much occupied with classes that he had scant leisure left for research and publication. This tendency to criticize existing educational conditions was one of the marks of the new age. It also appears in John of Salisbury whose *Metalogicus*, completed in 1159, tells us much of the learned world of his time, and whose *Policraticus* of the same year further contains political thought. Bernard Silvester wrote partly in prose and partly in excellent verse of the universe and man, *Megacosmus et Microcosmus*. Indeed much of the poetry of the time was learned and intellectual, cosmological or philosophical. *The Complaint of Nature* by Alan of Lille was to be borrowed from extensively in the French *Romance of the Rose* in the next century.

Brief classical revival

What were the subjects taught in the schools north of the Alps? A contemporary of William of Conches speaks of him as a teacher of "grammar"; that is, of Latin literature. We also know that about this time there was a school at Chartres devoted especially to the literary study of the Latin classics and to the cultivation of a good Latin style. North as well as south of the Alps, however, the new development was to be of a learned rather than a literary character. William's extant work, for example, deals with philosophy and astronomy, although it occasionally quotes classical literature.

Abelard

Other interests of the learned world of the twelfth century are illustrated by the career of Abelard (1079–1142), the oldest son of the lord of a village in Brittany, who left castle, the chase, and the profession of arms, to pursue learning. He was especially interested in dialectic or logic, the art of reasoning and disputation. This was a subject not unlike the debating of our day except that the questions argued were philosophical and theological rather than political and economic as in intercollegiate debates of the present — questions about the workings of the mind rather than about money matters, and questions concerning the other world rather than this. Abelard found many places where teachers were instructing large bands of students in the art of logic, and he himself before long became a lecturer of great renown at Paris.

During the centuries since Boethius, the books of logic current and studied in the Latin West had been reduced to the *Isagoge* or intro-

Books of logic

ductory treatise of Porphyry, Aristotle's *Praedicamenta* or *Categories,* and *Peri Hermenias* on the formation of simple judgments, and the *Divisions* and *Topics* of Boethius. These constituted the *ars vetus* or old logic. To these were now added the other more advanced logical treatises of Aristotle, the *Prior Analytics* on composing syllogisms, the *Posterior Analytics* on argumentation, the *Topics* dealing with useful analogies for things undemonstrable, and the *Elenchi,* which exposed sophistry or errors in argument. After these came Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics,* of which the last was translated into Latin at least by the thirteenth century. Gilbert de la Porrée (1070–1154) supplemented the *Praedicamenta* which had treated at length only four of the ten categories — substance, quantity, quality, and relation — by a work on the six others: action, passion, position, when, where, and having.

Medieval dialectic

Teachers and students of dialectic were now exercised over such questions as whether there is any such reality as color independent of the colored objects. In other words, whether we merely have red paint and red cows and red sunrises, or whether there is a redness apart from particular objects. Or, furthermore, whether there is an ideal beauty and an abstract justice which form our standards in determining whether individual objects are beautiful and whether individual actions are just. Again, men differ in complexion, size, and temperament; is there any human genus and species which includes them all, or any ideal man after whom they are all patterned? Or is humanity a mere collective word or simply a conception attained by our minds? Such was the problem of universals agitating the dialecticians when Abelard began his education. Those who regarded such abstract and collective terms as mere names were called "Nominalists." Those who held them to be true substances, although perhaps substances of an incorporeal and spiritual nature, were called "Realists." Those who, like Abelard himself, took a middle course, were called "Conceptualists." All this discussion was a distant echo and revival of the theory of ideas, in which Plato, fifteen hundred years before in the Academy at Athens, had instructed Aristotle and his other disciples, and which is still reflected in modern idealism.

The theory of spiritual substances was very welcome to the Christian thinkers of the Middle Ages, since it confirmed their belief in a human soul separate from the mortal body and in a host of demons and angels. That substance was something distinct from external appearance and particular qualities was also an attractive thought to them. It enabled them to explain that in the sacrament of the mass, while the bread and wine might retain their outward qualities such as are apparent to the senses of sight, taste, and touch, yet their inner nature had been "transubstantiated" into the body and blood of Christ. This illustrates what important bearings logic or dialectic might have upon theology.

Abelard as a theologian

Abelard himself soon gave up teaching for a time in order to study theology at Laon with a master called Anselm. This was not, however, the famous Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury under William Rufus and Henry I, who put forth the ontological argument for the existence of God. Abelard, who formerly had made his teachers in logic a great deal of trouble by frequently disagreeing and arguing with them, now soon became disgusted with Anselm whom he regarded as a mere rhetorician without ideas. He asked him many questions and was unable to get satisfactory answers. A favorite method then current in the teaching of theology was for the lecturer to read some book of the Bible or work of a church father and make running comments upon it, not unlike the glosses of the Bolognese doctors of law. Soon Abelard was expounding difficult passages in the Book of Ezekiel to Anselm's students instead of attending the master's lectures.

Abelard now received a call to teach at the cathedral school of Paris, out of which was to develop a great university, and great crowds attended his lectures. But his tragic love affair with Héloise blighted the latter part of his career, and his days were henceforth passed more in monasteries and hermitages than in the public eye, although he continued to teach. Saint Bernard made him considerable trouble by attacking some of his views as heretical. But the fact that those who displayed too much originality in expounding the mysteries of the faith were liable to be forced to retract their theories in no way diminished the fascination which theological discussion had for the medieval clergy.

Sic et Non

Abelard's chief contribution to the future of scholasticism, as, from its origin in the schools, the medieval study of philosophy and theology is called, was, aside from the general enthusiasm which he aroused for clever discussion and the crowds of students that he drew to Paris, his method of investigation. Writers of the early Middle Ages, like undergraduates taking notes on collateral reading, often simply copied passages from Augustine's *City of God* and other works in their meager libraries. By stringing together a series of such quotations they flattered themselves that they had made a new book. But Abelard, instead of merely copying, meant to compare and criticize the writings and opinions of the past. This is well illustrated by his work called *Sic et Non*. In the introduction he holds that there are many important theological questions still open to discussion, and that the best way to reach the truth is to adopt an open-minded, skeptical, and critical attitude

"The master-key to knowledge is to keep asking questions," says this medieval Socrates Consequently he puts one hundred and fifty-eight questions about the nature of God and other theological matters, and collects under each heading statements from patristic literature both for (*sic*) and against (*non*) the view in question By thus showing the church fathers often in apparent disagreement, he demonstrated the need of further discussion and investigation in order to reach the truth in theology He recognized that apparent obscurities might often be cleared up, and that seeming contradictions might be reconciled by a more careful consideration of the passages or by excluding apocryphal works and by remedying the mistakes of copyists But this, he argued, simply showed the need of more intensive study However, he further held that, except for the Bible itself, previous Christian writings were of unequal value and must not be unquestioningly accepted as absolute truth

Scholasticism

If Abelard meant to discourage his age from consulting past authorities on all sorts of questions, he did not succeed But his method — of putting forward a problem for debate and solution and then finding all the statements *pro* and *con* bearing on the question that one could in past literature — became a favorite method of medieval teachers and writers Only, instead of leaving the problem unsolved, as the *Sic et Non* does, other scholars went on to cope with the arguments on both sides in an attempt to reach a correct solution Such writings, together with commentaries on the authorities, became the staple products of medieval scholasticism. Gratian's *Harmony of Conflicting Canons* was such a work A year or two after it came out, Peter Lombard, who had attended Abelard's lectures, published his famous *Sententiae,* henceforth the standard textbook in scholastic theology The title *Sententiae,* commonly translated as "Sentences," in this case refers to the "opinions" or authoritative utterances of the church fathers upon the various questions of the Christian faith, which Peter has collected, condensed, and classified in one volume

Mathematics and natural science

While Abelard was attending the lectures of dialecticians and theologians in different parts of northern France, a contemporary of his with a similar name, Adelard, of Bath, in England, became dissatisfied with "the wordy war of sophisms and the affected elocution of rhetoric" prevalent in "the schools of Gaul," and went to the Greeks and Saracens to acquire fuller knowledge. His especial interest was in natural science and mathematics He was one of the first translators into Latin of the Arabic versions of Greek and Oriental science and philosophy. He translated the geometry of Euclid, and he also wrote a work entitled *Questions about Nature,* in which he set forth the views of his Arabian masters and perhaps some discoveries of his own In this book he justifies the study of natural science against narrow religious prejudice He also scolds his nephew, with whom he is represented as engaged in dialogue, for excessive trust in authorities and tells him that reason and experiment are the best methods of reaching the truth In trying to answer the questions about plants, animals, and other things in nature which his nephew puts to him, Adelard often makes incorrect statements, as that a stone dropped into a hole running through the center of the earth would stop at the earth's center. Here he was following the Aristotelian theory of natural place (see page 456) and not taking into account the acceleration of falling bodies But he gave a good explanation why water will not readily flow out of a small aperture at the bottom of a vessel which is elsewhere tightly sealed

William of Conches resembled Adelard in justifying the rational study of nature against those who preferred to accept blindly the statements as to nature found in the Bible He even rejected the scriptural "waters above the firmament," explaining the phrase as having reference to clouds His ire was especially aroused by those who objected that God could work physical impossibilities "You poor fools," he retorted, "God can make a cow out of a tree, but has He ever done so? Therefore show some reason why a thing is so, or cease to hold that it is so"

Translations into Latin

In both Sicily and the Spanish peninsula, in the latter half of the twelfth and the early years of the thirteenth century, numerous translators were engaged in turning into Latin from Arabic the treasures of Greek science and philosophy which the Arabs had preserved and also many writings of the Arabs themselves, including numerous astrological treatises and books of occult science. Two of the most indefatigable translators were John of Seville and Gerard of Cremona. Among the numerous works translated by the latter were the *Canon* of Avicenna and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy Other translators were Plato of Tivoli (near Rome), Hermann of Carinthia, Mark of Toledo, and Alfred of England The geographic distribution of the regions whence these translators came illustrates the widespread prevalence of the movement There also were translations directly from the Greek, although these became more numerous in the thirteenth century, while Niccolò da Reggio still found fifty-six of Galen's medical works to translate between 1308 and 1345 Many works were translated more than once, so that, in citing them, authors distinguished between the Old and the New Translation. Some translations were lost and many are anonymous The old notion that only the *Timaeus* of Plato was known in Latin is erroneous, since there were already in the twelfth century trans-

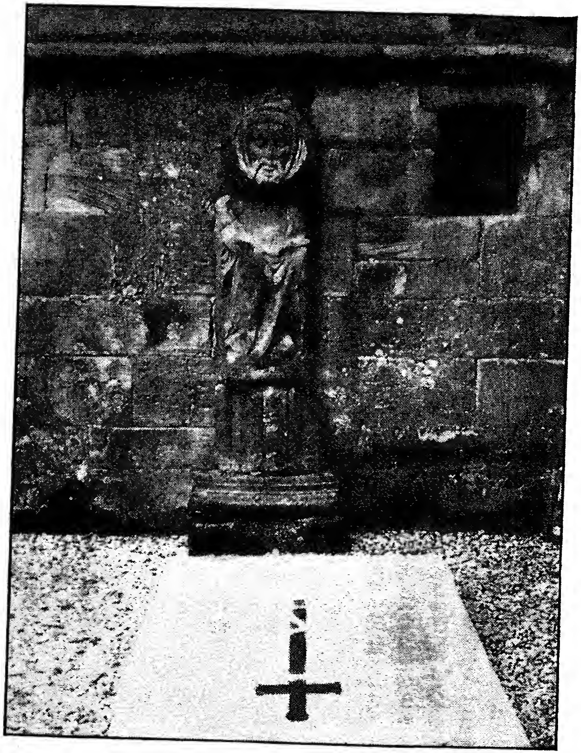


Figure 53

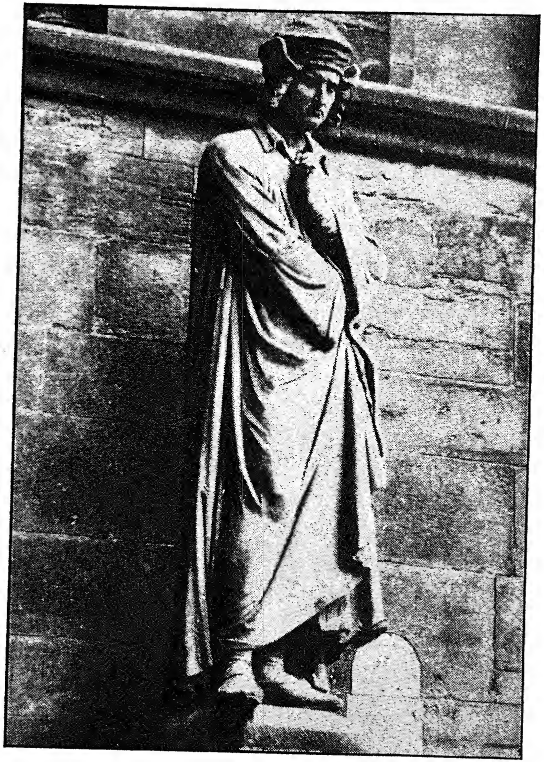


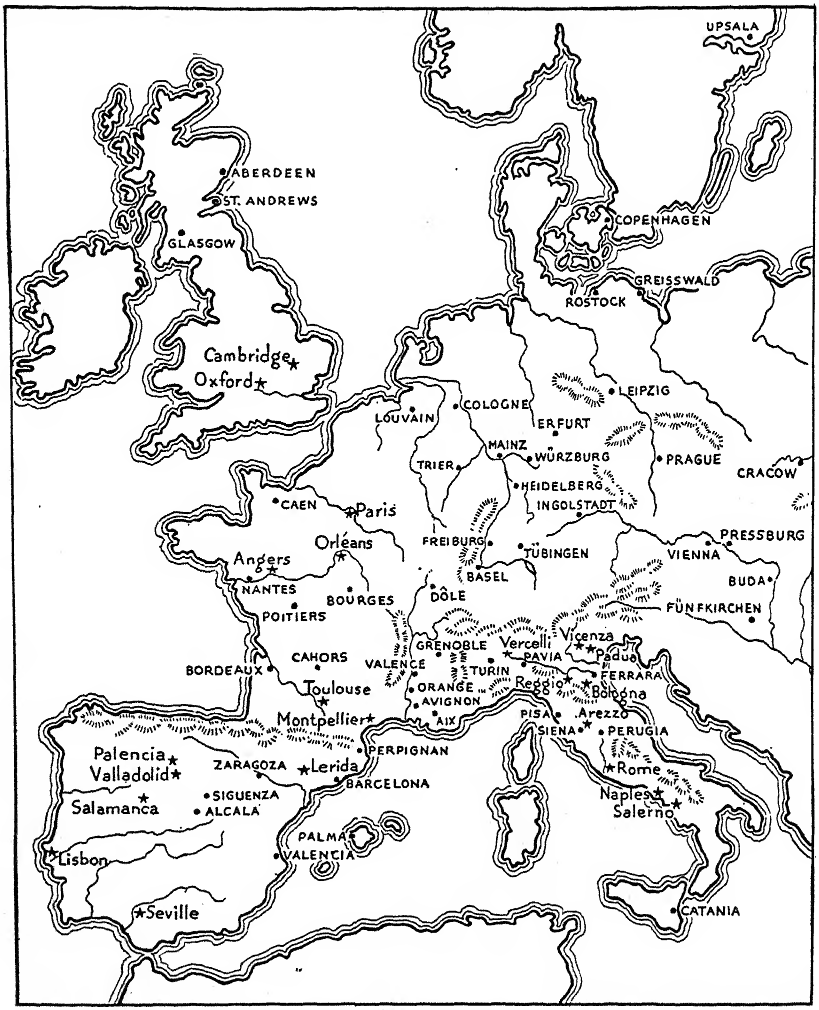
Figure 54

Left, tomb of Michael Scot, Melrose Abbey; *right*, Erwin von Steinbach, architect of Strasburg Cathedral lations from the Greek of the *Phaedo* and *Meno*. The *Poetics* of Aristotle was translated in 1248.

As such works became available for Latin readers, they greatly increased the amount of facts and theories current, broadened the outlook of the learned world, and stimulated further that intellectual curiosity and that fondness for discussion and disputation which were already very much in evidence. In Abelard's day only the logical treatises of Aristotle were known in the West, but soon most of the other works by him which have come down to us were translated. Men's minds were now formed by the ideas of the Greeks and Arabs instead of merely by reading the church fathers and Latin literature. They now had a new mass of material, to which they could put the questions that were troubling them, and which suggested new questions to them. It may seem strange that ancient Greek writers, most of whom were pagans, and more recent writers in Arabic, many of whom were Moslems, should have been so readily accepted as authorities by the western Christian world. But intellectual curiosity and respect for learning proved stronger than religious scruples. Even the Koran was translated, although this was done more with the object of combating it than of profiting from it.

Princely patronage

Roger of Sicily's employment of Edrisi to write a universal geography, mentioned in a previous chapter, shows that the Church was not the sole patron or source of learning. We have also seen Constantinus Africanus at the court of the Norman, Robert Guiscard. William of Conches, too, had found a patron in Geoffrey Plantagenet, the father of Henry II of England, and himself Duke of Normandy as well as Count of Anjou; and Adelard of Bath in 1130 received a sum of money from the government of Henry I of England. Roger's patronage of learning in Sicily was repeated there in the first half of the thirteenth century by the cultured court of the Emperor Frederick II, of whose scientific curiosity strange tales were circulated by credulous chroniclers. One such story was to this effect: Frederick gave two men a hearty dinner, after which one of them was made to take a nap and the other to go hunting; both were then put to death and their insides examined with a view to learning whether sleep or exercise immediately after a meal was more favorable to digestion. Frederick's court astrologer was Michael Scot, a native of the British Isles who did much to promote the translation of Aristotle and other learned writings from Arabic into Latin, and who sooner or later won a popular reputation as a magician (Figure 53). Another monarch of the thirteenth century famed for his own erudition as well as his patronage of learning was Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252–1284).


UPSALA
ABERDEEN
ST. ANDREWS
GLASGOW
COPENHAGEN
GREISSWALD
ROSTOCK
Cambridge
Oxford
LEIPZIG
COLOGNE
LOUVAIN
ERFURT
MAINZ
WÜRZBURG
PRAGUE
TRIER
CRACOW
HEIDELBERG
INGOLSTADT
CAEN
Paris
Orléans
FREIBURG
TÜBINGEN
PRESSBURG
Angers
VIENNA
BASEL
BUDA
NANTES
BOURGES
DÔLE
POITIERS
FÜNFKIRCHEN
Vicenza
Vercelli
GRENOBLE
Padua
CAHORS
VALENCE
PAVIA
BORDEAUX
TURIN
FERRARA
Toulouse
ORANGE
Reggio
Bologna
AVIGNON
Montpellier
PISA
Arezzo
AIX
SIENA
PERUGIA
PERPIGNAN
Palencia
Valladolid
ZARAGOZA
Lerida
Rome
BARCELONA
Naples
SIGUENZA
Salamanca
ALCALA
Salerno
PALMA
Lisbon
VALENCIA
Seville
CATANIA

MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES

Those founded in the 14th and 15th centuries are indicated by capital letters.

Rise of universities

But the chief bulwark of learning and education was the throngs of students and teachers who gradually formed universities, that is, self-governing academic gilds, in those places where from year to year there were enough of them to constitute a permanent institution of higher learning At a later date universities were founded by princes, such as that established at Naples by Frederick II, or by the municipal authorities in the Italian communes, and then professors were called from other places and students were gradually attracted But the oldest universities, such as those of Paris, Bologna, and Oxford, grew up spontaneously and almost imperceptibly out of the wanderings of students and the instruction given by individual teachers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries The informal character of this early teaching was slow to disappear, and for a long time many students took neither degrees nor examinations and attended or absented themselves from classes as they pleased It was even longer before the universities came to possess costly permanent buildings But gradually the teachers united into faculties, university statutes came into existence, and the students organized themselves by "nations" or in other unions At Paris there were four nations, the English, Normans, Picards, and "French" (Figure 51). The chief faculties were those of arts (whose instruction led to the degrees of bachelor of arts and master of arts), of medicine, of civil law, of canon law, and of theology As the names Bologna, Paris, and Oxford suggest, universities first developed in Italy, France, and England. They also soon were flourishing in Spain at Salamanca, Valladolid, and elsewhere; but none were founded in Germany until the fourteenth century

We must distinguish between universities like those in Italy, where law and medicine were the chief professional faculties, while theology until the later fourteenth century was left to the conventual schools of the friar orders, and such universities as Paris and Oxford where the theological faculty was supreme and the course in arts was a preparation for it. At Bologna and Padua, on the other hand, the liberal arts were joined in one faculty with the professors of medicine. Consequently at universities of the Paris and Oxford type more stress was laid upon logic for the B A and M A. degrees, while in the Italian universities less time was given to logic and more to the natural philosophy of Aristotle.

The universities were as cosmopolitan in character as was the Church itself. We find Hungarians at Paris and Polish scholars in Italy But the students were supposed to have learned to speak and to understand Latin in grammar schools before they came to the university, where both lectures and disputations were conducted in the Latin language. It has been said that the medieval universities "affected the progress and intellectual development of Europe more powerfully, or perhaps rather more exclusively, than any schools in all likelihood will ever do again." On the other hand, most of them are still in existence today as modern European universities, and have had an unbroken, though of course changing, intellectual life since the time of their foundation. Moreover, it is doubtful if we can apply to the Greek schools of philosophy, or to the learned world of scholars at Alexandria, or to the Roman law schools, the name "universities" in the sense in which it applies to the institutions of higher learning both in medieval and modern times. We therefore owe our universities to the Middle Ages.

Our word "university" is derived from the Latin *universitas,* which in the Middle Ages at first meant any gild or corporation. At first the distinctive term for an educational institution was *studium,* or *studium generale,* if there were several faculties. It was natural for the teachers and students in a town, especially if they were unprotected foreigners far from home, to unite in a gild of scholars. And it is easy to see the resemblance between the masters of the Parisian faculties and the master-workmen in a craft gild, and between their students to whom they granted degrees and the apprentices whom the master-workmen admitted to their gild after due training. At Bologna the maturer law students themselves united into *universitates,* chose a rector to enforce their statutes, and hired their teachers.

Academic privileges

Since the universities had grown up to some extent out of church schools, it was customary for them to claim the privileges of the clergy for their members, who usually received the tonsure and could not be tried by secular courts. This last was a useful exemption when the students got into brawls with tavern keepers or fights with the local police. On the other hand, the universities did not wish to remain under the control of the local bishop or other clerical authorities. They therefore sought grants of special privileges and independence from the pope or the king. Or if a university was not satisfied with the treatment which it received in one place, the masters and students might migrate in a body and establish themselves in some other city, since the university seldom owned much real estate and had neither large libraries nor laboratories. A long agreement made in 1228 between the commune of Vercelli and the university included provisions for storing food for students and ceiling prices and arbitration as to their lodgings.

Instruction was given in hired halls where the students sometimes did not even have seats or benches, but squatted on the straw-strewn floor with their notebooks on their knees. As printing had not yet been invented and books were expensive, instruction was largely oral, consisting of lectures and disputations However, there were textbooks on which the lectures were based, the teacher reading a passage out of the book, establishing a correct form of the text, dividing it into sections distinguished by their opening catchwords, and then explaining its meaning and making comments upon it The students could thus make their own copies of the textbook as they went along Consequently lectures were generally two hours long and the faithful student attended about three a day Classes began at six o'clock, at ten there was an intermission for dinner, at noon or soon after instruction was resumed, and at five came the evening meal There were no classes on Sundays, and on the numerous saints' days the program was lighter than usual. Candidates for degrees were commonly required to show their prowess by giving lectures themselves and engaging in disputations

Classroom instruction

The methods employed in lecturing may be further illustrated by two concrete examples in law and medicine from the mouths of the lecturers themselves Odofredus, who died in 1265, opening a course at Bologna on the *Old Digest*, said.

> The following order has customarily been observed by ancient and modern doctors, and particularly by my master, which method I shall retain First, I shall give you the summaries of each title before I take up the text Second, I shall put forth well and distinctly and in the best terms I can the purport of each law (included under that title) Third, I shall read the text in order to correct it (where necessary) Fourth, I shall briefly restate the meaning Fifth, I shall solve conflicts, adding general principles, commonly called *brocardica*, and subtle and useful distinctions and questions with their solutions, so far as divine providence shall enable me. And if any law deserves a review by reason of its celebrity or difficulty, I shall reserve it for an afternoon review.

Later in the century Taddeo Alderotti described his method of lecturing upon the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and the commentary by Galen which accompanies them:

> First, I will state the Aphorism with its brief exposition, second, I will divide the commentary and give its meaning Sometimes, if there should be superfluous words there, I will abbreviate, merely setting forth what is worth noting And sometimes, if there should be obscure brevity there, I will complete and explain it

Taddeo went on to say that he was following the Latin translation of the text by Constantinus Africanus, because it was the version commonly used, but that he regarded it as very faulty and would correct it as occasion required by the later translation made by Burgundio of Pisa

How long did it take to obtain an education and to fulfill the requirements for various degrees? The study of grammar was apt to take from six to eight years In 1252 a bachelor of arts coming up for the licentiate to teach at Paris had to be not under twenty years old, or at least in his twentieth year, and to have attended lectures for five years, or four at the least At Bologna the candidate for the degree of doctor of medicine was required to be at least twenty, and to have studied medicine for five years, or for four years since receiving the licentiate in arts It took five or six years to get the degree of bachelor of laws, six to obtain the doctorate in canon law, seven or eight to become a doctor of civil law, ten years of combining both canon and civil law to get the J U D At Montpellier in 1339 six years were required of the bachelor of civil law and five more for the doctorate Or the eleven years might be reduced to nine by taking a combined course, while at least twelve years were necessary for the J U D The doctorate in theology normally took the longest of all, but Roger Bacon complained of the "boy theologians" in the friar orders, and a Dominican regulation of 1228 provided a minimum of four years attendance on lectures in theology for the doctorate. This regulation, which may have been an emergency and "hurry-up" measure, forbade the candidates to study liberal arts or profane philosophy, but later the Dominicans had their own convent schools, in which the young friar studied the liberal arts for two years, natural philosophy for two or three more, and then theology for three years After becoming a bachelor of theology, he might engage in practice teaching for a while, giving cursory lectures at some university on the Bible for two years and then on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard for two years more After that he would receive the degree of master or doctor of theology and become a full-fledged professor of the subject.

Time required for degrees

Although students were apt to leave home for the universities at a younger age than today, they were placed under little effective discipline or restraint and were likely to indulge in drinking, dicing, and nocturnal escapades Gradually, however, colleges were founded by philanthropic donors, at first for the benefit of poor students These were houses where the student roomed and boarded and where he could be made to get his lessons and keep good hours Courses usually opened and closed with attendance at mass, and the members of the academic community attended the funerals of their fellows No physical training was required and organized athletics were unknown; the universities were primarily and almost exclusively intellectual in character Our present-day academic caps and gowns, however, are a relic of medieval costume, and the medieval *bejaunus* was subjected to much the same treatment and initiations as the freshman of today. The undergraduate

Student life

of all times has been proverbially "broke," and we hear much of poor students and their hardships in the Middle Ages, of how they often went about begging and offering "to sing for the souls of such as assist me," or were granted the privilege of peddling holy water in order to pick up a few pennies Some of the Latin verses written by students or wandering clergy in the twelfth century were far, however, from being directed towards the salvation of souls The *Carmina Burana*, a collection of such poetry found in a Bavarian monastery, are in large part satires upon the clergy, or drinking and love songs couched in a most frivolous and rollicking tone with invocations of Bacchus and other pagan deities

Theology

Theology was so extensively studied at the University of Paris that as early as 1207 Pope Innocent III was attempting, without much success, to limit the number of professors to eight This was before the rise of the friar orders, when the Parisian masters of theology were members of the secular clergy A representative of this era was William of Auvergne, who wrote works on faith, morals, sins and vices, religions, and the universe He closed his career as Bishop of Paris from 1228 to 1249, and although himself a secular, granted the Dominicans their first chair of theology at the University of Paris Contemporary with William but associated with Oxford rather than Paris was Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253) Besides his theological writings he composed a Greek grammar and various short tracts on optical, physical, meteorological, mathematical, experimental, and astrological topics In 1224 he became the first rector of the Franciscans at Oxford and in 1235 Bishop of Lincoln, in which position he displayed sturdy independence, resisting both papal aggression and royal exactions Alexander of Hales, who died in 1245, was a Franciscan theologian from England who tried to reconcile previous Christian opinion with the recent translations from the Arabic and from the works of Aristotle We are told that John of Florence, the second general of the Franciscans, forbade members of his order to receive the doctorate as incompatible with their humility, but that Alexander of Hales refused to give his up and so is the first Franciscan doctor Another Franciscan theologian, Bonaventura, was more given to mysticism than to dogmatic theology By 1272 there were teachers of theology in almost every large town or religious center in England

Canon law

In canon law Raymond of Peñaforte in 1234 made a compilation of papal decretals from previous collections and Gregory IX sent it to the Universities of Paris and Bologna with instructions to teach it In 1298 Boniface VIII added a sixth book (*Liber sextus*) to these five books of Decretals, while the decretals of Clement V are called *Clementines* Subsequent papal decretals were known as *Extravagants,* that is wandering outside (*extra vagantes*) the previous collections They subdivide into the Decretals of John XXII (1316–1334) and *Extravagantes communes* extending to the time of Sixtus IV (1471–1484)

Bibliographical Note

Books of a general or miscellaneous character are H O Taylor, *The Medieval Mind*, 3 vols., C H Haskins, *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* and *Medieval Culture*, M de Wulf, *History of Medieval Philosophy*, vol II (1926), and *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages*, R L Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* (1920) On the universities the standard work is Rashdall, revised by Powicke and Emden (1936), 3 vols The books of R S Tait and Haskins are briefer, my *University Records and Life* (1944) is translation from the sources *Letters of Abelard and Heloise* were translated by Scott-Moncrieff, *Selections from Medieval Philosophers*, by R McKeon On medicine, see Volume II of Max Neuburger's History, translated by Playfair (1920), or my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol I, chapter 31 on Anglo-Saxon, Salernitan and other Latin medicine to 1100, chapter 32, on Constantinus Africanus. On law, Munroe Smith, *The Development of European Law*; Edward Jenks, *A Short History of English Law* (4th edition enlarged, 1929), Holdsworth, *Sources and Literature of English Law*; F R Sanborn, *Origins of the Early English Maritime and Commercial Law* Hrosvita is treated in *English Historical Review*, III (1888), 431–457, Abelard, by Helen Waddell, *Peter Abelard*

XXV

Science From 1200 to 1363

The new Aristotle

ALTHOUGH no little interest in natural science had been displayed in the twelfth century by men like Adelard of Bath and William of Conches, and by the devoted translators from Greek and Arabic, the movement was to accelerate and widen in the thirteenth century, when courses in mathematics, astronomy, and the natural philosophy of Aristotle were given at most universities Aristotle's works on nature had been translated into Latin, chiefly from the Arabic, by the early thirteenth century, but were forbidden for a while at the University of Paris, where logic and theology reigned supreme But eventually all of the extant works of Aristotle became common property, thanks to the labors of two great schoolmen and Dominicans, Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas

Albertus and Aquinas

Albertus set forth the doctrines of Aristotle, with additions of his own, in a series of works which paralleled in titles and contents the works of the Greek philosopher Aquinas encouraged the making of new translations from the Greek, some of which were completed in time for him to use in commentaries of his own Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, a work dealing as its title suggests with things beyond the purely physical, was of great interest to the medieval theologians and gave a further impetus to their science, although, inasmuch as Aristotle believed in neither the creation of the world nor the immortality of the soul, they experienced some difficulty in reconciling all his utterances with their Bibles But most of such difficulties were smoothed away by Albertus and Thomas, who also wrote many theological works. The latter is generally regarded by Roman Catholics as their greatest medieval theologian Both men were indefatigable writers and the collected works of either today fill about forty portly volumes

Natural encyclopedias

Another sign of the increasing interest in nature was the writing of what may best be briefly and roughly described as medieval natural encyclopedias These began with Alexander Neckam who shortly before the end of the twelfth century devoted two out of five books in one of his many treatises in varied fields to "the natures of things" Neckam, who had had a very broad education, was careful to state in his preface that the work was not primarily scientific or philosophical but described natural phenomena in order to draw moral instruction or spiritual allegory from them But he was well informed and appreciative of the scientific spirit, and he gives us our first information concerning some recent inventions such as the mariner's compass

A few decades later the Dominican Thomas of Cantimpré and the Franciscan Bartholomew of England composed much longer works of twenty and nineteen books respectively, with the similar titles *On the Nature of Things* and *Of the Properties of Things* These works were very likely composed for use in the schools or sermons of the authors' respective orders Thomas says that he spent fourteen or fifteen years collecting his material, but the work of Bartholomew seems the more original. Thomas begins with the human body, then turns to psychology, monstrous races of men, various other animals, trees and herbs, waters, gems, metals, the seven regions of air, the heavens, meteorology, and finally the universe and four elements The seven regions of air were marked by dew, snow, hail, rain, "laudanum" (a word then used for a humor of the air in the Orient), manna, and honey, which was then supposed to fall from the air on flowers and herbs, whence the bees gathered it. Bartholomew, on the other hand, begins with God, turns to angels and demons, then to human psychology and physiology, the ages of man and family and domestic life, diseases, the heavens, time and divisions thereof, the elements, meteorology, birds, fish, geography physical and feudal, the mineral kingdom, and terrestrial animals; and finally treats of color, odor, savor, and liquor

Vincent of Beauvais composed, probably after 1250, an even fuller *Mirror of Nature* in thirty-two books and a prologue, but with a good deal of theological matter. The work is essentially a compilation in which he had to rely upon assistants, but despite its voluminousness and multitudinous citations of authorities it is not exhaustive nor representative always of medieval science at its best. Vincent also compiled a *Mirror of History* and a *Mirror of Doctrine* He was chaplain and librarian to Louis IX, King of France, and tutor of the king's children, for whom he composed a pedagogical treatise entitled *On the Education of the Royal Children*

Many writers were inclined to magnify the marvels of the Orient — its gems, drugs, and spices, its magic and its monstrous races But Gerald of Wales (c 1147–1223) would have none of this In his work on the topography of Ireland he devoted seven chapters to a comparison of East and West, in which he dwelt upon the pestiferous nature of all the elements in the Orient, which he held to be the home of poisons, and upon the incomparable moderation and salubrity of western climate.

Psychology

The study of psychology in this period was largely based on Aristotle's *De anima*. Just as Aristotle held that when anything moved, there must be some mover or motive cause in contact with it, so he felt that there must be something in plants which made them grow, something in animals which made them feel, something in man which enabled him to think as well as move and feel. Hence the division of the soul into the vegetative, sensitive, and rational. In addition to the five external senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch, there were distinguished such internal senses as common sense (which combined the sensations from the external senses), imagination, phantasy, cogitation, and memory. Three cavities of the brain were sometimes distinguished, of which the first was devoted to perception and imagination, the middle chamber to thought and reflection, the innermost to memory.

The human body

The human body and constitution in health and sickness was described largely in terms of the four humors — blood, choler, phlegm, and black bile — and four temperaments derived therefrom of sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholy. Besides belonging to one of these four types of man, however, each individual had his own *complexio* or make-up which must always be considered by the careful physician. In addition to the humors, very subtle and air-like bodies called spirits were supposed to circulate in the human body. Galen, as we have seen, had distinguished animal spirits which centered in the brain and performed there the mental functions described above; vital spirits connected with the heart and found in the arteries along with the blood; and natural spirits, whose seat was in the liver. Other kinds of spirits were mentioned, such as visual spirits which some thought went out from the eye to the object and returned with an image of it.

Botany

Among the works of Albertus Magnus is one on vegetables and plants which has earned him the praise of being the greatest figure in the history of botany between Theophrastus in the third century B.C. and Cesalpino in the sixteenth century A.D. Another important work, unknown until recently to historians of botany, was composed soon after 1287 in Italy by Rufinus, whose descriptions of herbs possess marked originality and independent value and include many species not mentioned by Albertus or the botanists of the sixteenth century. While the book of Albert was more theoretical and related to natural philosophy, that of Rufinus was practical and related to the Salernitan and medical tradition and to the knowledge possessed by herbalists in his own day. The startling fact that Rufinus, although he had studied at Naples and Bologna, made no use of and apparently did not know of the book of Albertus Magnus, and the further fact that there is only one extant manuscript of his own work show that the circulation of books and transmission of knowledge in the manuscript age might be very slow and subject to great hazards Yet Renan affirmed that writings produced in Cairo and Cordova in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were known sooner in Paris and Cologne than a modern French volume was in Germany or vice versa As a specific example of Rufinus's original botanical description we may quote his account of the herb called *Gratia Dei* or Grace of God

> Grace of God is fourfold Authors do not say much about this herb There is Grace of God major, medium, minor, and minimum Grace of God major has a square stalk and leaves in couples with two little stems in one place, and the distance apart of the leaves and their stems is four fingers, with the stalk between bare On top it has small violet-colored flowers like those of wild mint
>
> Grace of God medium has a hexagonal stalk about three cubits long and it produces three leaves in a circle and three stems each going out from its leaf. The leaves are like those of the almond tree, and the little stems have two leaves each which differ from the three other leaves which grow out above with three stems after four fingers distance And the leaves are so arranged that three leaves occupy three angles of the stalk and leave three vacant, and the next leaves above occupy those three vacant angles, and so on There is a difference between this herb and the beautiful hexagonal plant which has yellow flowers and little apples, since this has neither the little apples nor the flowers
>
> Grace of God minor has a round stalk, shiny and in part sky-blue and every distance of a thumb it produces many leaves resembling the herb of Saint John On top it has about a dozen very delicate tile-like coverings
>
> Grace of God minimum, which does not grow beyond a span and has very delicate round coverings like a grain of millet, is popularly called by another name, wild purslane Taken in food and drink, it cures dropsy [1]

Mathematics

In the field of mathematics Leonard of Pisa is credited with the introduction in western Europe of the Hindu-Arabic numerals with their use of zero, in a book written first in 1202 and revised in 1228 In Latin manuscripts these numerals were shaped about the same way as today, except that four was represented by ꝸ instead of 4, five by ɥ instead of 5, and seven by Λ instead of 7 The characters for four and seven, however, if tipped the one to the left and the other to the right, are not dissimilar to 4 and 7 In astronomical tables the Hindu-Arabic numerals soon became the rule, although the old Roman numerals continued in use, especially in business

---

[1] Translated from page 149 of my edition of *The Herbal of Rufinus* (University of Chicago Press, 1945)

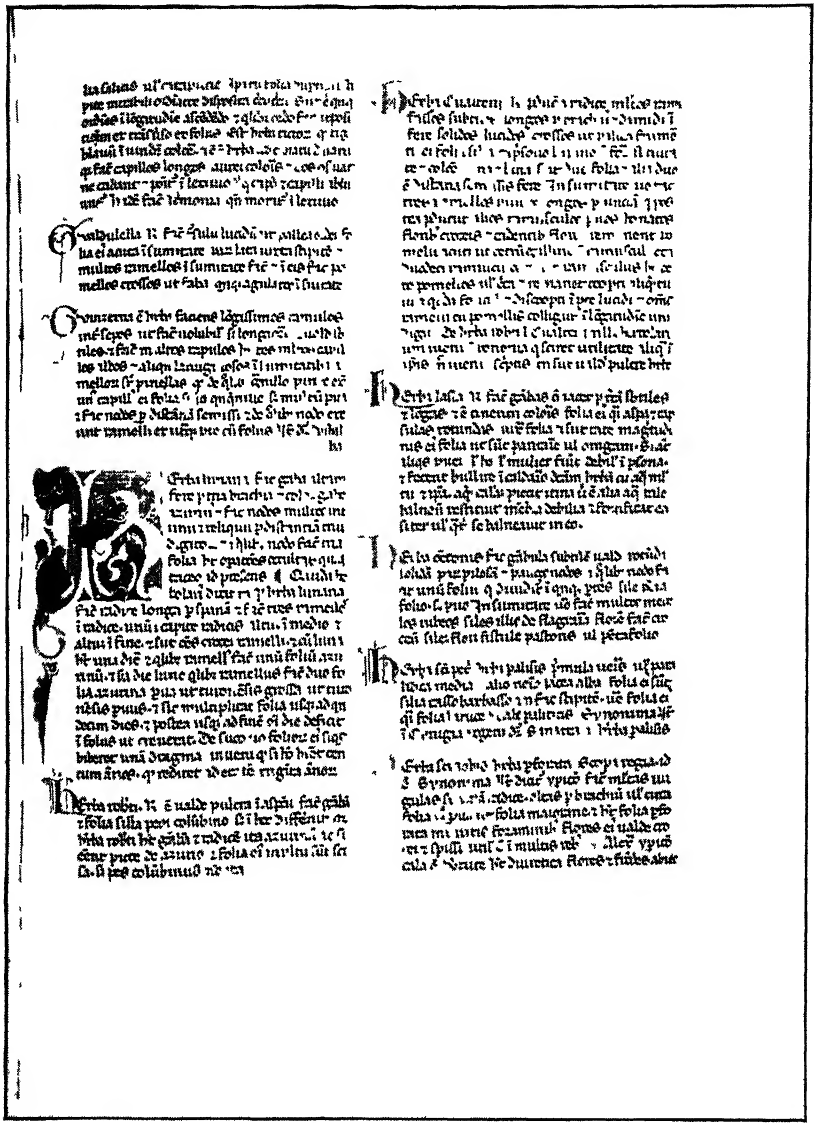


Figure 55

A page from the unique Herbal of Rufinus

Roger Bacon, advising the pope on education, wrote in 1267·

> And so, after the language requirement, I put mathematics in second place as essential to the acquisition of knowledge It is not known to us by nature, yet is closest to natural science of all the disciplines which we acquire by reflection and study It is easier to learn than other subjects, as we see from the fact that boys pick it up readily . . Also the laity learn easily to draw and to do sums and sing and play musical instruments and dance and gesticulate in accordance with the song and the sound of instruments And all these are works of mathematics (*Opus tertium*, cap 29)

Textbooks of Sacrobosco

While the Aristotelian treatises in natural philosophy were themselves used as textbooks, and a few books of Euclid sufficed in geometry, more elementary presentations of arithmetic and astronomy were needed than the work of Leonard of Pisa or the *Almagest* of Ptolemy John of Sacrobosco composed three widely used textbooks. an arithmetic or *Algorismus*, a *Computus* on how to work out the ecclesiastical calendar, and a *Sphere* which was such a masterly exposition of elementary astronomy that it continued to be the leading compendium in that subject into the seventeenth century We quote its clear proofs of the sphericity of the earth:

> That the earth too is round is shown thus. The signs and stars do not rise and set the same for all men everywhere, but rise and set sooner for those in the East than for those in the West, and of this there is no other cause than the bulge of the earth, as celestial phenomena evidence. For one and the same eclipse of the moon, which appears to us in the first hour of the night, appears to Orientals about the third hour of the night, which proves that they had night and sunset before we did, of which setting the bulge of the earth is the cause
>
> That the earth also has a bulge from north to south and vice versa is shown thus. To those living towards the north certain stars are always visible, namely, those near the north pole, while others which are near the south pole are always concealed from them If then anyone should proceed from the north southward, he might go so far that the stars which formerly were always visible to him would now tend towards their setting. And the farther south he went, the more they would be moved towards their setting Again, the same man could see stars which formerly had always been hidden from him. And the reverse would happen to anyone going from the south northward The cause of this is simply the bulge of the earth
>
> Again, if the earth were flat from east to west, the stars would rise as soon for Westerners as for Orientals, which is false Also, if the earth were flat from north to south and vice versa, the stars which were always visible to anyone would continue to be so wherever he went, which is false. But the earth seems flat to human sight because it is so extensive.
>
> That the water has a bulge and is approximately round is shown thus Let a

> signal be set up on the seacoast, and a ship leave port and sail away so far that the eye of a person standing at the foot of the mast can no longer discern the signal. Yet, if the ship is stopped, the eye of the same person, if he has climbed to the top of the mast, will see the signal clearly. Yet the eye of a person at the bottom of the mast ought to see the signal better than he who is at the top, as is shown by drawing straight lines from both to the signal. And there is no other explanation of this thing than the bulge of the water. For all other impediments, such as clouds and rising vapors, are excluded.[1]

This passage shows us that long before Columbus it was well known to educated persons that the earth was round, and that no astronomer thought it to be flat.

The standard *Theory of the Planets*, a subject taken up after the *Sphere*, seems to have been written by Campanus of Novara, chaplain to Pope Urban IV (1261–1264); this work traced the intricate movement of the planets through the Ptolemaic epicycles, eccentrics, and equants.

A more original mathematician and physicist was Jordanus Nemorarius (d. 1237) who wrote an important book on weights as well as arithmetical tracts. Roger Bacon referred to the twenty-eighth proposition in Jordanus's *Triangles* and cited his work on weights at some length.

Alfonsine Tables

Astronomical tables have come down to us for the meridians of many cities such as London, Marseilles, Novara, and Paris. The most justly famous were those drawn up for Alfonso the Wise of Castile about 1270, although they take the first year of his reign, 1252, as their point of departure. They assumed the existence of a ninth sphere beyond the eighth sphere of the fixed stars and before the final sphere or *primum mobile*, and measured the length of the solar year more accurately than it was to be measured by Copernicus and the Prutenic Tables of the sixteenth century. By Alfonso's order, also, various astronomical, astrological, magical, and necromantic works were translated from Arabic into Spanish.

Roger Bacon

Roger Bacon, a Franciscan at Oxford, lived from 1214 to 1292 or later. He never completed the comprehensive work on philosophy which he had planned, but left behind numerous particular treatises and fragments, many of which have been printed only during the last half century. His chief extant work is the *Opus maius*, written in response to a request which Guy de Foulques had made before he became pope Clement IV on February 5, 1265, and which he reiterated as a papal mandate on June 22, 1266. In this work and two supplements to it, called *Opus minus* and *Opus tertium* (that is, the lesser work and the third work) Bacon criticized the teachers of his time and some leading contemporaries like Albertus Magnus who belonged to the rival Dominican order. Positively he urged that philosophy and science could be of great service to the Church, and classed "experimental science" with the ancient languages, mathematics, optics, and ethics as the five subjects of most importance after theology. His "experimental science," however, was more like our "applied" than our "pure" science of today, furthermore, it stressed the working of marvels, and bordered on natural magic, while his mathematics included astrology He explained the refraction of light and burning glasses as follows.

---

[1] A complete translation of the *Sphere* will be found in my *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and its Commentators* (University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp. 118–142.

> I have shown that species radiate along straight lines so long as movement is in the same medium, such as the sky, fire, air, or water But when it strikes a body which is more subtle or more dense, then it still follows a straight line, if it strikes it perpendicularly But rays striking at unequal angles slant off from the surface of the second body, from their previous path making an angle there, and this slanting angle is called refraction
>
> This refraction varies in two ways If the second medium is denser than the first, as happens in the case of descent from the heavens to the spheres of the elements, then the line of refraction falls between the original direction and a perpendicular drawn from the point of refraction into the second medium But if the second medium is rarer, then the original direction is continued between the line of refraction and the perpendicular. This variation of refraction in the radiation of natural forces is one of the greater marvels of nature and shows that nature has almost infinite sagacity For by these varied approaches and refractions are produced infinite secrets of nature and even manifested to our senses, as is seen in a bottle full of water or a round crystal catching the rays of the sun. For by this twofold refraction of which the first occurs in the bottle which is denser than the air, and the second in the air beyond the bottle which is subtler than it, it happens that rays are gathered to a point beyond the bottle in which point a fire is kindled which will burn light combustible substances (*Opus tertium*, cap 32)

Bacon went on to hold that knowledge of such refraction could be reached only through geometry.

> For should you ask the cause of this combustion from any purely natural philosopher, he could not answer, but would say that it was from an occult cause. But the boy John has brought along a spherical crystal to test it, and I have trained him in the demonstration and geometry of this occult thing There is no one in all Italy and not two at Paris who can give an adequate explanation of it

It was, however, within only a few years after Bacon wrote these discouraging words that his fellow countryman, John Peckham, composed a textbook in the field of optics which was so generally used that it came to be called the "Common Perspective" (*Communis perspectiva*), while its author terminated his career as Primate of All England, or Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279–1292 About the same time a Pole named Witelo completed his ten books on optics These were based in large part upon the Arabic work of Alhazen, and like that work were characterized by enthusiasm for experimentation But Witelo's treatment was fuller than that of his Arabic predecessor and embodied original observations made by himself at Padua and Viterbo in Italy.

Optics and perspective

The old notion that Bacon was persecuted or imprisoned for his interest in science has been generally abandoned But in 1277 Stephen Tempier, Bishop of Paris, with "doctors of sacred Scripture," condemned 219 opinions attributed to Siger of Brabant, Boetius of Denmark, and others They were accused of holding "that the utterances of theology are founded on fables, that there are false statements in Christian Scripture, and that Christianity hinders science," and were further condemned for holding various astrological tenets Father Mandonnet thinks that Siger would have disowned many of the 219 articles, and that his persecutors further inserted among the 219 articles moderate views which had been expressed by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in order to give the impression that infidels, Averroists and moderate Aristotelians were birds of a feather, and to discredit the combination of Aristotelian and Christian doctrine which Albert and Aquinas had produced At any rate the condemnation had little lasting effect, and we find Dante speaking of Siger in complimentary terms Nor did it keep Peter of Abano, who taught at both Paris and Padua, from indulging freely in astrology

Condemnation of 1277

Peter was born in 1250 at Abano, a place near Padua which is famous for its medicinal mud baths. He spent some time in Constantinople where he learned Greek, so that he was able to translate a number of Galen's works and perhaps some by other authors. Peter was interested in astronomy as well as astrology and wrote a *Lucidator*, discussing various questions concerning the heavens, and a separate treatise on the movement of the eighth sphere. But he was primarily a medical man and his chief work was the *Conciliator* of differences between philosophers and physicians This work is a good example of the scholastic method. In each case the question is stated and any doubtful terminology is explained, the utterances of past authorities bearing upon it are reviewed; the true solution is then reached and the reasons for it are given; but fourth and finally, the hostile objections are

Peter of Abano

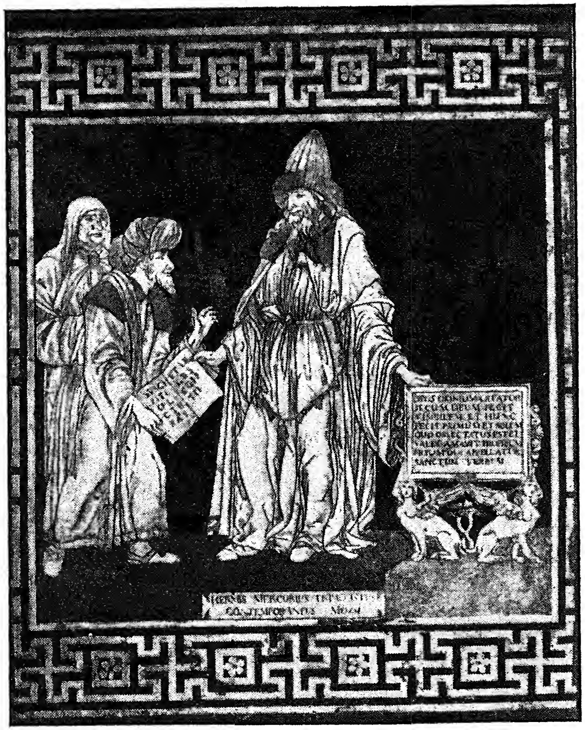


Figure 56

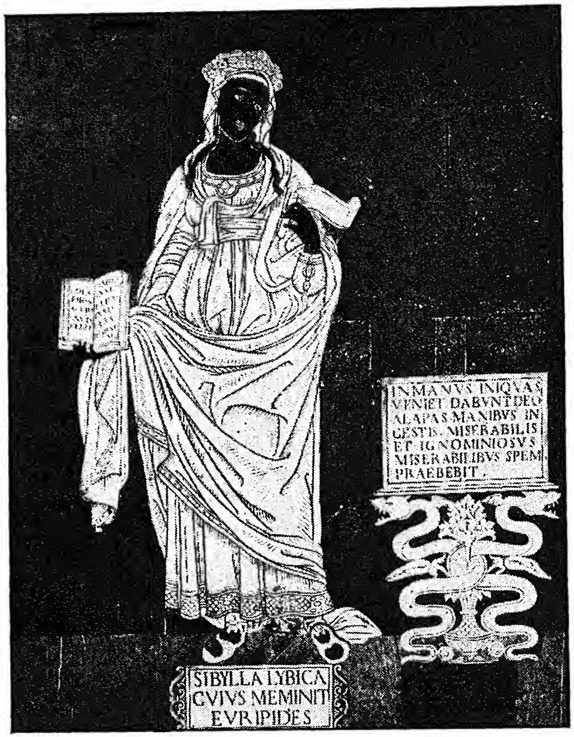

INMANVS INIQVAS VENIET DABVNT DEO ALAPAS MANIBVS IN GESTIS MISERABILIS ET IGNOMINIOSVS MISERABILIBVS SPEM PRAEBEBIT
SIBYLLA LYBICA CVIVS MEMINIT EVRIPIDES

Figure 57

MYSTIC LORE

Left, Hermes Trismegistus; *right*, the Libyan Sibyl; both from the pavement of the cathedral at Siena answered fully Peter also wrote on poisons and on physiognomy or the art of telling a person's character and probable destiny from his features and physique, and did not scorn the employment in medical practice of incantations or of the image of a lion impressed on gold "when the sun was in mid-sky, with the heart of a lion, when Jupiter or Venus was in aspect and the evil unfortunate stars were declining" On the other hand, he made some approach towards the concept of the circulation of the blood in his discussion of the dilation and constriction of heart and arteries, and he had learned from Marco Polo that life was possible at the equator Sooner or later he acquired a popular reputation as a magician and necromancer and even during his lifetime was under the watchful eye of the Inquisition, but died a natural death between 1315 and 1318.

Pseudo and occult science

The example of Peter shows us that close to science in the thought of the time lay occult science and what we should regard as pseudo-science The most popular medieval work of this type was not composed during the thirteenth century but was translated then from the Arabic into Latin by Philip of Tripoli Subsequently it was translated into almost every European language This was the *Secret of Secrets* (*Secretum secretorum*) which purported to have been written by Aristotle for his pupil, Alexander the Great The book embroiders its occult science upon the border of political science as well as of natural science, and offers counsel on kingship as well as on personal hygiene Roger Bacon showed his taste for this sort of literature by writing a commentary upon it A close second to the *Secret of Secrets* in the procession of supposititious occult writings was the book of Secrets attributed to Albertus Magnus (*Secreta Alberti*) It was printed much more often than any one of Albert's undisputedly genuine works and evidently appealed to a wider, if more credulous and less intellectual, audience The treatise deals with the marvelous virtues of herbs, stones, and animals Although probably not by Albert, it was ascribed to him from an early date and had apparently taken form by the end of the thirteenth century Many spurious works circulated under the name of Hermes Trismegistus (Thrice-Great) (Figure 56), who was regarded as the father of alchemy and other occult arts The vaticinations of the sibyls (Figure 57) were cited not only to attest Christianity but to corroborate astrological predictions To the wizard Merlin were ascribed both prophecies and works of alchemy

It should be realized that men then were very credulous not only concerning divine miracles and relics of the saints but also concerning marvels of nature A few indisputable facts for which they could not account, such as the magnet's attraction for iron, made them ready to believe in a host of wonders Marvelous occult virtues were attributed to herbs and even to parts of animals, such as the blood of a fox or the liver of a vulture Snakes, mice, and various nasty substances were highly prized for their supposed medicinal properties Going to a medieval doctor was far worse than a session with a modern dentist, for he was likely to prescribe that the patient take whole in a little wine or water "the worms with many feet that are found between the trunk and bark of trees " Gilbert of England prescribed this as a remedy for spots in the eye, but added the recommendation that the dose be accompanied by repetition of the Lord's Prayer As for toothache, among the treatments for it listed in the medical work of a scholar from the Spanish peninsula who finally became Pope John XXI, we find filling the cavity with the brain of a partridge or with the pulverized teeth of a dog, touching it with a dead man's tooth or with a root shaped like a tooth, as well as the more sensible application of opium The greatest virtues among terrestrial objects were attributed to gems, some of which, it was believed, could confer wisdom and eloquence, graciousness or success or riches upon their bearers, or even make them invisible

The supreme power in the natural universe was reserved to the stars By the movements of the planets all changes in the world of physical nature and many in the life of man were supposed to be regulated It was from the stars that gems and herbs derived their occult virtues Many doctors inspected the sky with reference to the diseases and treatment of their patients, and many rulers kept astrologers at their courts Even bishops and popes were at times known to consult them The alchemists tried to convert other metals into gold, and often proceeded toward this goal by mystic methods with incantations and useless ceremonial. However, the alchemists of the thirteenth century were more sober and scientific and less superstitious than those of the Greek- or Arabic-speaking worlds They were already on the road to modern chemistry, while recent atom-splitting and other research is leading us today back to the belief in one primal matter or energy behind the chemical elements and physical atoms

Peter of Abano, however, who was probably the most learned man living around the year 1300, despaired of any such discovery as that of atomic weights, declaring it impossible to find the quantities and weights of the constituent elements in any object Such uncertainty concerning the composition of bodies was one reason for the belief in occult virtues

Scientific apparatus was still in a primitive state and the experimental method and mathematical accuracy of modern science were not yet in existence. But men like the alchemists and architects experimented a good deal in their own way and attained to some important discoveries as a result The mariner's compass with its magnetic needle, gunpowder, and magnifying lenses for eyeglasses all first became known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries New dyes and industrial processes such as the improved manufacture of paper were discovered One of the commentators on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco, Robertus Anglicus, reveals that in 1271 the mechanical clock run by wheels and weights was in the process of invention By the time Dante wrote it had become a commonplace Chimney flues and glass windows were to increase greatly the comfort of domestic life The rudder, which used to be regarded as a fourteenth-century invention, is put by Lefebvre des Noettes early in the thirteenth century and perhaps is already depicted on a font of about 1180 Attached by iron sockets to the stern of the vessel and guided by a tiller, it was a great improvement over the movable oar or two oars which had been employed previously A superior overshot water wheel came into use in mills

Experiment and invention

Hebrew scholarship

More persistent and harsher than the opposition to the works of Aristotle and Averroes or to Ptolemaic and Arabic astrology was objection to such Jewish books as the *Talmud* This work had been condemned to be burned publicly at Paris under Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241), and the condemnation was renewed in 1244 One of the commission of five scholars skilled in the Hebrew language and in the philosophy of the Jews and Arabs whom Louis IX, King of France, appointed to pass upon this question, was Raymond Martini, a Dominican of Catalonia, who later produced a remarkable work of learning, *The Fist of Faith* (*Pugio fidei*), in which he employed a wide knowledge of Jewish and Arabic lore in an effort to prove the truth of Christianity against the Jews with many quotations in Hebrew and Aramaic It was not printed until the seventeenth century, but a similar work by Porchetus Salvaticensis, a Carthusian monk of Genoa, composed in 1303 and entitled *Victory over the Jews* was printed in 1520 by Augustinus Justinianus, who marveled at such a vast knowledge of Hebrew lore by a Christian living in a city where Jews were forbidden to reside, yet who knew their works down to the most minute diacritical mark, so that one would think he had spent his entire life in Hebrew schools Nicolas of Lyra, a Norman by birth who joined the Franciscan order in 1292 and died in 1340, in his standard Biblical commentaries (*Postillae*) profited by his knowledge of Hebrew and further wrote such treatises as "Whether from the scriptures which are received by the Jews it can be effectively proved that our Savior was both God and man" and "A Tractate concerning the difference between our translation and the Hebrew text of the Old Testament."

Linguistic studies

Missionary activity was another motive for linguistic studies The Dominicans gave attention to this in the thirteenth century, when they had two houses at Constantinople whence they despatched missionaries through the East A Dominican who was born at Waterford, Ireland, knew Greek and Arabic as well as French and Latin. Raymond Lull, who was a missionary as well as a troubadour and a scholar, induced the Council of Vienne in 1311 to pass a decree ordering instruction in Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic at the five leading universities of the papal court, Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca The records of the university of Paris and that at Avignon contain allusions to such teachers of Greek and Hebrew through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

The Lullian art

Raymond Lull (1235–1315) devoted more than one treatise to his *Ars magna* and exposition of its use in various fields of learning. This Lullian art was a sort of graphic or mechanized logic, a method of reasoning by use of assorted geometrical figures, colors, diagrams, letters, spaces, and the like It continued to be taught in the Spanish peninsula and the island of Majorca long after Lull's death It all seems somewhat fantastic, but its use of letters of the alphabet to represent concepts and substances is in a sense a forerunning of later mathematical notation for known quantities Letters of the alphabet were already in use, however, to indicate points, lines, and circles on geometrical and astronomical diagrams

Political thought

In the domain of political thought the *De regimine principium* of Aegidius Romanus, who flourished about 1290, is one of the most familiar treatises of the century and representative of the attitude of fatherly Christian counsel which was generally offered to potentates until the time of Machiavelli and even sometimes thereafter However, a popular work like the *Secret of Secrets* reflected to some extent the viewpoint of Oriental despotism

Crescenzi on agriculture

Pietro dei Crescenzi, who was born at Bologna about 1233 and attended the university of his native city, then became a judge, and later served many of the Italian cities in the capacity of podesta, might have been expected to devote the leisure of his declining age to the composition of a work on law or politics, when he retired to private life upon his villa or country estate in the neighborhood of Bologna Instead he produced a work on agriculture, *Liber cultus ruris*, or *Liber ruralium commodorum*, or simply *De agricultura*, which was completed by about 1305 and was to have an enormous future influence. Not only does it depict the agricultural lore and practice of the thirteenth century, but it was so great a factor in the agricultural revival of early modern times that Crescenzi has recently been hailed as the father of modern agriculture Between 1471 and 1602 the work appeared in some threescore Latin editions and was also made available in Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Polish

We have now reached the fourteenth century, and with it come new developments in the fields of philosophy, science, law, and medicine

Duns Scotus

Aquinas in his theological *Summa* had constructed a systematic presentation of God, man, and the universe, which combined Aristotelian philosophy with Christian faith, and which rested upon confidence in reason, both divine and human Duns Scotus, who died in 1308, was the leading theologian of the Franciscan order and founded a Scotist school as opposed to the Thomist school of thought which stemmed from Aquinas among the Dominicans Scotus did not live to compose a *Summa* and in the writings he did leave is less constructive than Aquinas but more critical and original Holding that sense perception and experimental verification of nature are the basis of all other knowledge, Scotus rejected argument from definition or *a priori* or *a posteriori* Rather than limit infinite God as reasonable and good, he regarded the world of ideas as well as of nature as created by God, while the right is not so because it is right or reasonable, but because it is what God wills His interest in nature is shown by the following chart which he borrowed from the alchemists and in which the four humors are related to four ages of man, four parts of the human body, and so on:

Blood	Childhood	Liver	Thin air	Butter
Choler	Youth	Heart	Fiery virtue	Milk evaporates
Phlegm	Mature age	Brain	Aqua vitae	Whey
Melancholy	Old age	Bones	Chalk or lime	Cheese

William of Ockham

William of Ockham (died in 1349), another Franciscan of Oxford who perhaps studied there under Scotus, went farther and held that ideas were only psychic compositions from particular sensations We can perceive and be sure only of particular objects, universal concepts are creatures of our minds, and the notion of God, which is the most universal of universals, is the farthest removed from certainty. Ockham also rejected the Aristotelian conception of causality; phenomena are not caused necessarily but are contingent, that is, happen so. But while human experience and reason and the book of nature cannot prove the existence of God, divine revelation discloses it, and Ockham affirmed his faith in all that the Church believes.

While such contentions were unfavorable to the rational theology of

Aquinas, they were not hostile to exercise of dialectic and psychology Rather they were attained by a rigorous use of both Nor were they hostile to natural science Rather, by discouraging the study of universal and metaphysical concepts, they encouraged the study of particular things in nature which were accessible to sense perception and experimental method Duns Scotus was interested in both natural science and mathematics and quoted the writings of alchemists. Also the break with Aristotle led to steps in the direction of modern science

Toward modern science

The Dominican, Dietrich von Freiberg, besides a score of other works, between 1304 and 1311 gave the first satisfactory account and explanation of the rainbow in Latin, improving on those of Aristotle and Alhazen An Arabic commentator on Alhazen also abandoned the Aristotelian explanation of the rainbow and gave a good account of his own at about the same time, but he and Dietrich seem to have worked independently The treatise of Dietrich was not printed until 1814, so that incorrect explanations of the rainbow continued to be published by scientists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

Aristotle in his *Physics* had distinguished two kinds of motion from place to place, natural and violent. Natural motion was that by which displaced portions of the four elements sought to regain their natural place in the universe, and was up or down from the center of the earth and inner circumference of the heavens The heavy element earth clusters about the center of the universe The element fire has its natural place next to the sphere of the moon. A rock or clod, in which the element earth predominates, if released in mid-air, will therefore fall to the ground or sink in water to the bottom. The flame of a candle, being primarily of the element fire, rises through the air towards its higher sphere Violent motion is contrary to natural, as when one hurls a stone upwards into the air or shoots an arrow horizontally at a foe. Aristotle, who in general believed that physical action of one thing upon another was possible only by actual contact, held that such motion required a mover or moving cause in constant contact with the thing moved, and that this was supplied, after the missile left the hand or bow, by the surrounding air which as an elastic medium continued the propulsion which the hand or bowstring had initiated He further thought that the velocity of the missile at first increased.

These views were to be considerably modified and amended in the first two-thirds of the fourteenth century Albert of Saxony taught that the movement of a falling body was uniformly accelerated in proportion to the time elapsed and the space covered. As for violent motion, Jean

Buridan and others developed a theory of impetus which had already been suggested by Olivi (1247–1298) in the previous century, that the projectile itself received from the thrower an impetus or motive force which varied with the amount of matter in the missile (an approach to the Newtonian conception of mass) William of Ockham went further in the direction of the modern conception of inertia by discussing local and projectile motion without bringing in any moving force Buridan and Albert of Saxony seem to have abandoned Aristotle's notion that the velocity of a missile at first increased, since they mention acceleration only in the case of falling bodies Nicolas Oresme, who died in 1382, extended the doctrine of impetus to the heavenly bodies, holding that God at creation had only had to set them going, as one starts a mechanical clock

If earth is heavier than water, why does any dry land appear above the surface of the ocean? Previously the explanation had been offered that God or the stars by their influence had drawn this land above the sea Buridan made the more strictly physical suggestion that the center of gravity was not the same as the mathematical center of the sphere of earth so that one half of it sank deeper into the sphere of water while a portion of the other half projected beyond the ocean Whatever the explanation, evidently most of the heavier earth must be under water — although some water might be trapped in caverns within our globe and other water be in the air as clouds and humidity Hence the generally accepted notion that there was no land in the southern or western hemisphere and that the habitable world was confined to the eastern half of the northern hemisphere The notion of a slow shifting of the earth's crust and interior, so that what is now on the surface will in the course of ages be at the center and vice versa, is stated by Albert of Saxony and an anonymous writer The latter asserts that it is not found in the writings of Aristotle, but it was very likely suggested by Aristotle's statement that what is now land was once sea and vice versa

Calculationes of Suiseth

Another Englishman, Richard Suiseth or Swineshead, composed his famous *Calculationes*, which led Cardan in the sixteenth century to rank him, along with Duns Scotus, among the world's ten leading intellects, and which is an important landmark in the development of the calculus and of mathematical physics It discusses such topics as intensity and falling-off of qualities, uniformity and irregularity, mixed substances, density and rarity, velocity of augmentation, reaction, potency, maximum and minimum, resistance, the intensity of luminous bodies, and the action of light in various media Another Englishman, William of Hentisbery, suggested that if anything was rarefied, something else must become condensed, and that it was impossible that anything grow hot unless some other thing grew cold. Such discussions were primarily logical and theoretical, but may include some reference to actual experiments, such as that of rotating a wheel containing mercury by the application of heat or that of raising a flat plate from the surface of water, or to imaginary experiments such as that, if a heavy body were moved in a vacuum, it would not become heated, because there would be no friction from the air.

Mathematics

Turning to more strictly mathematical works than the *Calculationes* of Suiseth, in the field of arithmetic may be noted the *Trattato d'abbaco* (1339) of Paolo Dagomari of Prato in which are treated the reckoning of interest, exchange, weights, money, and mensuration, and the *Quadripartitum numerorum* of Jean de Murs (1343) who had already in 1321 written on fractions, squaring the circle, and music, in 1323 again on music, and in 1324 on numbers Richard of Wallingford, who died in 1336, had written on trigonometry Thomas Bradwardine, who was to die in 1349 as Archbishop of Canterbury, composed in 1328 a work on the subject of proportion, which henceforth became a favorite; also a speculative geometry, and a *De continuo* in which he debated whether the continuum is composed of divisible or indivisible, finite or infinite parts In connection with proportion Bradwardine discussed relative velocities

Astronomy

The Alfonsine Tables, originally issued in Spanish about 1270, seem not to have circulated in Latin nor to have been known to astronomers outside of Spain until the early fourteenth century, when *Canons* on them in Latin began to appear Independent astronomical observation was common In 1302 a correction of the position of the stars was made at Barcelona for the King of Aragon, by use of two large armillaries. Positions of the planets and fixed stars at various dates through the years 1312–1315 were recorded for the meridian of Paris The aforesaid Jean de Murs, while still an undergraduate at Paris in 1318, observed the exact moment of the vernal equinox at Evreux with a *kardaja* having a radius of sixteen feet which, as he tells us, was set up "on immobile stone" and "as absolutely straight as possible." The courses of the comets of 1299, 1301, 1315, 1337, and 1338 were observed and recorded by Geoffrey of Meaux and others The need of reforming the Julian calendar was generally recognized by astronomers and computists. Peter III of Aragon summoned to Barcelona two astronomers to draw up new Tables of the true places of the planets from 1361 to 1433 They went to work on January 1, 1360, not trusting in past books but employing large armillae and other instruments sixteen cubits or more in diameter and executing painstaking observations of both planets and fixed stars by day and night until towards the end of 1366 Other Tables from 1361 were drawn up at Perpignan.

Meteorology

Attempts were made to predict the weather from the positions of the stars, and some records of actual weather are extant from this period William Merle from 1337 to 1343 made such monthly at Oxford and in north Lincolnshire, the record becoming fuller from 1340 on He began the day with sunrise and usually noted only bad or unusual weather Evno of Wurzburg set down with precise dates and the positions of the planets various meteorological events of the years 1331–1355, such as hot spells, rain, cold, floods, snowfalls, frosts, great winds, and thunderstorms.

Alchemical literature

The first half of the fourteenth century saw a great output of Latin alchemical writing under such names as Arnald of Villanova, John Dastin, a Petrus Bonus in Istria and Dalmatia, Niccolò de Comitibus, Ortolanus, and John of Rupescissa, indicative of a widespread geographical interest in the art There also were many works of anonymous or uncertain authorship Perscrutator or Robert of York inquired into the forces which cause elements to form compounds, and Walter of Odington discussed the proportions in which the elements and four primal qualities of hot and cold, dry and moist, enter into compounds A problem that was often attacked was how to obtain the elements or qualities in a pure state The old theory that the seven metals were composed of mercury and sulphur in varying degrees of purity was abandoned by some for the doctrine that gold at least was to be obtained by mercury alone John of Rupescissa was imprisoned from time to time by his superiors in the Franciscan order, perhaps because some of his prophecies seemed to side with the discredited Spiritual Franciscans His work on the Fifth Essence (other than the four elements) to maintain health and prolong life is chiefly occupied with various distillations, especially of alcohol and cordials, although also with some new chemicals such as sugar of antimony John wrote in a picturesque and racy style of his own, and his work, readily distinguishable from other alchemical treatises, made a wide and deep impression Here is an example of his lively style.

> God is witness that I shall now reveal to you so great a secret that it has hitherto been revealed to few or none and is the archanum of all philosophers Pulverize the mineral antimony until it is imperceptible to the touch and put it in the best distilled vinegar until the vinegar is colored red.
>
> This done, remove the colored vinegar in another vase and pour on the anti-

mony more vinegar until, over a slight fire, it too becomes colored, when it should be removed. And continue the process until the vinegar no longer colors.

Then put all the vinegar which has colored into a still, and first the vinegar will rise. Then you will behold a stupendous miracle, because through the beak of the alembic you will see, as it were, a thousand particles of the blessed mineral descend in ruby drops like blood.

Preserve this blessed liquor by itself in a strong glass bottle tightly sealed, because it is a treasure which the whole world cannot equal. Behold a miracle! forsooth the great sweetness of antimony, so that it surpasses the sweetness of honey. And I declare by God's love that the human intellect can scarcely believe the virtue and worth of this water or fifth essence of antimony. And Aristotle in the book, *Secret of Secrets*, says that it is its lead.

Believe me that never in nature was there a greater secret. For all men have toiled to sublimate the spirits of minerals and never had the fifth essence of the aforesaid antimony. In short, I never would be able to express the half of this discovery. For it takes away pain from wounds and heals marvelously. Its virtue is incorruptible, miraculous, and useful beyond measure. Forty days it needs to putrefy in dung in a sealed bottle, and then it works marvels.

Nor do you think that what I have said is impossible. For if ceruse is put in distilled vinegar and boiled in it for two hours or more until the vinegar evaporates and what remains is of the thickness of oil, this residue is called Oil of Saturn and has the sweetness of honey. However, that sweetness is a will o' the wisp, while the sweetness of the fifth essence of antimony is as the sweetness of honey and sugar combined.

Believe me, you may turn the pages of all the books of the philosophers, and you will never find such as it is, nor will you find a true art so that anything excepting quicksilver can be marvelously colored red. So praise God![1]

Oresme

Oresme in his work on the configuration of qualities suggested a geometrical representation of the intensity and remission of forms which led Duhem to hail him as the inventor of analytical geometry. His attempt to explain how mind and body are affected by music and perhaps by magic in terms of such varied configuration of difformity bears some resemblance to biochemical passages in a presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1933 on "enzymic structures which display their influences at the surface of colloidal particles or at other surfaces within the cell," "molecules closely related in their structure," and "the specificity of the cell catalysts" (*London Times*, September 7, 1933). Oresme further introduced the use of fractional exponents.

In the history of the medieval development of Roman law the period of Post-Glossators or Bartolists, as distinct from the Glossators, was initiated by Cino de Pistoia and his more famous pupil, Bartolus of Saxoferrato (1313–1357). Cino already alludes to "modern novelties." Bartolus, who was a creative legal mind, broke away from the *Great Gloss* of Accursius and by independent thinking, constructed new, ingenious, and far-reaching theories which were adapted to the economic, social, and political conditions of his own times and rich in future possibilities. He made frequent use of canon law and also made room for the laws of the Italian cities whether statutory or customary. He declared that the cities in their own territories had succeeded to the sovereign power of the Roman emperor. He wrote against tyranny and was democratic in his political attitude. Bartolus taught at Pisa and Perugia, was married and had a family, and the citizenship of Perugia was conferred upon him despite an existing law that no professor in its university might be a citizen.

---

[1] Adapted from my *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (Columbia University Press), III, 359–360.

Bartolus, Post-Glossators

The best-known name in canon law in the first half of the fourteenth century is that of Giovanni d'Andrea, who died on July 7, 1348, but he was less independent in his thought than Bartolus and often borrowed extensively from his predecessors.

In the fourteenth century it became common for both lawyers and physicians to compose collections of *Consilia*, made up of the replies and advice which they had made to different clients and patients with reference to particular law cases or complaints and diseases. Such collections of medical *Consilia* show that the doctors did not merely pore over Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, or the compilations and theoretical works of their contemporaries, but also wrote and read about actual cases, in other words were engaged in clinical medicine.

Consilia

Many towns had salaried municipal physicians. Venice even called in specialists from other towns: in 1322 Giovanni de Lucca from Palermo in Sicily for cases of gout; in 1330, Giberto da Fano for the stone, and Pietro da Fermo for hernia. Two frequent themes of medical treatises were poisons and ways to avoid or cure them, and mineral baths. Jacopo de' Dondi (1293–1359) who became municipal physician of Chioggia in 1313 and returned to his native Padua as professor in 1342, devised a method of making salt from hot saline springs and won the epithet of "dall' Orologio" from an astronomical clock that he finished in 1344. Even more elaborate was the clock constructed and described by his son Giovanni de' Dondi (1318–1389), on which he spent ten years, and which was ranked as one of the wonders of the world.

Medicine

Dissection of human bodies was carried on in the Italian universities at least as early as the fourteenth century, not to mention private autopsies performed by practicing physicians. The textbook most commonly followed in such dissections was the *Anatomy* of Mundinus, composed in 1316. It continued in use for the two following centuries, although it was sometimes criticized. First printed at Padua in 1478, it was followed by thirty-three more editions, the last in 1580.

The activities of a professor of medicine in the year 1345 are set forth by Gentile da Foligno at the close of his treatise on fevers, which takes the form of a commentary on a section of the *Canon* of Avicenna which he finished in September and which was the outcome of academic lectures. But that year he had lectured on the entire second and fourth books of the *Canon,* on the briefer treatise of Galen *On Accident and Disease,* and on the *Prognostics* of Hippocrates with the commentary, presumably that of Galen. Besides this teaching he had written on *De accidenti et morbo,* on tastes or sauces, on mixing medicines, and "an arduous and prolix discussion of degrees," that is, the relative degree of heat or cold, dryness or moisture, in various drugs.

Surgery. Guy de Chauliac

Guy de Chauliac was a peasant boy whom local lords, instead of condemning to a servile life at the plough, educated at Toulouse, Montpellier, Bologna, and Paris, so that he rose to be physician to several popes at Avignon. His great work on surgery was not in the form of university lectures, but written in 1363 to solace his old age and exercise his mind. Already in 1900, 56 manuscripts of it were known; from 1478 on it appeared in 129 printed editions, and was translated into many languages. Guy was unjust to his medieval Latin predecessors in saying that they followed one another like cranes, a remark which has sometimes been incorrectly interpreted as marking him out as the first to break away from medieval stagnation towards modern progress. On the contrary, he sometimes failed to follow modern leads which they had given, and treated certain topics less satisfactorily than they. Also he subjected himself to his own reproach, for he gave a fuller account and critique of the surgical knowledge of his predecessors than any one of them had done. This, too, had a bad result, that until recently historians did not go back of his summary to the earlier writings themselves. His work, like those of his predecessors, is partly a compilation from previous writers, partly original. But he gave the fullest picture and was the most critical. Though he was a friend of Petrarch, his discussion and method are still scholastic and unaffected by humanism. His work, like that of Avicenna, is more systematically arranged than those of the ancient Greek medical writers. But it is not modern, since many points which today would be closely related, are found widely scattered in his treatment. Of surgical instruments the tooth-key or pelican is first mentioned by him, and he was perhaps the first to use the catheter to diagnose stone in the bladder

Libraries

Last but not least let us say a word about libraries Individuals gathered libraries at least as early as Gerbert who before the year 1000 bought books and hired copyists at Rome, in other parts of Italy, in Germany, and in Flanders But the best preserved as well as the oldest libraries were monastic Ripoll in the north of the Spanish peninsula had 65 manuscripts in 979; in 1046 it had 192 including Latin classics as well as books of ritual and the writings of the church fathers A partial list which has been preserved of volumes that in the twelfth century were found in Christchurch Abbey, Canterbury, shows a wide knowledge of the classics and love of letters Mabillon and Martène in the seventeenth century discovered catalogues of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the monastery of Cluny which listed nearly a thousand volumes With the rise of wandering scholars who needed portable volumes and the development of universities, the monastic *scriptorium* where manuscripts had been copied declined in importance (Figure 58) Students wrote out their own books in the form of notes taken in the classroom, or standard texts were multiplied in the following fashion An *exemplar* or carefully corrected copy of the text would be set up in unbound sections or pieces (*peciae*) normally eight double-columned pages each A master or student could borrow one of these at a time to copy for a fee of a penny and get another when he returned the first Thus in the case of a text of four hundred pages nearly fifty persons could be making copies simultaneously This practice led to the multiplication of private libraries Hugo von Trimberg, a lay schoolmaster at Saint Gangolf in der Theuerstadt vor Bamberg from 1260 to 1309, gathered a private library of two hundred volumes, as many as Petrarch had At the same time, some works were rare, so that we find in a thirteenth-century manuscript of the commentary by Aquinas on Aristotle's *Ethics* a note as to the owners of other works from whom these might be borrowed Besides private libraries there were public ones Richard de Furnival left his books, including over twenty classical Latin authors, to Amiens for a town library King Louis IX of France opened his library to the public, as did a bishop of Cavaillon "To find in modern times a like public service , one must wait several centuries" (*Histoire littéraire*) Many bequests of books were made to the colleges within the universities. At Paris the Collège de Sorbonne, founded about 1257, by 1290 had 1017 manuscripts The library of Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) contained thirty-three Greek manuscripts, including a ninth-century codex of Ptolemy and Theon, and such works, as yet

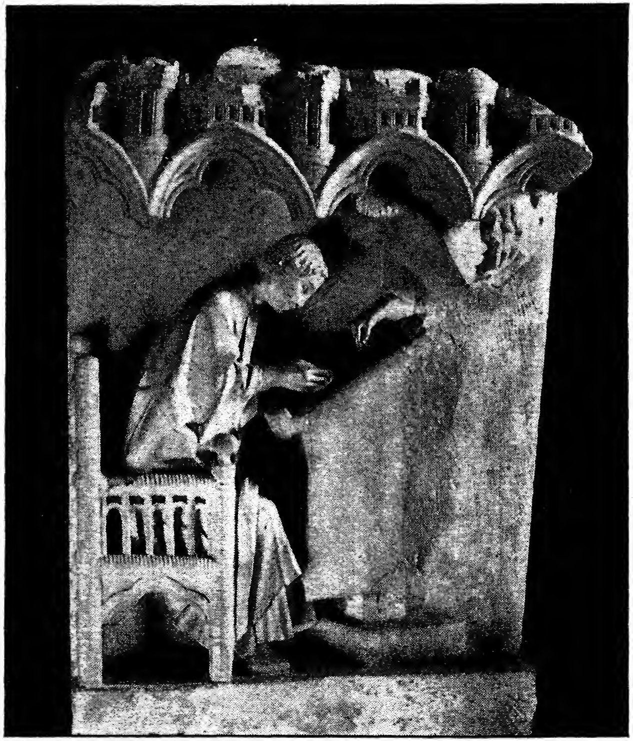


Figure 58

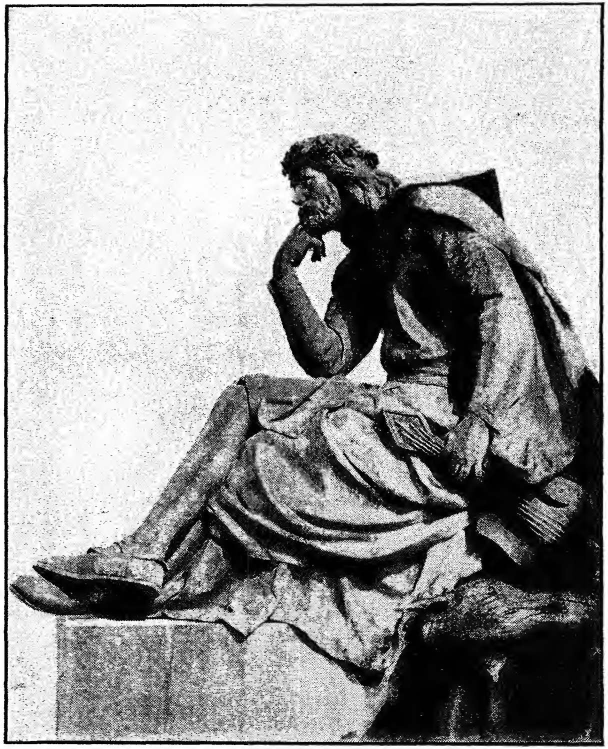


Figure 59

Left, Saint Matthew writing his Gospel at angelic dictation (note the desk, ink-stand, and chair) — sculpture of the mid-thirteenth century; *right*, statue of Walther von der Vogelweide at Würzburg untranslated into Latin, as the *Geography* of Ptolemy and the *Lexicon* of Suidas, composed about 970 The *Philobiblon*, commonly ascribed to Richard of Bury in the first half of the fourteenth century, proclaims the love of books from its very first sentence "The inexhaustible treasures of wisdom, which all men instinctively yearn for, far surpass all the riches of the world "

Bibliographical Note

George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vol II on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, vol III on the fourteenth, is an elaborate work of reference and bibliography Lynn Thorndike, "Natural Science in the Middle Ages," *Popular Science Monthly* (1915), 271–291, is a general introduction, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, is a continuous treatment, vol II of the twelfth and thirteenth, vol III of the fourteenth century The *Opus Maius* of Roger Bacon may be read in the English translation by R B Burke, 1928, the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury has appeared a number of times in English translation

The remaining citations bear on particular topics Astronomy R T Gunther, *Early Science at Oxford*, II, 42–73, "The Merton School of Astronomy", E Rosen, *Three Copernican Treatises*, pp 34–39, "Deferent and Epicycle, Eccentric and Equant" Botany Thorndike, *The Herbal of Rufinus* (1945), pp xi–xxxviii Dissection Mary N Alston, "Attitude of the Church towards Dissection," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 16 (1944), 221–238 Libraries J W Thompson, *The Medieval Library*, 1939 Logic E A Moody, *The Logic of William of Ockham*, 1935 Mathematics. D E Smith, *History of Mathematics*, I, 211–242, "Christian Europe from 1200 to 1400", C. B Boyer, *The Concepts of the Calculus* (1939), pp 61–95, on medieval contributions, D B Durand, "Oresme and the Medieval Origins of Modern Science," in *Speculum*, 16 (1941), 167–185

XXVI

Language and Literature

Medieval Latin

THE Latin used by medieval writers has too often been held up to scorn or judged by artificial classical standards, whereas it was a vigorous idiom with rules and usages of its own, in many ways forecasting our modern way of thinking and speaking. Latin was then still a living, spoken, and universal language. Any person who wished to be considered educated began with the study of "grammar," that is, Latin syntax and literature. Beyond this, special instruction in letter-writing in a formal and flowery style was offered under the name, *Ars dictandi*, while the papal chancery in the eleventh and twelfth centuries developed a style of "beauty and delicate euphony," observing rules of balance and cadence based on accent. This *cursus curiae Romanae* was imitated by other chanceries through western Europe. The works of the schoolmen or scholastics are dry and long, but their thought is clear, often acute, and their contents better arranged than those of many ancient books. If their style is not attractive, these scholars were nevertheless able to express themselves accurately, inventing many new technical words to supply their needs. Medieval Latin possessed more definite form, structure, and rules than the loose and shifting vernacular dialects, to which it furnished a standard and model. As for vocabulary, the great debt of the English language in particular may be illustrated by the following list of words, all taken from the first page or two of the commentary of Robertus Anglicus on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco. demonstratio, principium, principalis, conclusio, subjectum, causa, difficilis, rationalis, dispositio, proprietas, passio, intellectus, induce, occultus, manifestus, cognitio, doctrina, disciplina, preexistens, similitudo, materialis, substantialis, abstrahens, tractatus, ingenerabile, incorruptibile, impressio, efficiens, compositor, finalis, compilator, propositio, prohemium, compendiose, executio, centrum, axis, polus, sphera, circulus, planeta, eclipsis, clima, deferens, equans, officium, dispono, intersectio, parallelus, zona, accessus, recessio, obliqua, diversitas, differentia, declaratio, voluntas, eternum, variatio, erroneus, causalitas, perpetuus, necessario, impossibile, continuum, preteriti, precessit, infinitum.

Latin literature

The *New Poetry* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, an Englishman who taught at Bologna about 1200, was both good poetry and instructive literary criticism Of many medieval Latin treatises on the art of letter-writing (*Ars dictaminis* or *Ars dictandi*) may be mentioned that by Petrus de Vineis, secretary to the emperor Frederick II Works in Latin of a general or miscellaneous nature which were composed in the thirteenth century and widely read then and subsequently, illustrating the taste and interests of those times, were Albertanus *On the Doctrine of Speaking and Keeping Silent, The Golden Legend* or lives of the Saints by James of Voragine, and *The Game of Chess Moralized* by James de Cessolis, written about 1290 In general it may be said that most new and great ideas were first put forth in works written in Latin The oldest medieval romance, *Ruodlieb*, was composed in Latin verse by a monk of Tegernsee about 1050; the *Roman de Renart* was preceded, about 1148, by a long Latin poem, *Ysengrimus*, concerning a wolf of that name and a fox.

A number of historians and biographers have already been mentioned in describing the sources or narrating events Of medieval world chronicles the best known was by Bishop Otto of Freising (died 1158), who also wrote on the reign of Frederick Barbarossa In the thirteenth century Matthew Paris was a noted English historian Besides such general histories and works on famous rulers there were many local chronicles of towns as well as monasteries and bishoprics Most historical works, including even town chronicles, were still written in Latin

A new literature

Nevertheless we may pass on to writers for the people in the vernacular languages of western Europe Like the artists in the service of the Church, they took much of their material and ideas from the more advanced works written in Latin But they, too, represent the new life that was stirring all about them The new society which had developed as an outcome of the fusion of Teutons and Romans was now ready to express itself There were also the Celts whose folklore and imagination do not seem to have come to the surface in Latin literature when they were provincials of the Roman Empire There were the Germanic and Norse invaders with their own myths and legends There was the feudal aristocracy of innumerable knights, always fighting, jousting, and crusading, until at last it wore itself out under the spur of its own superabundant vitality

For the sword outwears its sheath
And the soul wears out the breast

There were the men of the rising communes, crude as yet in manners and not over-refined in sentiment, but ambitious and industrious, and some of them artists and inventors Now, the vast majority of the Celtic and Germanic and Norse population of Europe neither spoke nor understood Latin, and the same was true of the feudal aristocracy and the townsmen Literature intended for them must be written in the vernacular speech of their daily life With a few exceptions, we first find it so written in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries Let us first see what the languages were in which this literature was written, then we will return to the literature itself

Celtic languages

The Celtic languages survived to some extent into the Middle Ages, and a considerable literature was produced in medieval Ireland But it remained apart from the main currents of European literature and was not followed by any great modern literature The Gallic variety of Celtic had disappeared in Gaul by the fourth century But the Brythonic (British) dialects still existed in England at the time of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, and, although they were obliterated there by the Germanic invaders, they found a refuge in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, where Welsh, Cornish, and Breton dialects are still spoken to some extent today Gaelic, the speech of the Goidels or third branch of Celts, was the language of Ireland, where many still speak it It also prevailed for a long time in the Scottish Highlands, but is now almost extinct there

Teutonic languages

The various Teutonic tongues may be classified in three groups first, the eastern, or Gothic, which included the languages of the Vandals and other German tribes who were located in the east of Europe before they invaded the Roman Empire, second, the northern or Scandinavian group, which was cut off from the others by Slavic inroads south of Denmark from the sixth to the ninth century, third, the western group, including High and Low German, Anglo-Saxon, Frisian, Dutch, and Flemish Of the Teutonic languages during the early Middle Ages we know very little with the exception of the Gothic, of which a specimen is preserved in the Bible of Ulfilas The next Germanic language of which we have considerable remains is the Anglo-Saxon spoken in England before the Norman Conquest

In Germany itself, using that name in a broad geographical sense, the language divided into High and Low German As the country consists of a lofty plateau stretching north from the Alps and a lower coastal plain including the mouths of the rivers Rhine, Elbe, and Oder, so the linguistic line of demarcation may be drawn approximately from Aachen and Cologne to the confluence of the Elbe and the Saale. High German was destined to become the national speech, Low German was more closely related to the Dutch and the English languages The medieval literature in Germany of which we shall speak was composed in Middle High German, the period of Old High German having ended about 1100 Before that date Notker Labeo (c 950–1022), a monk of Saint Gall, had translated textbooks on the liberal arts from Latin into German Middle High German has been described as a poetical language with great and peculiar merits, and "as courtly and refined as the knights who employed it" Again we are told that what "gave Middle High German an especial charm, and great superiority over modern literary German, was the great number of short roots it possessed, which made it so flexible and gave it such a sprightly, lively movement"

Romance languages

Early specimens of German and of what is supposed to represent a transitional stage in the development of the Romance languages are preserved in the oaths of alliance which the kings of the West and East Franks exchanged at Strasburg in 842, each one speaking in the language which could be understood by the other's followers From the eleventh century on we find many different dialects in what is now France, but on the whole here as in Germany a dividing line may be drawn marking off the two tongues of north and south From the northern dialects modern French has grown, the southern tongue, usually called Provençal, was to disappear as a written language, but is still spoken in the cities and even more by the peasants in southern France These two groups of dialects in France are also often called respectively the *langue d'oil* and the *langue d'oc* from the medieval pronunciation of the word for "Yes" in the two sections Provençal was more closely related to the speech of northern Italy and northern Spain than to that of northern France, and Catalan, the language of the northeastern corner of the Spanish peninsula, was really a branch of Provençal The south Gascon dialect and that of the mid-Rhone Dauphiné and Savoy are distinguished from the dialects of the intervening central region which are more properly called Provençal namely, those of Auvergne, Languedoc, and Limoges, and Catalan — of which the Limousin was to be preferred by the troubadours

Anglo-Saxon literature

By virtue of a written literature in the vernacular during the Anglo-Saxon period, England can boast the oldest and longest continuous literary history of any country of modern Europe Bede, though himself writing mainly in Latin, tells us of earlier Anglo-Saxon poets *Beowulf*, the leading piece of Anglo-Saxon poetry, is extant only in a manuscript of about the year 1000, but is believed to have existed in its present form as early as the century before Charlemagne The Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, begun in Alfred's time if not earlier, is the earliest piece of original composition in prose in any medieval popular tongue. Anglo-Saxon, however, although it is often spoken of as Old English, is very different from the English language of later times It is much easier for a Frenchman to understand a French poem of the twelfth century than for an Englishman to attempt to read Anglo-Saxon

Middle English

After the Norman conquest in the eleventh century learned men and the court and nobility all spoke and wrote for some time either in Latin or in Norman French Indeed, even before the Norman conquest Anglo-Saxon literature, like the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, had already shown signs of decline After the conquest the works written in the various English dialects were apt to be intended for the lower classes, and it was only after a long period of transformation of sounds, endings, and inflections, and of great alteration and enrichment of the vocabulary by words adopted from the French or Latin, that the language of the people again came to serve as a general literary medium Hence the first works of much importance in Middle English were not written until the thirteenth century, and not until the second half of the fourteenth do we reach, in Langland and Chaucer, the great period of English medieval literature

Survivals of folk epics

The epic *Beowulf* is thought to have existed in oral recitative form for some time before it was set down in writing It is a tale in the spirit of the Norse Vikings, with fighting to the death for treasure guarded by a fiery dragon, or against weird fiends and monsters in watery lairs When not occupied in slaying dragons, the heroes were apt to be engaged in draining flagons in their mead- or beer-halls. The poem is written in the alliterative verse usual in Anglo-Saxon poetry, where important and accented syllables in a line begin with the same sound The *Eddas* of Iceland, too, written in the most primitive style of Icelandic verse, with stories of the gods Woden and Thor, of prophetesses and magic, of thralls and giants, seem to be a collection made in the thirteenth century from the mass of myth and legend handed down from earlier heathen times The German *Nibelungenlied* seems the work of an Austrian poet about 1200 who made use of earlier German poems now lost, of the Latin *Waltharius* of the tenth century, of Hungarian historical tradition of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and of old legends such as that of the hero Siegfried to which there are references in *Beowulf* and in the Icelandic literature The *Nibelungenlied* also deals with historic figures of the early Middle Ages, such as Attila the Hun and Brunhilda the Frankish queen These, however, are treated in an anachronistic manner The local color and spirit of the poem are those not merely of medieval Christian, but of feudal society. But the old heroes have lost none of their giant strength, nor of their colossal passions. In Iceland in the thirteenth century numerous prose sagas were composed dealing with family histories, Viking adventures, and a wild, mysterious world of nature Somewhat similar are the Celtic tales penned in Ireland at about the same period

France leads in literature

The chief literary movements of the Middle Ages, however, originated in the Romance languages, and France was the heart and center of the literary activity of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries France, where feudalism was at its height, whose knighthood overflowed into the British Isles, the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, Sicily and Syria, the Levant and the Orient, France, where we shall find the cradle of Gothic architecture, that supreme artistic creation of the Middle Ages, France, where we have seen develop the most powerful medieval monarchy, France also took the lead both in poetry and in prose, and the surrounding countries learned from her to a great extent both what they should write about and how they should write about it And within France both the regions north and south of the Loire engaged simultaneously in the creation of new literatures It is possible that this medieval French literature had its precursors and was the outcome of a gradual development, but we cannot trace such a process, and the writings appear before us as the spontaneous expression of a new age and unlike in form and substance to any previous literature of which we know Although by no means entirely modern in character, it is more like the writing of modern times than it is like that of the immediately preceding ninth and tenth centuries "Only the language is difficult; there is nothing old-fashioned in the manner of the verse "

The Song of Roland

In the north of France we may first note the *Song of Roland*, an epic which, it is now thought, was composed between 1120 and 1124, though it used to be dated of the eleventh century. This heroic poem, which professedly deals with the retreat of Charlemagne from Spain and the proud death of Roland at Roncesvalles, really reflects the recent experiences of the northern feudal warriors who had gone to aid the Spanish Christians against the Saracens and on pilgrimage to Compostella It hardly mentions women, but its descriptions of warfare are expressed in a form which is not only stirring, but also not without literary finish Instead of being alliterative like the verses of *Beowulf*, its ten-syllable lines are assonanced, that is to say, a succession of lines will each end with the same vowel sound in their final syllables, although the final consonants may differ so that there is not complete rhyme

This *Chanson de Roland* was an early representative of a long series of *chansons de geste*, most of which were written in the language of northern France and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although a few

Chansons de geste

continued to appear in the fourteenth. But the best date from the twelfth century. In all, more than a hundred of them are extant today, and there are thousands of lines in each. Their main theme is French feudal history, the warfare of knights with one another and with the Saracens, the great deeds of the Franks at home and abroad. The Romance poets think of Charlemagne and his peers as Frenchmen, not as Germans. Gaul has absorbed the invaders and has made them its own heroes. These poems have sometimes been called "Charlemagne Romances," because most of them make some mention or have some connection with the great Frankish emperor, with whom they confuse Charles Martel. But any particular poem is apt to be about some particular vassal of Charlemagne, such as Roland, rather than about the emperor himself, and most of the great deeds are performed by others than Charles. This, we suspect, is because the *chansons de geste* were written to please a feudal audience which did not care to have the king or emperor too much exalted. In fact, in the poems we often find Charlemagne's vassals in a state of rebellion against him, but this is more often explained as due to his misunderstanding and ill-treating these faithful lieges than to treachery or selfishness on their part.

How such a poem developed may be illustrated by the story of Ogier the Dane. According to popular legend he perished with Roland at Roncesvalles. But the monks of Meaux, some twenty-five miles from Paris, said, No, he gave up fighting and entered their abbey of Saint Faron, where his steed of war, Broiefort, was used in farm work. Years later the infidels again invaded France and even besieged Meaux. Louis-le-Débonnaire arrived with an army of Franks but dared not fight. Daily twelve of the Saracens defied the Christians to single combat. Finally Ogier got his abbot's permission to encounter them but could find no good horse until he bethought him of Broiefort. The twelve Saracens laughed at his rusty armor but were all slain. The old hero then singly attacked the rest of the Saracen host, and now the Franks followed him. Meaux was saved, Ogier went back to his cell, and the king enriched the abbey. In the French romance, Charlemagne and Ogier having quarreled, Archbishop Turpin found the latter asleep unarmed by a fountain and put him in prison. The Saracens came; only Ogier could save the situation; but no fitting mount could be found for him until his own horse was regained from the abbey of Saint Faron, to which Turpin had given it.

Women receive more attention in the later *chansons de geste* than in the *Song of Roland*, but the attitude of the knights toward them is not that of romantic devotion. Indeed, it is not only not chivalrous, as we understand the word; it is often not even considerate or decent Violent language is used by the knights to the ladies, and the latter sometimes receive even blows from their husbands, usually in the form of a stiff punch on the nose. Most wives are none the less devoted to their lords, while the naive, unmarried maidens do not hesitate to express openly and in his presence their decided preference for this or that young warrior Despite these crudities, as they appear to modern taste, the literary form of the poems keeps much the same sonorous majesty as in the *Song of Roland*, although rhyme has replaced assonance and the length of the line has been increased to twelve syllables Sometimes, moreover, the woman plays the nobler part, as when the wife of William, Count of Toulouse, would not open the gates of Orange to him when he was being pursued by the Saracens, refusing to believe that her husband would flee

Lyric poetry, troubadours

The poets of southern France showed more consideration for woman, and by far the greater part of their extant poetry consists of love-songs With them, too, the ideals of chivalry, courtesy, and romantic love had their birth Ninety-five per cent of their work, it is estimated, has been lost; but we know the names of nearly five hundred troubadours, as the southern singers were called, whereas most *chansons de geste* are anonymous. There is a good reason for this difference The troubadours were expressing their own feelings and inventing new and difficult verse-forms and vying with one another in poetical contests and debates; whereas the writers of the epics were repeating, all in the same style of verse, stories about other men of the distant past. The poems of the troubadours are short compared to the northern epics and are lyric in character, although they were usually sung to the accompaniment of the lute and not, as among the ancient Greeks, to that of the lyre

Southern feudal life

These lyrics of the south were, like the *chansons de geste*, a literature for and about the upper class in feudal society Fully half of the troubadours whose names are known were feudal lords or vassals. Their poems show that social life in the south was refined, courtly, and even luxurious Feudal marriages were generally made at an early age and for family or political reasons, so that the ladies whom the troubadours worshiped and to whom they addressed their amorous lays seldom became their wives. In fact they were usually already married to someone else. Public opinion was little shocked by this circumstance, however, and it was quite common for the lady of a castle to accept some knight or troubadour as her devoted follower and protector, and to invest him in token thereof with a ring and a kiss The story goes that when one jealous and irate husband slew the troubadour who had been making love to his wife and served his heart to her at dinner, she killed herself, and the King of Aragon, who was the overlord of both the husband and the troubadour, cast the murderer into prison for life, but buried the two lovers in the same tomb and ordained an annual festival in their honor. Troubadours wrote for profit as well as for love A knight who owned a fourth of a castle near Carcassonne was soon able to acquire it all with the proceeds of his lyrical art

Provençal literature

The sweet and musical Provençal language was admirably adapted to lyric poetry and enabled the troubadours to express themselves both with ease and with perfection in every variety of meter and intricate rhyme Besides the ordinary love-song and the lighter *cansonetta*, there were dancing-songs, and the *serena* in which the lover sighs for the coming of night, and the *alba* in which he laments the return of the dawn

> O God, that day should be so soon!

Their verses, moreover, did not deal exclusively with the passion of love, but might be war-songs, satires, threats of vengeance, plaints for the dead, burlesques, or dialogues and debates of an intellectual character The troubadours were literary artists, they also were clever if narrow thinkers, and they possessed no slight power of psychological analysis of character and motive We find in them further a feeling for the beauty in nature

The poetry of the troubadours developed early and matured rapidly Guilhem or William IX, Duke of Aquitaine (1086–1127), was the first known troubadour He sang of love, war, and many other topics in a manner gay and light-hearted, humorous and sarcastic, sensual and licentious. "He knew well how to sing and make verses, and for a long time he roamed all through the land to deceive ladies," says the Provençal biography of him He went on the crusade, but when he returned from Palestine, after having his army destroyed by the Turks in Asia Minor, he recounted his varied adventures in burlesque verse The twelfth century was the flowering time of Provençal poetry: the bitter struggle against heresy and the cruel Albigensian Crusade were disastrous to the southern feudal courts, though writing of a sort in Provençal went on until the sixteenth century

Provençal influence

But the troubadours themselves and their verse, methods, and ideals spread to other lands, and almost every literature in a modern European language was affected by them The poets of other countries learned from the troubadours many lessons in literary form; their refining influence upon manners was also widely felt and their attitude toward woman was generally adopted Provençal literature continued in Catalonia, Navarre, Aragon, and Valencia after it had disappeared in southern France Through the thirteenth century Italian poetry was being shaped under the influence of the troubadours, they were paralleled in northern France by the *trouvères,* who were already in existence by the twelfth century, and in Germany in the thirteenth century by the *minnesingers* or "love-poets," of whom the best known and most lyrical was Walther von der Vogelweide (Figure 59) The *trouvères* set up love-courts with most elaborate and artificial codes of gallantry and sentiment, but seem inferior to the southern troubadours in grace and naturalness As for the music to which these poems were sung, "there are only 264 troubadour melodies extant, whereas the words of some 2600 poems have come down to us The northern French survivals reach us in much richer quantity. Johannes Wolf gives the figures as almost 1400 melodies and roughly 4000 poems" (Reese) Reese regards the thirteenth century as one of the greatest in the history of music and suggests that "there is much . in thirteenth-century polyphony that is especially in harmony with present-day taste and that may well fire the imagination of contemporary composers"

Meanwhile in the church service the plain chant of the days of Gregory the Great had long since undergone much elaboration antedating the music of the troubadours For example, in celebrating the Mass the singing of the final syllable of "Alleluia" was prolonged into a melody known as the Sequence A next step, perhaps taken toward the end of the ninth century, was to add words to accompany the music, but each phrase still ended in the monorhyme *a* The pilgrim song, *O Roma nobilis,* was probably composed in the tenth century, while many of the forty-nine Cambridge songs found in a manuscript of about 1050 are themselves presumably of earlier date

By the latter part of the twelfth century the southern court life and higher regard for woman began to affect the northern epics, especially since actual social conditions in the north also were growing more settled and refined Consequently the courtly epic of the thirteenth century, with its glorification of love and ladies, became quite different from the twelfth-century *chansons de geste*

The poets also began to seek new themes for their lays A French *trouvère* of the thirteenth century wrote of the epics of his time:

> Ne sont que trois matières à nul homme entendant,
> De France, de Bretaigne et de Rome la grant.

This division of the medieval romantic epic into three great cycles has been generally accepted by modern historians of literature. The *chansons*

Arthurian romances

de geste dealt with "the matter of France" Poets were also telling stories of King Arthur and the knights of his Round Table, of the wizard Merlin and a world of fairies and enchantment, and of the search for the Holy Grail This was the cycle "de Bretaigne," a word meaning either Britain or Brittany Arthur seems to have been a king of Britain who struggled against the Anglo-Saxon invaders and whose memory was cherished and made the basis of legends by the fugitive Celts either in Brittany or Wales or both Geoffrey of Monmouth made these traditions known in Latin in his *Historia regum Britanniae* in 1136–1138 It was quickly translated into Norman French and medieval English By the end of the century "the Arthurian and Round Table romances based upon it were naturalized in Germany and Italy, as well as in France and England" The French poets doubtless embellished the legends with additions of their own and from other sources, but we may nevertheless see in the Arthurian romances a considerable Celtic contribution to the main current of European literature *Tristan* and *Parsifal* are examples of other celebrated romances which came to be connected with the stories of King Arthur

Romances of antiquity

Under "the matter of Rome" we shall have to include not only the story of Aeneas and the siege of Troy, but many other Greek legends such as the stories of Thebes and of the Argonautic expedition Many changes were made in these tales from their original classical versions, and the heroes and their environment were represented as knights of feudal times An especial favorite was the romance of Alexander, who became almost as celebrated in medieval vernacular literature as his tutor Aristotle was esteemed in medieval Latin learning And as Aristotle had been admired and commented upon by the Arabs before most of his works were known to the Christian West, so the story of Alexander exists in Persian, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Armenian, as well as in Greek, Latin, and Romance versions The story of his early career in Macedon, his victories over the Persian Empire, and his campaigns to the frontiers of India and Tibet had grown under the workings of Oriental and medieval imagination into a series of marvelous adventures in the Far East and of feudal *mêlées* after the style of the *chansons de geste* From the twelve-syllable lines employed in these romances about Alexander comes the term "Alexandrines"

Reynard the Fox

Two of the most interesting and important of the medieval French romances do not belong to any of the above cycles, but stand each by itself, namely, the *Romance of Reynard the Fox* and the *Romance of the Rose* The former is really a collection of narratives by divers authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In part, at least, it is of Flemish origin It draws its characters from the animal world, but attributes many human traits to them, just as the books of science in Latin often did in listing the qualities and properties of the lion and other beasts Reynard is a clever rascal, full of tricks and plausible talk, gay and well-pleased with himself, but sharp and malicious, and without any moral scruples whatever Some have thought him a satire upon the robber knight of the period Indeed, this beast epic is throughout a keen satire not only upon medieval society, but upon human nature in all ages The poem also illustrates the medieval fondness for animals and sympathy with them which we shall meet again in the carvings on the cathedrals *The New Reynard* was written at Lille in 1288 by Jacquemart Gelée, while *The Counterfeit Reynard* was completed towards 1330 by a spice dealer of Troyes

The Romance of the Rose

The *Romance of the Rose* is an allegorical story The author is represented as dreaming and seeing various virtues and vices personified In other words, abstractions, such as False-Seeming, Largess, Courtesy, and Reason, are the characters of the *Romance of the Rose,* instead of beasts, such as Bernard the ass, Dame Fière the lioness, Isengrim the wolf, and Chantecler the cock, in *Reynard the Fox* The Rose represents the loved one whom the lover seeks to win throughout the poem This romance was begun by William of Lorris in the first half of the thirteenth century, perhaps about 1235, and was completed some forty years later by Jean de Meun, a place on the Loire River. William's briefer part of the poem is an allegorical love story with descriptions of a beautiful garden and the wonderful singing of the birds therein Jean continues the story, but digresses or has his characters digress to discuss all sorts of subjects, scientific, historical, and social, showing us that in the thirteenth century people who could neither speak nor read Latin might nevertheless learn not a little both of nature and the human past as well as of present political and social problems. The lover's quest at last is brought to a successful termination and the poem closes with the couplets.

> Here ends the romance called "The Rose,"
> Where all the art of love's enclosed.
> And Nature laughs, it seems to me,
> When joined at last are He and She.

The work had an enormous influence, and its dream form and other features were imitated throughout the rest of the Middle Ages.

If the *chansons de geste* and many other romances were written largely for the feudal nobles and their ladies, in the *fabliaux,* which may be called short stories in verse, we have a variety of literature more adapted to the *bourgeois* society of the towns, whose ordinary daily life the *fabliaux* often depict, although some of them are stock stories of all times. As might be expected, the *fabliaux* are apt to be coarse; they are full of satire, especially at the expense of women and priests; and they picture the life of the people vividly and humorously. A mild example is the story of the wise man who was ordered by his lord to bring the best jongleur or minstrel he knew, his most faithful servant, his worst enemy, and his best friend. He brought his small son, whose play amused him most; his donkey, his wife, who, when she heard herself called his worst enemy, began to berate him and to accuse him of plotting to poison his lord, thereby proving him to be right in so designating her, and his dog. Of the extant *fabliaux,* the oldest was written in the middle of the twelfth century, while the latest, like the last true *chansons de geste,* were produced in the early fourteenth century.

Fabliaux

In the mysteries and miracle plays, representing Bible stories and the lives of saints, which were at first presented by the clergy in Latin and are thought to have originated from dramatization of the liturgy and religious service, there came to be the same popular element that we have seen in the *fabliaux.* Laymen, especially of the gilds, were by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries giving such plays in the vernaculars of France, Germany, and England. The medieval audience enjoyed the introduction of scenes from daily life, as when the three Maries stop on their way to the sepulcher to purchase the spices of a merchant, or of comic relief and horseplay, as when Noah is knocked down by his angry wife. Even less literary in character than the mystery and miracle plays were the mummeries and other folk-festivals of a dramatic character.

Mysteries; miracle plays

In the thirteenth century there began to be French prose literature, especially historical writing. The first important work was a contemporary account of the Fourth Crusade by Villehardouin. Some of the Arthurian romances were written in prose, and *Aucassin et Nicolette,* one of the most charming of all love-stories, is part prose and part verse.

Medieval French prose

Such were some of the chief varieties and masterpieces of that literature, great in both quantity and quality, produced from the eleventh to the early fourteenth century within the limits of modern France and in Romance languages, "exhibiting finish of structure when all the rest were merely barbarian novices, exploring every literary form from history to drama, and epic to song, while others were stammering their exercises, mostly learnt from her" (Saintsbury).

The fourteenth century

With the fourteenth century the number of extant manuscripts written in French greatly increases This is what we might expect from the fact that the period is closer to us in time, but is probably also due to an increasing use of French as compared with Latin, and to a greater number of readers and writers There are French translations from sacred scriptures and from profane Latin literature, stories and sermons, prayer books and works of astrology, old poems in new verse or prose, *fabliaux* and ballads The *Histoire littéraire de la France* has listed ten thousand such literary productions and devoted many volumes to them, and yet does not seem able to finish with the fourteenth century and break away to the fifteenth But it will be noted that the bulk of these writings lack originality and are more impressive by their quantity than their quality The language employed, however, keeps changing through the century, abandoning old forms and adopting new

Spain
The Cid

There were three groups of Romance tongues in medieval Spain In the western group of Galicia and Portugal, no literature of importance had yet appeared. In Catalonia, Aragon, Navarre, and Valencia, as we have already seen, the troubadours from southern France held the field But in Castile, whose tongue was to become the national speech of Spain, there had already been written, sometime between 1150 and 1250, the *Poema del Cid*, an epic with a Spanish hero Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252–1284), already mentioned as a patron of learning, also did much to encourage writing in Spanish and had learned works translated from Arabic into Castilian rather than into Latin The Bible was also translated into the vernacular in his reign, a great collection of laws was issued called *Las Siete Partidas* ("The Seven Parts"), and prose histories in the Castilian tongue began to appear. Alfonso was himself somewhat both of a poet and a musician

Italian literature

In medieval Italy poetry first developed in Sicily under Provençal inspiration. Frederick II was a patron of literature as well as of science, and was looked back upon by Dante as "the father of Italian poetry" In the course of the thirteenth century the Italians produced an important new verse-form, the sonnet. But it is with the great name of Dante, who lived from 1265 to 1321, that we first become conscious of an Italian literature distinct from the Provençal and of the creation of a national literary language Since he also was the greatest and the best-known of all medieval poets and since he wrote just as the French romances and lyrics and *fabliaux* were passing, we may close with him our account of the prime of medieval literature.

Dante

Dante was born in Florence, fought for his city and wrote love-verses like many other young gentlemen of his day, and in 1300 became one of the six priors or chief board of magistrates The usual party strife and revolutions were in process, and besides there was trouble with the pope By 1302 the opposite party came into power, Dante was accused of peculation during his recent term of office, and was first fined and banished for two years, then condemned by the angry commune to be burned at the stake with fourteen others of his party He always protested his innocence and was probably simply the victim of party animosity, but he had to spend the rest of his life in bitter exile and wandering, although he found some powerful patrons like the despot of Verona

Dante was well educated, like the second author of the *Romance of the Rose* He knew Aristotle and his philosophy, Aquinas and his theology, and was well acquainted with the two leading medieval sciences of astronomy and astrology He could write in Latin if he chose, and he knew a good deal about the great heroes and writers of antiquity He also had had experience of contemporary politics, and, by his wanderings from city to city and court to court, had acquired a wide fund of information about leading men of the present or the recent past, and a deep insight into human nature. Yet he was strongly inclined toward allegory and mystic forms of expression, and was at heart a stern moralist, lofty idealist, and devout Roman Catholic Finally, he had poetic gifts of the very first order

Dante's earliest considerable work was the *Vita nuova*, in which he tells and sings in such a mystic, dreamy, and exalted way of his early love for Beatrice and of her untimely death, that many have doubted whether there ever really was any such lady His *Convivio*, or Banquet, is a more elaborate and learned composition, discussing in philosophical fashion such questions as, What is true nobility? and, What is true love? But this feast of reason is not set forth in Latin for the learned alone, but in Italian so that many may partake thereof. Dante also declares that Italian is as suitable for literary purposes as any other vernacular, even the Provençal He defended his mother tongue in a scholarly Latin treatise, entitled *De vulgari eloquentia*, upholding it even against Latin and further giving us much information about Italian dialects and medieval verse-forms In Latin prose from his pen we have an important political treatise, the *De monarchia*, on the proper relations between the pope and the emperor.

But by far his greatest work and the one that gave fullest play to his wide learning and experience and varied talents was the *Commedia*, or

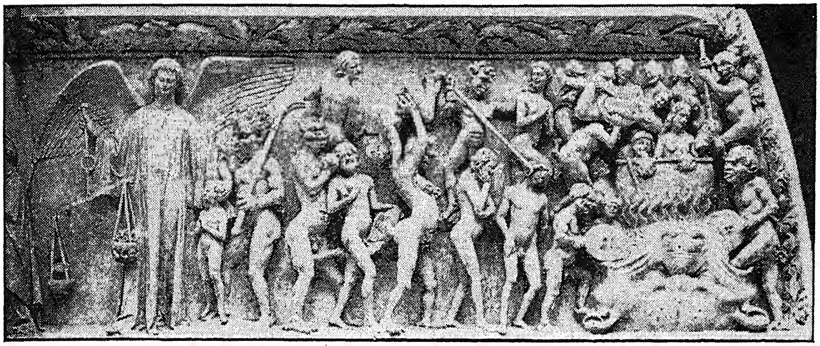


Figure 60

The condemned at the Last Judgment, from the central portal of Bourges Cathedral

The Divine Comedy

Divine Comedy, as his admirers called it, a long poem in a hundred cantos and three chief parts, namely, *Hell*, *Purgatory*, and *Paradise*. Dante, in short, visits the other world, and his guide at first is Vergil, whose account of the realm of Hades in the fifth book of the *Aeneid* was familiar throughout the Middle Ages, and who was then regarded not only as the greatest Latin poet, but as an allegorical philosopher, and even by some as a magician. We must realize that there was hardly any subject of such universal interest to medieval men as the other world. Other-worldliness had been a leading trait of early Christianity and of monasticism. The medieval chroniclers who wrote world-histories customarily closed their narrative with a very circumstantial account of the last judgment and future life both of the blest and the damned. Indeed, they often seem to have fuller and more authentic information upon such points than concerning the events of past centuries which were often shrouded for them in obscurity and legend. Over the doors of many a medieval cathedral, too, the last judgment was represented vividly carved in stone, sometimes with the dead rising from their coffins and pushing up the covers or being dragged off in chains by demons armed with pincers to a seething caldron (Figure 60). We can understand, then, that Dante's vivid description of the hereafter would be well received, especially since it went into specific personalities and definitely located many recent celebrities in hell or elsewhere.

Hell is depicted by Dante as a large hole in the earth, circular in shape and gradually narrowing to a point at the earth's center. Around the slopes of this huge conical cavity run nine successive circles or zones in

Dante's cosmogony

which famous sinners both of the remote and recent past pay the penalty for their misdeeds. Those guilty of the worst crimes are in the circles nearest the earth's center and their sufferings are correspondingly greater This huge dent in our planet was made by the fall from heaven of the archfiend Lucifer This perturbed spirit seems to have strictly observed the law of gravitation in his tremendous tumble and consequently came to rest exactly at the center of the earth, to be forever embedded there in eternal ice, with his head pointing upward toward the city of Jerusalem Or, more precisely, he has three heads and in their mouths he gnaws the three arch-traitors of history, Judas who betrayed Christ, and Brutus and Cassius who assassinated Julius Caesar Vergil takes Dante on his back and scrambles down Lucifer's shaggy body to the center of the earth and then up his hairy legs in the opposite direction to a long tunnel which leads them toward purgatory, which is situated upon a conical mountain or excrescence in the midst of ocean on the other side of the globe Purgatory corresponds in size and shape to the hollow of hell, and it, too, was produced by the impact of Lucifer and the consequent displacement of a large section of this earth Around it, too, runs a series of seven terraces, typifying the seven deadly sins, upon which souls that eventually will be saved are undergoing varying degrees of penance As Lucifer was at the pit of hell, so the earthly paradise or Garden of Eden is at the peak of purgatory, and here Dante has a vision of his loved Beatrice Under her guidance he then ascends through the celestial spheres of the moon, Mercury, Venus, and the sun, and has converse with such notables as Justinian and Aquinas, and in the fifth sphere of Mars sees those who had died fighting for the faith Dante of course believed with Ptolemy that the sun and other planets moved about the earth in concentric or eccentric orbits After the spheres of the seven planets comes the eighth heaven of the fixed stars, the ninth or crystalline heaven, or *primum mobile*, and lastly the empyrean heaven where, beyond the nine corporeal spheres, is the throne of God Triune and the realm of pure intellect and love To Dante is granted a momentary revelation of this surpassing and ineffable mystery, and with this the poem ends

The last phase

Dante's *Commedia* is, as we have said, the greatest poem of medieval literature, but it is also one of the last, and we can see in it signs of decline. The troubadours had been full of joy in this world and its birds and flowers and women; the *chansons de geste* had rung with the joy of battle and the vigor of manhood, the *fabliaux* had attested the crude vitality of the townsmen But Dante, deprived early of his beloved Beatrice, disappointed in the politics of his time, disgusted with the papacy and despairing of the empire of his day, and with no city that he could call his own, turned from this world to purify his own soul and to warn the society of his time by a picture of the consequences of sin and error, and to seek consolation in a survey of the great departed spirits of the past and of the glory of the world to come He had lost the gaiety and self-confidence of the poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in him the soul of the Middle Ages indeed "wears out the breast"

Bibliographical Note

Of the many English translations of medieval literature a few specimens are: Scott-Moncrieff, *Beowulf* and *Song of Roland*, Ellis, *The Romance of the Rose*, Morris, *Old French Romances*, Butler, *Tales from the Old French*, J Jacobs, *Reynard the Fox*, Lang, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, J B Fletcher, *The Divine Comedy*, A M Huntington, *Poema del Cid*, W A Phillips, *Selected Poems of Walther von der Vogelweide*, Symonds, *Wine, Women and Song*, Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* and *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, J. J Walsh, *A Golden Treasury of Medieval Literature*

Interesting secondary works are Bulfinch, *Age of Fable*, J H Smith, *The Troubadours at Home*, 2 vols , Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance*, F J E Raby, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry*, P S Allen, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*, W W Lawrence, *Medieval Story*, with especial reference to England, U T Holmes, *A History of Old French Literature*; G Paris, *Medieval French Literature*, B S Philpotts, *Edda and Saga*, E K Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 vols On "The Literature of Hohenstaufen Times," Henderson, *Germany in the Middle Ages*, chapter 28 On Spanish literature, R Menéndez Pidal, *The Cid and his Spain*, and H Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* On music, G Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages*, and M Deanesly, "Medieval Music from the Point of View of the Historian," *History*, 23 (1938), 193–205

XXVII

Romanesque and Gothic Art

In Chapter XI we heard Kingsley Porter say that modern art began with the Byzantine renaissance of the tenth century

> This outburst of artistic activity seems to have spread from the East over Europe Before the year 1000 renewed artistic activity appears sporadically in several widely separated regions of the West In Spain architecture rose during the tenth century to extraordinary heights, capitals were carved with surprising skill in the Rhone valley, as in the crypt of Cruas or the baptistery of Venasque, while in Germany the Ottonian miniatures and ivories developed types of such beauty that they impressed indelibly the memory of the twelfth-century sculptors of France, and still serve as models to artists of today [1]

Mural paintings of the tenth century at Reichenau, situated at the west end of the Lake of Constance, are by a native German school with little Byzantine influence, and include the earliest extant representation of the last judgment, portrayed simply but with dignity and power From the eleventh century has survived a large amount of wrought iron work of great beauty of design In general, the power of design, craftsmanship, and artistic handiwork seem to have become widespread We may not, however, attempt to trace here all the ramifications of medieval art, but shall center our attention upon its most glorious production, one which included many of the other minor arts

Cathedral architecture

The development of civilization which we have already traced in other fields was accompanied by a resumption of building on a large scale and in a durable and monumental fashion, such as had marked the heyday of the Roman Empire Of the feudal castle we have already said something, of municipal and domestic building we shall speak anon. But by far the grandest architecture of the time was ecclesiastical Indeed, the remains of medieval religious architecture which have survived to our time surpass in number, interest, and artistic merit the ruins from any previous period of the world's history A cathedral was the external expression in material but artistic form of the vast power of the Church in those days and of the religious spirit of the

---

[1] *American Journal of Archaeology*, 26 (1922), 1–53, by permission

Middle Ages. It was an effort to symbolize the Church in its entirety, to build a fitting house for God and all the saints. Saint Augustine in his literary masterpiece, *The City of God*, a work which dominated Christian thought for many centuries, set over against the declining world of ancient Rome the eternal commonwealth of God's elect, and sketched in his fervid rhetoric the ideals and interests of that Church here on earth which strives toward the kingdom of heaven. The cathedral builders did in stone what he had done in words, and they did it better. His arguments were sometimes weaker than his rhetoric, but their adornment was in close accord with their structure. Few read Augustine's book today, but many cross the ocean to see their handiwork.

A medieval product

The cathedrals were the greatest product of the Middle Ages and they were a work that only the Middle Ages could produce. They show us what the Church could accomplish at a time when it had great wealth and power and when everyone belonged to it and believed in it. They show what Christian society could accomplish by its united industry and imagination. For as the pope and feudal lords had cordially co-operated in the expansion of Christendom and the early crusades, so the clergy and the communes, whatever quarrels they may have had over the control of town government, joined hands in the work of building a vast church which would not only glorify religion, but be a credit to the city and serve as a center of civic life. Thus the Italian communes vied with one another in the size and splendor of their churches, each trying to outdo its neighbor. When one of two warring cities captured any notable trophies from its adversary, it would place them on permanent exhibition in its cathedral. The spacious nave and aisles also provided a splendid assembly hall for festive occasions and the church served the purpose of a modern art museum.

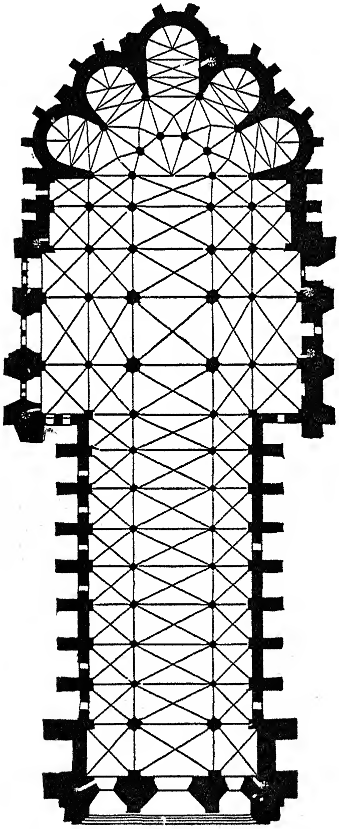
We cannot, or at any rate we do not, build such structures today and many a modern city with a population ten times as great has no edifice that can compare with the chief church in dozens of French provincial towns. Christians today are divided into many bodies, some of these do not care for especially expensive or artistic church buildings; and none of them can count on general community support in such an enterprise. Nor is there any other modern institution or ideal which unites and dominates society and thought as did the Church in the Middle Ages. It is true that society is richer today and that builders have the advantage of innumerable modern inventions. The demands of modern business have produced office buildings higher and railroad stations larger than any medieval cathedral, but as works of art the modern structures are vastly inferior. And the reason is that modern architects have not worked out an original style of their own, but in the main copy past architectural styles They lack the interest and zest which goes with the creation of a new style And they seem to lack inspiration, for large business corporations and railroads and even universities and public libraries apparently have no noble conceptions to express in their buildings, no legends to depict, no ideals to embody, no effects to produce

But the world since the Middle Ages not only has produced no original edifices to compare with the creations of the medieval architects, it seldom even makes a good copy of a Gothic church; and to reproduce entire one of those vaulted cathedrals with all its wonderful detail would today involve great difficulty and expense For one thing, not enough workmen with sufficient artistic ability could be secured without paying exorbitant wages We have more money and machinery today than society had then, but there are things which money cannot buy The inventive brains and deft fingers that fitted and fashioned the stones of the medieval minsters are working today in laboratories and clinics, and serving science instead of religion. Finally, most modern buildings are finished in a few years at most, and often do not last much longer On the other hand, we must remember that many cathedrals as we see them today represent in their various parts the work of several generations or even centuries But we only marvel the more at the hold which this form of art had upon the men of the past, and at the way in which they kept at it They might well take their time in their constructions or add new ornament to the ancient edifice, for they were building for eternity

Strictly speaking, a cathedral is the church of a bishop, but in this chapter we shall use the word to refer to any great medieval church edifice, whether the abbey of some large monastery or a collegiate church in a large town served by a number of secular canons or other clergy Many of the most important early Romanesque churches were monastic; it was only as the towns fully developed that the bishops residing in them were able to afford great churches; and even at a later date other churches might be built in the towns which rivaled the cathedrals proper in size and beauty

The Romanesque period

To the architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is given the name "Romanesque" or "Romanic," because of its having developed out of the building of the Roman Empire, just as many languages of the Middle Ages are called "Romance" languages because of their supposed growth from the spoken Latin of the late empire. Sometimes this art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is called "Later Romanesque," to distinguish it from the building of the earlier Middle Ages. But inasmuch as the earlier architecture may be readily distinguished as either basilican or Byzantine in style, we shall for the sake of convenience and brevity reserve the term Romanesque for the architecture of western Christian Europe from about the year 1000 on. After that date the building which we call Romanesque was not merely an imitation or even a continuation of Roman architecture; much of it was experimental, progressive, full of variety, and marked by new features. Beginning with the eleventh century, too, Romanesque architecture in the West abandoned the round plan and chiefly built churches with long central naves and side aisles. Most of the round buildings of the preceding period were replaced by these larger edifices in the new style, which were called for by the rapidly increasing population, and were themselves henceforth used as baptisteries where they survived at all. Some use was still made of the dome, and even large churches were sometimes constructed without aisles, but on the whole the early Christian basilica was the type from which the Romanesque developed.


GROUND PLAN OF RHEIMS CATHEDRAL

Cruciform plan

The new churches, however, differed in a number of respects from the basilicas described in Chapters V and VIII. For one thing they were usually distinctly cruciform in plan, with transepts. The nave and aisles were often much longer than in a basilica, owing to their being continued beyond the transepts to form a spacious choir. The semicircular protuberance or apse at the east end of the church now has a diameter equal to the width of the building, so that the two side aisles meet there in a curved ambulatory behind the high altar which was placed at this curved end of the choir. Sometimes beyond and surrounding this ambulatory are a series of secondary apses or radiating chapels. These additions of a choir and transepts about tripled the space covered by the building The general features of this cruciform plan were to be retained in the later Gothic style A feature found more in Romanesque than in Gothic cathedrals was the raising of the level of the floor of the choir considerably above that of the rest of the building so as to give room for a crypt underneath

As a rule Romanesque builders made their churches loftier as well as larger than previous ones This increased height both of nave and aisles made necessary larger and stronger supporting columns between the nave and the aisles (Figure 61) Often they became several feet in diameter and sometimes massive piers were substituted for columns or were alternated with them to give increased support The round arches which connected the rows of piers or columns were now broader and higher in order to harmonize with their more massive supports Above these arches opening into the aisles no longer appeared the horizontal strip of mosaic of the Ravenna basilicas, but a second series of archways opening or appearing to open into galleries above the aisles Above this *triforium,* as it came to be called, and beneath the roof were the windows of the clearstory Most Romanesque churches, especially when first built, had light, flat roofs of wooden timbers over their lofty naves The lower and narrower aisles were more usually vaulted with round arches or barrel vaults, since their outer walls could be strengthened to resist the outward thrust of the arches by projecting pilaster strips which formed solid buttresses resting directly upon the ground

Other new features

The churches of Rome, central Italy, and Tuscany kept the closest to the old columnar basilica, as we may illustrate by the cathedral at Pisa, perhaps the finest Romanesque church in Italy (Figures 62, 63). It has transepts, a lengthened choir, and great height, and an elliptical dome over the crossing of nave and transepts But the main body of the building is covered with a wooden roof and there are bare pent-roofs over its double aisles Like the basilicas at Ravenna, it has a detached round campanile, the famous leaning tower In the half-dome of its apse is a mosaic, and sixty-eight classical columns taken from older buildings carry the arcades on which the walls of its nave rest The exterior, however, has some Romanesque features which are common to churches of this period and which relieve the monotony of its plain walls, although at Pisa these would be beautiful anyway, owing to the golden, creamy marbles of which they are built First, pilaster strips project at frequent intervals from the wall and carry a blind arcade or series of engaged round arches Second, the exterior wall surface is interrupted at certain places by open colonnades, which are set in it, and

The cathedral at Pisa

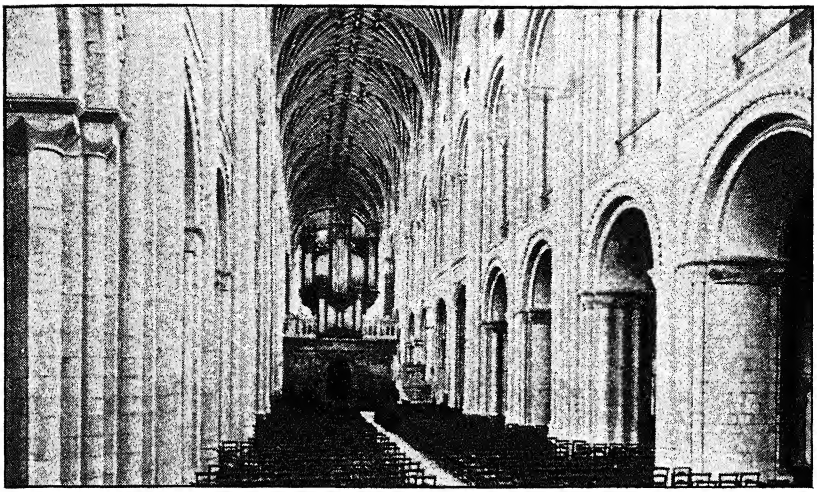


Figure 61

Romanesque nave, Norwich, with fifteenth-century vaulting

which are composed of small columns with connecting arches and with an open gallery between them and the blank wall behind. The favorite place for such dwarf galleries was just under the eaves of the roof and especially around the curve of the apse, but at Pisa there are two colonnades one above the other on the apse, four rows form the upper part of the façade, while the leaning tower is encircled from top to bottom with such colonnades.

Experiments in vaulting

In northern Italy more of an effort at vaulting was made, but it was especially in the Romanesque building of southern France and of the Cluniac monks in Burgundy that all sorts of attempts were early made to solve the problem of a stone roof. Sometimes the architects tried a series of small domes or cupolas over different sections of the church; sometimes, plain round vaults; sometimes, groin vaults made by the intersection of two round ones. The great and almost insurmountable difficulty was to roof the broad nave with a vault of stone and yet have windows to light the church in the very thick and solid walls necessary to resist the thrust of such a vault. Window openings, however, were now splayed or made with sloping sides so as to admit more light and prevent rainwater from settling, as it would on a flat window ledge.

Southern France also showed progress in sculpture and ornamentation.

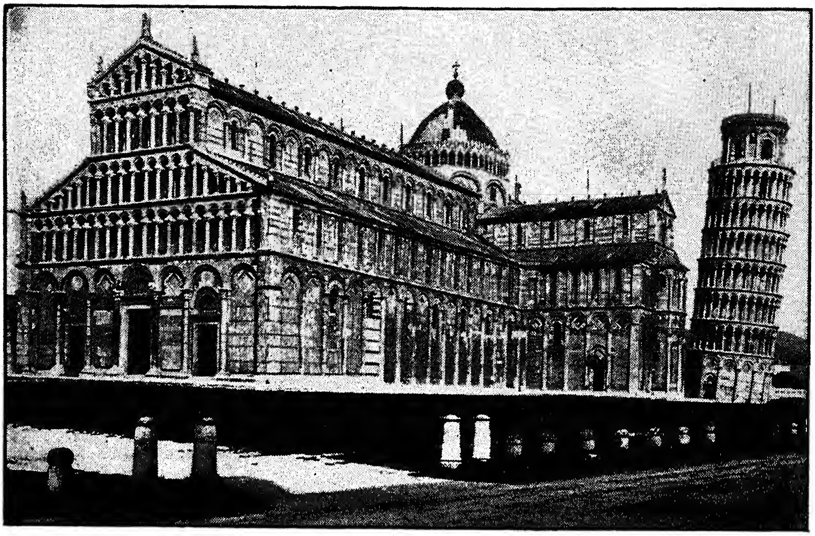


Figure 62

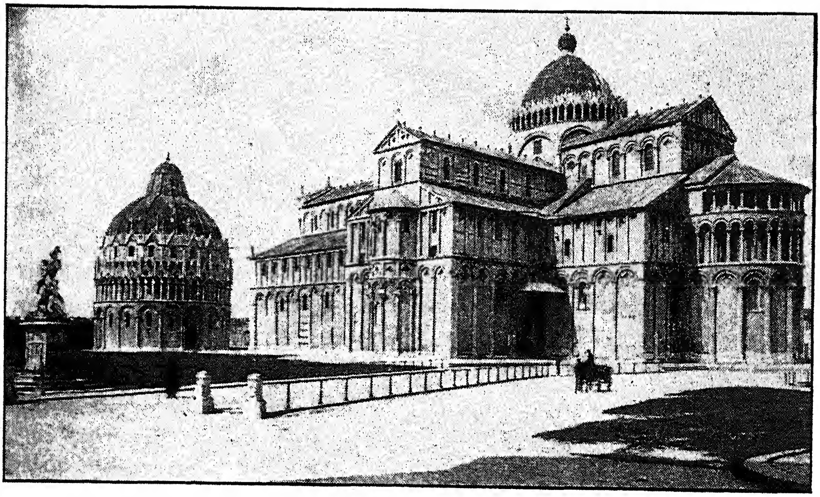


Figure 63

The cathedral at Pisa: *above*, view of nave, transept, and campanile; *below*, apse, choir, transept, nave, and baptistery

Sculpture and ornament

At Poitiers and Angoulême are churches from this period whose façades are almost completely covered with sculptured figures and terminate at either side in ornamental towers. Instead of the plain cubical capital so often found in Romanesque churches, all sorts of figures and designs are employed upon the capitals of the columns, and the ends of the corbels are carved into grotesque human, animal, and imaginary heads. Secular subjects appear so often that a Spanish Romanesque cloister has been called the most valuable kind of document for the social life of the time. We find also in southern France the treating together as a unified architectural composition of the three front portals opening into nave and aisles respectively.

Rhenish Romanesque

In Germany the chief Romanesque structures were the great cathedrals of the Rhine cities and bishoprics, Speyer (Figure 64), Worms, and Mainz. The interiors of these three churches average four hundred feet in length and one hundred feet in height of nave. At first they had wooden roofs, but were later vaulted. They have double choirs and a dome and two towers at either end of the building. These relieve the long, horizontal lines and bare expanse of slanting roof of nave and aisles and add a vertical or upward effect. We find the usual blind arcades and dwarf galleries. Similar in style to these Rhenish churches are the Romanesque portions of the cathedral at Tournai in Belgium, which did not receive a vaulted roof until the eighteenth century. Its four towers, however, instead of being in pairs at both ends are grouped together at the four corners of the crossing.

Norman architecture

By the expression "Norman architecture" is indicated that of England and northwestern France during the Romanesque period. There is no English cathedral which has come down essentially unaltered from that time, but there are many which in greater or less part are Norman in character, especially Durham, Norwich (Figure 61), Peterborough, Ely, and Winchester. The Norman churches usually had two square towers at either side of the west front, a comparatively low and heavy square tower or lantern over the crossing of nave and transepts, and a round apse at the east end. Although originally not vaulted, their interiors were nevertheless very impressive from the length of the nave, the height of its side walls, and the regular and rhythmic succession of massive piers or huge round pillars and of arches which composed those walls. In respect to ornamentation, however, the Norman work is rather rough. Their sculpture was mainly geometrical, consisting of saw-edge teeth or zigzag and spiral grooves cut in pillars or arches, and often hewn with an axe. When they attempted a few animal or human or angelic figures, in the semicircular space above a door in an

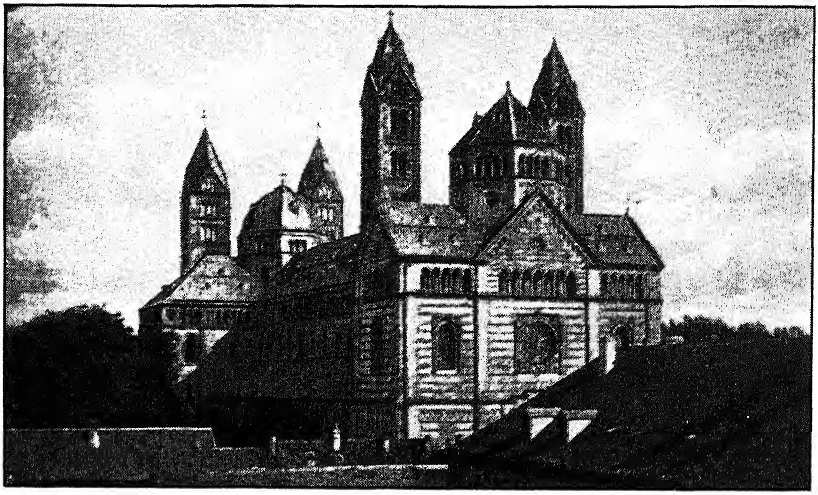


Figure 64

Romanesque cathedral at Speyer

archway or on the sides of a massive baptismal font that one might well mistake for a horse-trough, the work was generally crude and indistinct.

Origin of Gothic

Our discussion of Romanesque architecture omitted, with the exception of Normandy and Flanders, the provinces of northern and east-central France, because here an especial experimentation was going on which resulted, in the twelfth century, in the creation of the Gothic style. Champagne and the Île de France were rather backward in the Romanesque period, but they were to take the lead in the production of the new style, just as from the neighborhood of Paris and the royal court came the dialect that was to become the French language. The misleading name, "Gothic," was foisted upon this style of architecture by Italians of the Renaissance period in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who had no sympathy with any but classical buildings, and who, because a good deal of the perverted Gothic architecture in their own Italy had come to them by way of Germany, concluded that Gothic was a fitting name for a style which they believed to be the work of a barbarous age. Nor did the French at that time care to claim Gothic art as their own creation, since they too had gone back to imitation of classical art and for centuries neglected their marvelous medieval churches. Only in the course of the last century, together with the Romantic movement in literature and the better knowledge of the Middle Ages resulting from modern historical scholarship, has there been real investigation, comprehension, and appreciation of Gothic architecture.

Gothic construction

It has been said that "the inert principle of construction, the massive walls, the small apertures, and the horizontal lines of the Romanesque architecture make it still closely akin to the old Roman style." Gothic, instead of being inert, is a decidedly energetic construction where thrust and counter-thrust are in perfect equilibrium. The cathedral is built of small stones which are easy to handle, suggestive of the freer and more individual composition of medieval society, and indicative of greater engineering skill and planning. Instead of massive walls, it scarcely has walls at all. Its vaulted stone roof is upheld by a network of stone ribs and flying buttresses which carry the weight to a few selected points where adequate piers and buttresses receive and support it. Instead of small apertures, the front and sides and end of the cathedral are almost continuous sheets of stained glass, separated into arched windows only by the ribs of the structural skeleton. Instead of horizontal lines, every column and arch and rib and vault and roof and buttress carries the eye upward. The church is actually higher than the average Romanesque church and it appears to be vastly more so. These changes were effected largely through two important innovations, the pointed arch and vault and the flying buttress.

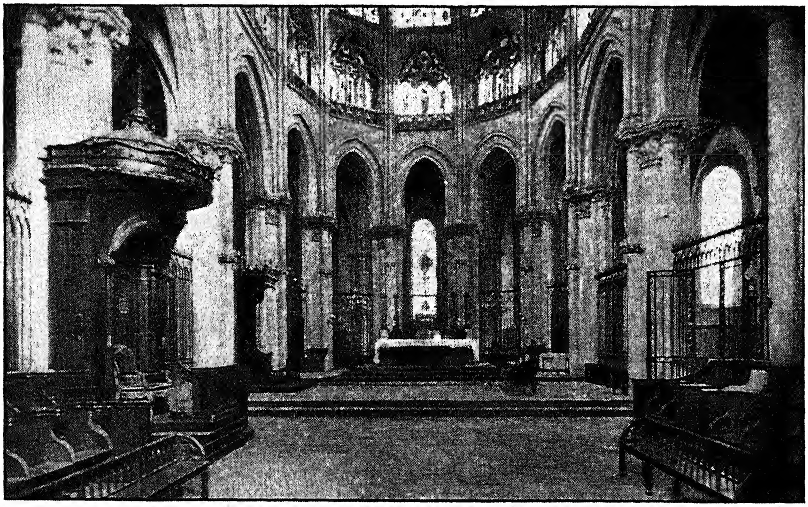


Figure 65

Gothic choir, Tours

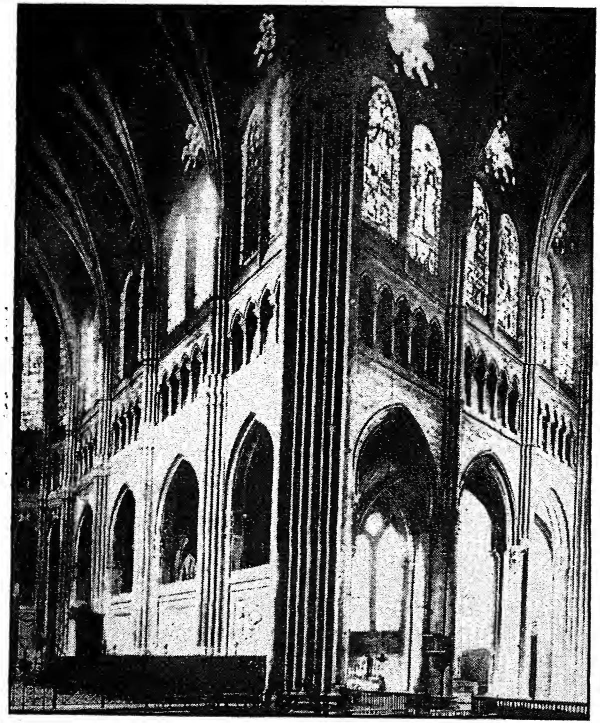


Figure 66

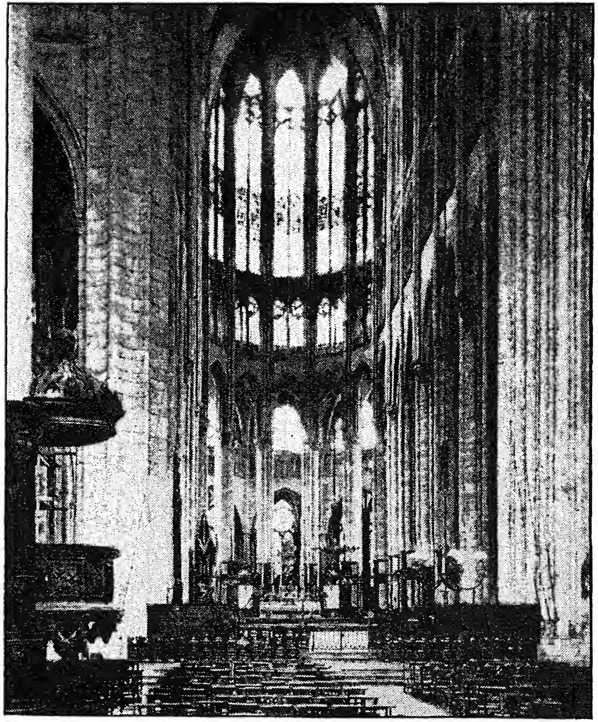


Figure 67

Left, transept, Chartres cathedral; *right*, choir of Beauvais, 158 feet high

The pointed arch

Hitherto the round arch had been employed in vaulting, in nave arches, in triforium, in doorways and windows, and in all architectural adornment It seriously restricted the builders, since it must be always exactly half as high as its width and since all arches of the same height or width must be exactly alike The pointed arch had been known before Gothic architecture started, but the systematic employment of it both in structure and ornamentation is characteristic of the Gothic Pointed vaults and arches permit almost endless variety, since height and width do not have to be in any fixed ratio And they are stronger structurally, since they do not tend to spread outward as much as the Roman arch By coming to a point at the top, they lead the eye upward and were especially adapted to the lofty effects which the architects were striving to obtain (Figures 65 and 67)

The flying buttress

A solid buttress rests on the ground and is built directly into or against the wall of a building at points where additional thickness and strength are necessary We have seen that the outer walls of the side aisles were often so braced in Romanesque buildings. But the loftier and heavier walls of the nave above the roofs of the aisles could not be so braced Here the flying buttress came in. Touching the wall of the nave only at one end, it sprang clear of the roof of the aisle in an arc of stone whose other extremity rested on one of the solid buttresses that rose from the ground to meet it Thus no new weight was put upon the roof of the aisle, and the buttresses of the outer walls of the aisles were made to bear the burden of the nave wall as well Of course, to do this, they had to be made thicker, while to prevent the arch of the flying buttress from spreading outward a heavy vertical weight in the shape of a pinnacle or canopied statue was superimposed upon its extremity at the point where it met the solid buttress (Figure 68) The flying buttresses, moreover, not merely propped up the side walls of the nave, but were placed at the proper points to receive the thrust of the heavy vaulted roof Of course, some of the weight of the nave walls and roof still rested on the rows of columns within the church, but these did not need to be as massive as before. As a matter of fact they remained nearly as great in actual diameter as before, but were made higher and were placed at greater intervals apart (Figure 66) Also the square piers and huge round pillars were replaced by more graceful clusters of slender columns, which hid the central core of masonry that united and strengthened them, and from which as they rose diverged the supporting ribs of the arched vaulting overhead Since these ribs, columns, and flying buttresses supported the whole burden of the vaulting, it was no longer necessary to have thick or solid walls in the nave, and the clearstory could be given over almost entirely to windows, especially as the flying buttresses cut off practically no light from outside (Figures 66, 67)

The old Romanesque churches with wooden roofs were especially liable to be destroyed by fire The cathedral of Chartres so suffered in 1194, that of Rouen in 1200–1201, Rheims in 1210, Amiens and Coutances in 1218, Beauvais in 1225, Châlons-sur-Marne in 1230 This but cleared the way for a great period of reconstruction in the Gothic style with vaulted stone roofs, which in each case was begun almost immediately or within a year or two after the fire Many other churches in France were reconstructed or added to or built anew, and their architects and sculptors were called to all parts of Europe to do the same

In speaking of pointed arches, flying buttresses, columns, and ribs in vaulting we have faintly suggested the increased grace, variety, and elaborateness of architectural memberment in a Gothic cathedral We cannot attempt to deal here with all the detail of shafts, capitals, mouldings, groining, and other architectural features which enriched the Gothic style It had little need for wall paintings or mosaics and had little flat wall space available for them But, although the construction itself gave rise to a great deal of ornamentation, it was further adorned with sculpture and enriched with stained glass

Gothic sculpture

Gothic architecture itself often seems an exquisite lacework in stone which might be the masterpiece of some giant sculptor Medieval sculpture, on the other hand, was usually subordinated to architectural purposes. Some very crude and some very fine sculpture was produced in connection with the cathedrals The statues were as a rule carved from the same stone that was used in building the church, and were made to fit into the architectural scheme and often to fill a certain place Consequently their proportions may be unnatural in themselves but are just right to harmonize with the building They differ further from classical sculpture in that their aim is to express not beauty and physical grace, but saintliness and devotion, or to symbolize some Christian doctrine or mystery However, Kemmerich has shown that the sculptors in thirteenth-century Germany gave personages more individual traits, while Prior has used the caption, "The English Humanism," for the thirteenth-century sculpture of Wells cathedral. Often scenes from the Old Testament were shown on the north transept, those from the New Testament on the south transept, while the west front was devoted to the last judgment. At Paris the figures carved in the concentric arches of the portal are successively patriarchs, prophets, confessors, martyrs, and virgins, while the corresponding saints at Chartres are in the order of laymen, monks, priests, and bishops Some artist of the early thirteenth century at Paris devised a new personification of the virtues and vices which was copied at Amiens, Chartres, and elsewhere Pride is a rider falling from his horse, Cowardice, a knight dropping his sword and fleeing from a rabbit, Ingratitude, a richly dressed lady sitting on an embroidered chair and kicking a kneeling cupbearer Realism and grotesque humor often appear, as in the *fabliaux* and the mystery and miracle plays Remarkable fancy is evidenced in some of the strange monsters and chimeras on buttress and parapet, and wonderfully delicate stone carving is seen in the interior of many churches large and small Sometimes even the shafts of small columns and the mouldings of arches were intricately carved, and sculptured heads covered the groining of the arches and the springing of the vaults Even the coarser external work exposed to the weather was executed with remarkable fidelity, and sometimes animal grotesques high up on the roof were carefully sculptured in every muscle and fold of their skins, behind as well as in front and below as well as above (Figure 69). Either the artist thought that God would see it even if men did not, or he executed the work so thoroughly because he liked to do it Such were the sculptors who in carving floral designs about a capital would amuse themselves by occasionally converting a petal into a face or hiding an imp in a mass of foliage In the choir stalls the under sides of the folding seats were sometimes covered with the most exquisite wood carving The vegetation shown is usually that of the immediate neighborhood and proves that the sculptors were both close observers and lovers of nature

Niccola Pisano

The career of a thirteenth-century artist may be illustrated by that of Niccola Pisano, who seems to have been born in Apulia, not Pisa, about 1205 Frederick II is said to have made him architect of the castle at Naples at the age of only fifteen At twenty-six he began the church of Saint Anthony at Padua; then went to Arezzo to build San Domenico The pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa, in which he imitated the sculpture of an ancient Roman sarcophagus, bears the date 1260 with his name On the other hand, the influence of northern Gothic is seen in the pulpit of Siena cathedral, finished in 1268, on which he worked with his son Giovanni and others, and even more so in the large fountain before the cathedral of Perugia, which they completed in 1278 (Figure 80, page 532) The upper façade of the cathedral at Ferrara was also Niccola's work

In place of the Byzantine mosaics the Gothic cathedrals had trans-

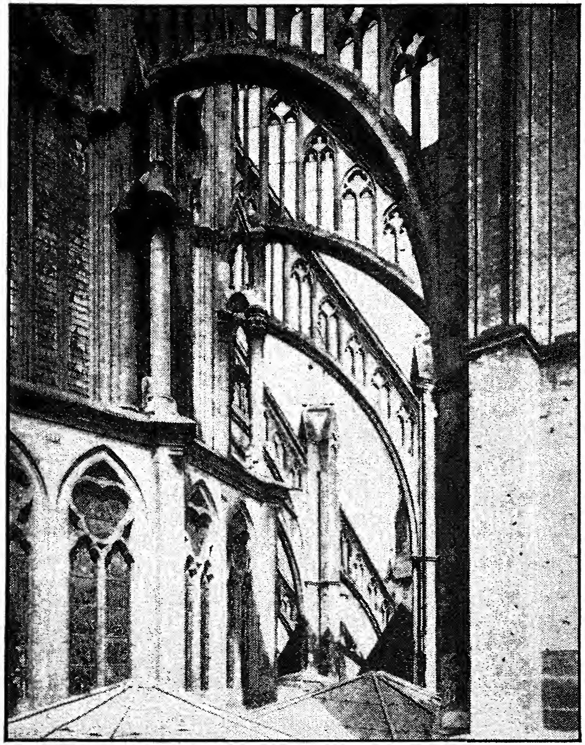


Figure 68

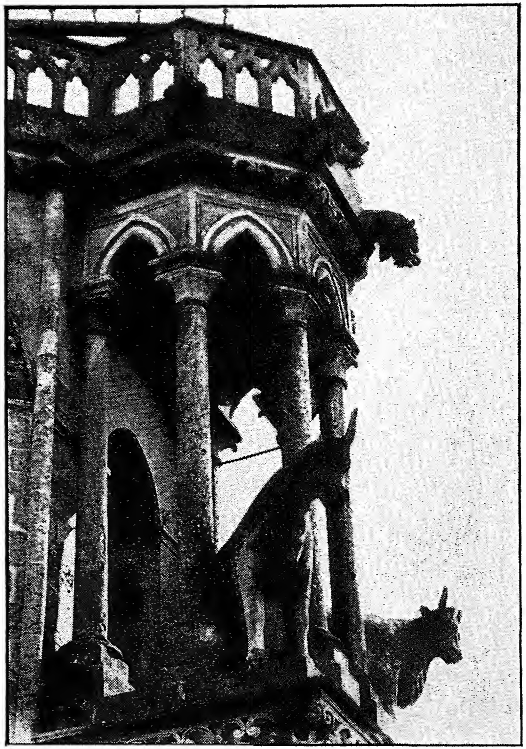


Figure 69

Left, flying buttresses, Amiens; *right*, chimeras, Laon

Stained glass

parent colored designs in their stained-glass windows We first learn of the making of stained glass from a treatise on various industrial and artistic processes written by the monk Theophilus in the twelfth century In the thirteenth century the coloring matter was diffused into the mass of glass while it was yet in the melting-pot, so that it was colored all through and was of a brighter hue than in later times when it was merely tinted upon the surface The windows were made up of small bits of glass which were pieced together and held in place by leads This thirteenth-century glass was imperfect in character, and since the fragments of it differed further in shape and size, the rays of light in passing through them were broken up the more, and there was much blending of the different colors and very brilliant effects were produced like the glittering of jewels The leads were skillfully employed to form the outlines of the human and other figures depicted in the design, whereas later, in the sixteenth century, when large plates of painted glass were used, the leads were arranged in mechanical squares and would sometimes run across a saint's face or sever his body There are said to be 3889 figures in the stained glass windows of Chartres cathedral alone Some of the glass in the cathedral of Le Mans may go back to the end of the eleventh century, and in this single church the developments and modifications in glass may be traced to the sixteenth century. In the fourteenth century it was discovered how to stain glass yellow by means of silver, before this, purple had been the favorite color, but it did not admit as much light It was also discovered early in the fourteenth century that, by dipping the blowpipe first into liquid glass of one color and then into that of another color, a sheet of glass could be blown of one color on one side and another on the reverse Less glass has survived from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, than from the thirteenth and sixteenth After the latter century interest in stained glass ceased and the art practically died out Also religious fanatics smashed many of the wonderful old windows as well as the statues of the cathedrals.

A Gothic cathedral

The most ornamented portion of the medieval Gothic cathedral was usually the façade or west front Here was the main entrance in the form of recessed portals, generally three in number like the Trinity, and whose sides and arches were completely covered with statuary (Figure 83) These recessed portals also served the purpose of concealing and adorning the lower parts of the great buttresses which supported the front of the church — a good instance of the close relationship that was almost invariably observed between structure and decoration. On either side of the portals rose towers completely masking the roofs of the aisles "Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in" Over the portals and between the towers was a large round or rose window, perhaps forty feet in diameter, lighting that end of the nave Above or beneath it were rows of statues or decorative arcades and colonnades The buttresses before mentioned were ornamented in one way or another in their upper portions, sometimes by niches and panoplies cut in them, and in and under which stood large single statues This sculptured screen which we have suggested was usually carried up between the towers so that it entirely hid the ridgepole of the nave behind it

If we leave the front of the cathedral and walk along either side, we see the line of solid and flying buttresses clothing and supporting the main body of the church In the earliest Gothic churches these props were left bare and heavy, but soon they were made graceful in form, were adorned with carvings, mouldings, and statues, and sometimes were even perforated with arched and circular openings It is necessary to check the outward thrust of the flying arch at the point where the flying buttress rests on the solid support below, and this is done by superimposing at this point a beautiful stone pinnacle or a statue of more than life-size which serves to clamp down the outer end of the flying arch The long line of these pinnacles and statues, the intricate tracery of the flying buttresses, and the fantastic gargoyles, in which terminate the eaves-spouts that carry the rainwater off the roofs clear of the stonework below, form a graceful and symmetrical thicket of architecture and sculpture which half conceals and half discloses the main building We get new vistas and effects where the transept projects at a right angle and again where the apse curves in a semicircle The end of the transept has another rose window and sometimes rather elaborately decorated portals, so that it forms a sort of combination of, or cross between, the features of the façade and of the side of the nave. The exterior of the choir, too, is often treated somewhat differently from the nave, although in general harmony with it

In short, to get a satisfactory appreciation of the exterior of a Gothic cathedral one must walk all around it and survey it carefully from top to bottom As the Psalmist says, "Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generation following" High aloft on the arcades of the apse, the parapets of the roof, or the battlements of the towers, are not only figures of saints and angels, but various animals and chimeras, goblins and demons, forces of the mysterious world of nature and of the other spiritual world, forces for evil as well as forces for good, since both exist in this world by divine permission. These, together with the bristling array of pinnacles and buttresses and the statues and gargoyles upon them, guard, as it were, the sanctuary within or threaten those who remain without. He who wishes to see the interior of the house of God must enter in by the door and not try to climb up some other way. And the doorways, as we have already seen, are rich in sculpture to remind him of church legend and teaching and to prepare him for the yet more solemn sensation made by the spacious, stately vaults and grand perspective of the interior, and by the brighter, more radiant saints, apostles, and martyrs of its glowing windows.

Gothic outside France

It was in France that Gothic not only originated, but attained its purest form, and that architects were most skillful structurally. But the new style spread all over western Europe from Spain to Bohemia. It is seen in the Rhine Valley in the second half of the thirteenth century in the nave of the great cathedral of Strasburg which was built in the French style, in the choir of Cologne which is a copy of Amiens, and in Metz which was now begun under the influence of the Rheims school of architects. In England Westminster Abbey, also built in the second half of the thirteenth century, is of all English cathedrals that which most closely resembles the French Gothic style. But Gothic influence is seen earlier in the century in the so-called "Early English" style.

A number of peculiarities distinguishing English from French Gothic churches may be noted. English cathedrals do not have such broad naves or such lofty vaulting, but they are often longer, partly because the choir is extended to as great or even greater length than the nave and sometimes has a second pair of transepts of its own, partly because supplementary structures such as Lady chapels and presbyteries are often added at the east end. This end of the church is usually square instead of rounded. Generally there is one main tower over the crossing rather than two at the west front. The façade is frequently a broad screen of arcades and sculpture hiding the smaller actual front of the church and not having any close structural relation to it. Indeed, such façade screens often were later additions in a totally different style from the original nave, which it was therefore advisable to cover up. In the Early English style the central wheel or rose window is not so inevitable a feature and when employed is smaller than in French churches. The English clearstory windows do not completely occupy the pointed arches formed by the vaults of the roof, and often there is a cluster of three narrow windows instead of one large aperture. Inside the church the ribs bearing the vaults are not always carried straight up from the sup-

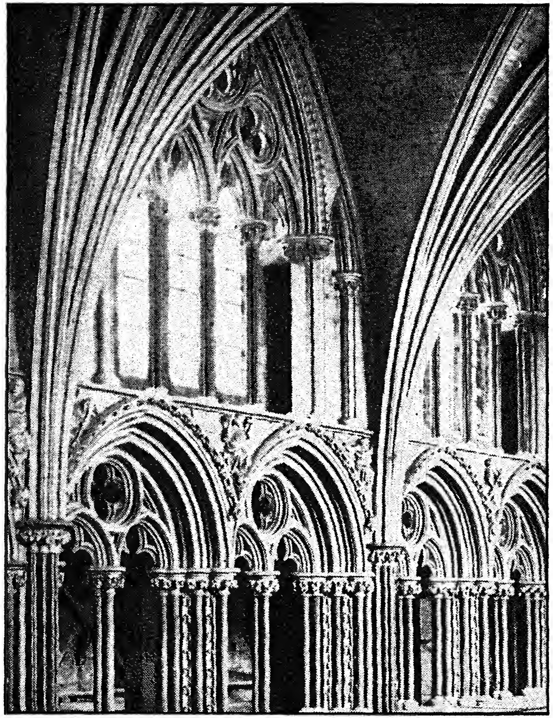


Figure 70

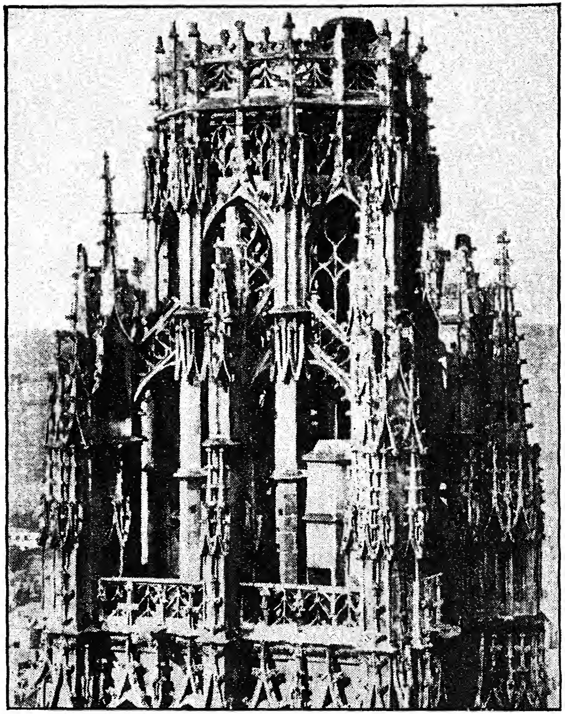


Figure 71

Left, triforium and clearstory of the Angel Choir, Lincoln Cathedral; *right*, Tour de Beurre, Rouen Cathedral, so called because paid for by sale of indulgences for eating butter during Lent porting columns, but spring out of the wall at points high above the floor, and often more ribs are used than are needed, giving a fanlike appearance to the vaulting. The flying buttress is not employed on so great a scale or with such structural skill. Wooden roofs are still employed in many cases, although they no longer appear flat, but are built in imitation of vaults. For these structural deficiencies or idiosyncrasies the Early English in part atones by the beauty of its details, its sharply pointed lancet windows and blind arcades, its slender shafts and comely capitals, its intricate mouldings and carvings (Figure 70). Later varieties of English Gothic are called the "Decorated" and the "Perpendicular" styles, respectively.

The Romanesque held its own on German soil well into the thirteenth century. East of the Rhine, church edifices were as a rule on a humbler scale and in less perfect taste than were the great Rhenish cathedrals which followed French models more closely. More wall space is left bare both within and without, the transepts are less distinct, and there is seldom an ambulatory about the choir, the aisles and nave are sometimes of the same height. In Italy the Gothic style took the least hold. The apsidal aisle was even more uncommon than in Germany and the façade had as little relation to the building behind it as in Early English. The flying buttress was almost never employed, the windows remained small, and in general little constructive genius was shown. There was no arched triforium within and a bare expanse of wall appeared in the clearstory. The piers supporting the simple vaulting of the interior were themselves usually plain and square. The towers continued to be detached campaniles and were not very different from their Romanesque predecessors.

Gothic towers

North of the Alps, however, the Gothic towers both of France and other lands deserve especial recognition by their height, open arches, and detail of ornamentation (Figure 71). It is difficult to make a selection among so many marvelous structures, but the reader can get some idea of their varied merits by examining detailed views of the twin yet contrasting front towers of Chartres, the one in the severely pure style of the closing twelfth century, the other a richly ornate spire added in the early sixteenth, and which are respectively three hundred and fifty and three hundred and seventy-five feet in height. Or of the central lantern of Lincoln from the thirteenth, and the filmy octagonal crown from the fourteenth century above the transepts of Saint Ouen in Rouen, or of the intricate and delicate open-work spires of Freiburg, Strasburg, and Cologne.

Such were the Gothic cathedrals. The style originated in the twelfth century and reached the highest point of excellence in the thirteenth.

But many churches were not entirely finished until later, or received additions especially in ornamentation which enhanced their beauty. Some fine cathedrals were not started until the fourteenth century, but those of Chartres, Amiens, Rouen, Paris (Figure 72), and Rheims, which are alike of vast proportions and the very first rank, were all finished in the thirteenth century

Cathedral builders

At Le Mans, Guillaume de Passavant finished the present vault of the early Gothic nave in 1158, and the present enlarged magnificent choir was erected in place of the smaller old one in 1217–1254. Immediately after the Carolingian cathedral at Rheims had been burned down in 1210, the first stone of the present structure was laid in 1211 In 1221 the pope granted an indulgence to those contributing toward the rebuilding Jean d'Orbais drew the plans and built the apse and one transept Jean le Loup completed the choir in 1241 and the other transept about mid-century From 1247 to 1255 Gaucher of Rheims was working on the portals and voussoirs of the façade Bernard of Soissons constructed the bays of the nave, and about 1280 finished the great rose window of the west front Robert de Courcy completed the grand portal and died in 1311.

These names show that the architects and sculptors of the cathedrals are no longer anonymous, as they used to be called The names of many have been recovered by research in old archives or discovered in the labyrinth designs in the pavements of the churches themselves The Album of Villard de Honnecourt rivals the notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci in drawings from nature, decorative patterns, and engineering devices Villard also added to the three divisions of the human face, given by the ancient Roman writer Vitruvius, a fourth from the roots of the hair to the top of the head, making the visage more intellectual, elevated and active, in which respect he was to be followed by such later artists as Leonardo and Durer

Medieval painting

Medieval painting, after a long period of neglect, is now being enthusiastically investigated. Although thousands of medieval pictures have perished from the ravages of time, Protestant fanaticism, and later pseudo-classical lack of appreciation, the few that remain are enough to correct the notion that painting in the Middle Ages was limited to the illuminations and miniatures of manuscripts or to brilliant mosaics and stained glass "More careful study of the painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has revealed . many discoveries assigned to Quattrocento painters" (Kingsley Porter). It is also being realized that a wonderful sense of artistic values often underlies what used to be dismissed as religious symbolism Furthermore, the Gothic

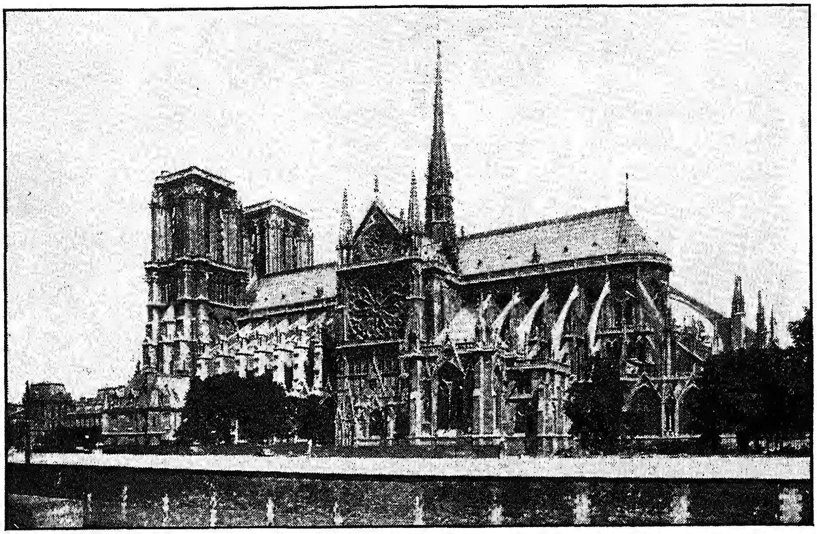


Figure 72

Gothic cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris

painters did not blindly adhere to Byzantine formalism and set rules, but developed new styles and manners of their own; indeed, there was a new movement in Byzantine painting itself during the last two centuries of that empire. Even the names of individual painters are known and pictures by them identified, as in the case of the Berlinghieri family at Siena from the end of the twelfth to the close of the thirteenth century. Sirén has suggested that depicting the career and legend of Saint Francis gave the painters of the thirteenth century a new inspiration which freed them from Byzantine influence and the *maniera greca,* and that they aimed to awaken religious emotion by use of abstract linear symbols whose beauty and expressiveness depended upon rhythmic vitality. On the other hand, a fresco which was uncovered some years ago at Rome in S. Cecelia in Trastevere, a "last judgment" done about 1293 by Cavallini, is described as classical in feeling and a great advance over the older rendering in S. Angelo in Formis.

Giotto

Giotto (c. 1266–1337), who used to be thought of as initiating the painting of the Italian renaissance, is now spoken of rather as closing the period of Gothic painting — that is, in Italy, for elsewhere it was prolonged until later. He owed nothing to ancient art and introduced new features. In many respects his frescoes were still crude and awkward Objects were not of the right size compared to other objects nor in the correct perspective, and his figures were sometimes stiff But to his contemporaries his paintings were a revelation in lifelikeness and fidelity to nature He tried to have them tell an actual human story either from the Bible or from the life of Saint Francis He put in monks such as people saw every day, and beds and trees and rocks and other familiar objects Often these were crudely executed or scarcely more than indicated, like the scenery in an Elizabethan drama Indeed, when Giotto tries to picture both the inside and the outside of a house at once, the result is something that looks very much like a theatrical stage And that suggests the secret of his success, he was not so much realistic as he was dramatic, he put action into his pictures and held the attention of the observer. Like Villard de Honnecourt, Giotto was master of more than one art and designed the stately Gothic campanile that stands beside the cathedral at Florence (Figure 97). Clement V took Giotto with him from Perugia to France, and Giotto did not get back to Florence until 1316 He was paid 18,000 francs by Benedict XI for five scenes from the life of Christ, but asked only from 90 to 250 francs per painting in the case of those executed for private individuals. Florence gave him a pension of 4400 francs

Bibliographical Note

Both inspiring and delightful reading are Henry Adams, *Mont Saint Michel and Chartres*, E Mâle, *Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, A K Porter, *Beyond Architecture*, and the discussion of Art by Dearmer in Hearnshaw, *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization*, pp 149–173 Good chapters on architecture, sculpture, and decorative and industrial arts will also be found in Crump and Jacobs, *Legacy of the Middle Ages*, and Chapters 7, 9, and 10 in Lethaby, *Medieval Art*, on Gothic characteristics, French sculpture and painting, and French masons The first chapter of Moore, *Gothic Architecture*, is a concise and brilliant exposition of the principles of Gothic.

On Romanesque architecture in general see the book by A W. Clapham, on French Romanesque, those of Bodington and Markham, for England, S Gardner's *Guide to English Gothic*, with fine illustrations, or E S Prior Other specialized works are D. R. Buxton, *Russian Medieval Architecture*, Knoop and Jones, *The Medieval Mason.*

On sculpture M D. Anderson, *The Medieval Carver*; Cust, *Ivory Workers*; Alice Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*, Prior and Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* On stained glass, the works of F Arnold, A. J. de H Bushnell, and C. H Sherill On Gothic painting, the books of Clive Bell, Frank Kendon, and P. A Lesmoisne.

XXVIII

Economic Life: Trade and Industry

In this and the next chapter we trace the further course of the economic recovery and social progress whose first stages have already been noted in Chapter XIV. In order to avoid prolixity, we may take Venice as an example of the maritime trade of towns of the Italian peninsula, although Genoa was of almost equal importance, and still other seaports might well receive attention.

Venetian commerce

By the thirteenth century at least, Venetian traders were found well-nigh all over the known world. They made commercial treaties with the sultans of Iconium and Aleppo and with the Christian rulers of Little Armenia and Trebizond. In 1255 a traveler found at Iconium a Venetian and a Genoese in partnership; they had obtained from the sultan a monopoly of the alum trade and had more than tripled the price in consequence. Such enterprising traders were found from Damascus to Kiev and from the Crimea to the Caucasus. The Polo brothers even visited China. Countries like Egypt had to get iron and lumber from outside and were supplied with these commodities by Christian traders despite all the efforts of popes, doges, consuls of Genoa, and kings of Aragon to prevent it. Venetians, however, not merely spread over the world in search of trade, so far as they could they forced trade to flow through Venice, which thus took a profit from goods both coming and going. Venice had early monopolized the distribution of salt in her immediate neighborhood, and she largely controlled the fur trade and grain trade and slave trade by way of the Black Sea. In pursuance of her steadfast policy to center all trade in Venice and to bring as many goods there as possible, she would not allow foreign vessels to cross directly between the east and the west shores of the Adriatic, but forced them to go by way of Venice and unload at least two thirds of their cargoes there. Venetian subjects outside the city were required to do all their importing and exporting through that port. German merchants who visited Venice, besides being disarmed and subjected to strict regulations, had to dispose of their entire stock there. No import duties were levied upon certain wares which Venice wished to obtain from the regions producing them in order to sell again at a profit to other places

Navigation laws

Such goods, however, if they came by sea, must come in Venetian bottoms if they were to escape taxation, for Venice had no mind to encourage the shipping of other towns Since she desired the carrying trade for herself, she naturally enacted laws favoring her own shipping and sailors In some instances she did not allow foreign vessels to enter her harbor at all, in other cases they were taxed heavily for the privilege In the middle of the thirteenth century laws were made forbidding Venetians to ship their goods in foreign bottoms or to sell their vessels to foreigners All vessels used by Venetian merchants must be built in Venice and manned by either Greeks or Venetian subjects The city government built and armed the ships and then rented the use of them to the merchants At Genoa almost everyone invested in *loca* or shares, but the fact that these corresponded to the number of mariners manning the vessel suggests that the sailors themselves originally shared the voyage in common There never were more than one hundred mariners on the largest Genoese sailing vessel

Medieval shipping

At that time it was usual to arm merchant vessels which ventured on long voyages, since there was constant danger from pirates and sometimes from the ships of rival powers Many different types of vessel were employed by the medieval Italians, and they were propelled both by sails and oars (Figure 45). They were often built with bulging sides in order to accommodate more cargo However, the laws of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice not only forbade the heaping-up of excessive freight on deck, but ordered that all merchantmen should be marked with a load-line A vessel one hundred feet long was then regarded as of great size, although some war galleys were longer than that Two hundred and fifty tons was considered a good cargo, and six hundred the maximum Where oars were used, a crew of nearly two hundred men was often needed, several of them working at one oar. The vessels used in transporting pilgrims or crusaders to the East sometimes were loaded with as many as a thousand men each, but merchants demanded roomier quarters. By the thirteenth century the rudder had replaced the old method of steering by one or two oars at the stern

The gold standard

Gold coinage was resumed in the West in 1230 by the Emperor Frederick II with the coin known as the augustal Florence followed suit in 1253 with the gold florin, struck with a figure of Saint John on one side and the lily of Florence on the other; and Venice with the ducat in 1284 After 1250 the money of Constantinople was no longer considered sound in the West, and these coinages replaced it Florence was soon minting several thousand gold florins annually, while by 1400 a million new ducats appeared every year North of the Alps the silver coins of Tours were the most widely accepted as standard The fact that coining gold was first resumed in Italy suggests that it was the chief repository of capital and supplied northwestern Europe with funds This was in general the case, although there were some exceptions, such as the early and widespread prominence of the citizens of Cahors in southern France as money-dealers and bankers The florin was widely imitated in the West and is still the name of a two-shilling piece in England, the ducat spread through the East

Bookkeeping

The first account books of individual merchants were mere memoranda to assist their memory But in Italy, as commercial companies developed and business relations grew more complicated, more elaborate records became necessary A number of books came to be kept, such as a journal or day book, an invoice book, special volumes for operations with foreign correspondents, reports of agents and factors, inventories which some firms took every two years, and a ledger containing debtor and creditor accounts Sometimes these last were on opposite pages or columns or one at the top and the other at the bottom of the page But the oldest known example of double-entry bookkeeping in the sense of having a corresponding credit for each debit in each business operation, so that the books may be balanced at any moment, is the books of the municipal financial officials known as *massari* in Genoa, which were written in Latin in 1340 Volumes for previous years were burned in a popular revolt of 1339 No Venetian account books from before the fifteenth century have survived, although Venetian merchants seem to have been responsible for the practice of keeping current accounts with debit and credit on opposite pages Double-entry bookkeeping was not generally adopted for a long time, and some businessmen continued to keep debit and credit in separate halves of the same volume Although Roman rather than Arabic numerals continued to be used in bookkeeping and they were seldom arranged in columns, the addition and conversion of one currency into another is seldom at fault, presumably because the calculation was done with an abacus and not on paper

Italian banking

We have seen that the taking of interest on loans was forbidden to Christians by medieval canon law, and in many places the practice was prohibited by civil law as well As a result money-lending and even most banking was for a time in the hands of the Jews, who, besides lending money, gave letters of credit and bills of exchange As the Italians, however, came to have a large supply of capital as a result of their commercial and industrial prosperity, they began to found banking houses, and to exchange foreign money or transmit sums from one part of Europe to another The varieties of coinages were almost infinite in the Middle Ages when so many feudal lords and independent towns had the right to mint money, and it was easy for a money-changer to make a little profit on each transaction The transportation of money was often difficult and dangerous, so that bankers were justified in charging a fee for rendering this service The papacy, which drew its revenues from all parts of western and central Europe, was the leading employer of the Italian bankers in collecting and transmitting sums of money Before long the Italians began to advance large sums to kings and states as well as smaller sums to lesser individuals and to receive interest until the money advanced was repaid They evaded the law against usury by making the loan free from interest for a brief specified period, during which they knew that the borrower could not or would not repay When that time expired, they charged damages if the entire principal were not forthcoming and after another interval did the same again Or one might buy wool on credit, agreeing to pay 1200 florins for it at the end of six months, and then immediately sell it back for 1000 florins cash There were many other such dodges to evade the laws against usury North of the Alps almost any Italians engaged in banking were indiscriminately called "Lombards," and Lombard Street was the center of the financial district of London But the largest banking firms were rather in Tuscany and especially at Florence, perhaps because of their nearness to Rome and employment by the papacy According to one authority there were some eighty banking houses in Florence by 1250, while the contemporary historian Villani reckons the number of commercial companies in 1300 at sixty By 1369 there were one hundred and nine, although a number had failed in the interim. With the rise of commercial dealings, means of communication improved, for "a post service was established in Italy by the middle of the twelfth century; by means of it a message could be sent from Florence to Naples in five or six days" (Clarke)

Trade in the south

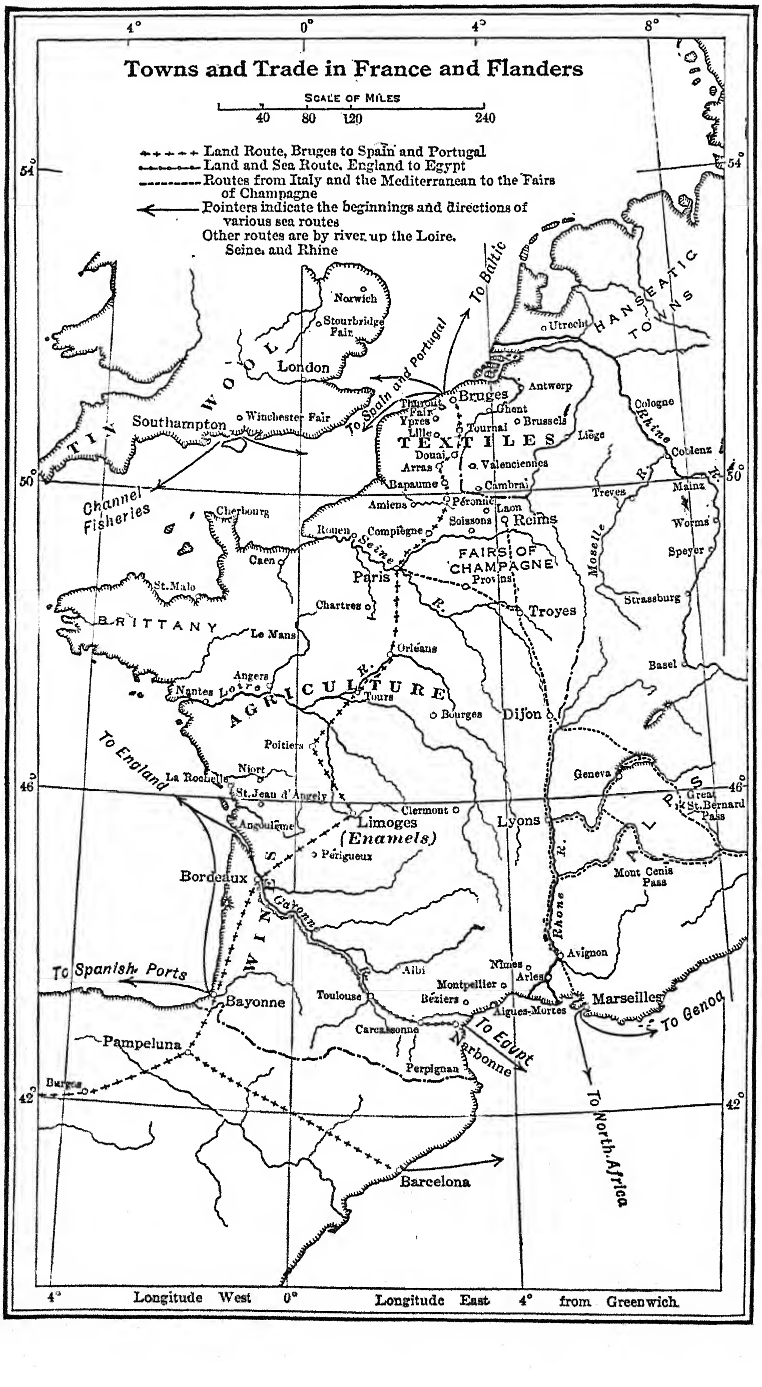
The Provençals and the Catalans of ports like Marseilles and Barcelona were close seconds to the Italians in Mediterranean trade There was a "port of the Provençals" on the southern coast of Asia Minor and they had a street in each of the Syrian ports Marseilles traded much with northern Africa and its sailors were the first to venture straight across the Mediterranean instead of skirting the coast of Italy, thereby shortening the voyage to fifteen days. Narbonne profited by the trade route between Egypt and England, which went overland across France by way of Toulouse to Bordeaux, until early in the fourteenth century, when its harbor silted up, and it expelled its large Jewish colony, and the Italian cities began to send their fleets around Spain to England and Flanders. Bordeaux and Bayonne on the southwestern coast of France belonged to England from the twelfth to the fifteenth century and carried on an extensive trade with it, especially in wine. They also traded both with Spain and with Flanders. Even an inland town such as Montpellier was thronged with strangers from distant lands and cities. Already in the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew of Spain who traveled widely, tells us that Christians and Moslems came there from all directions to traffic from Portugal, Lombardy, Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Rome, Gaul, and England. A century later we find bankers there from Genoa, Lucca, Florence, Siena, Pisa, and Piacenza. There was much trade with the Levant in spices and other wares, while sales were made payable at the fairs of Champagne. Among a great number of notarial registers preserved at Toulouse are some three hundred books of commerce.

In central France the chief channel of trade was the river Loire, although the boats of merchants were often halted to pay tolls and customs duties to the feudal lords along its banks, and although, today at least, the river is full of shoals and quicksands and keeps changing its channel. Central France was a fertile plain for whose agricultural products the numerous scattered towns furnished markets.

Trade in the north

In northern France the river Seine was an important artery of trade exploited by associations of boatmen and merchants at Rouen and Paris and on the upper Seine in Burgundy, who at times came into conflict over their respective shares in the river traffic. But the chief center of commerce in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was Champagne, with its famous fairs, where traders from the Mediterranean cities exchanged their wares with merchants from the north. These fairs were held in succession at different places and each lasted about six weeks. The two largest fairs were at Troyes, from which the expression "Troy weight" is perhaps derived, and at Provins, whose population has shrunk today to a tenth of what it was then. The sagacious counts of Champagne protected the visiting merchants, kept moderate the dues that were levied at the fairs, and strictly enforced all contracts and debts entered into there.

The flourishing trade and industries of the Flemish towns up to 1200 have already been discussed in Chapter XIV. The thirteenth century saw commerce by sea between Flanders and Spain and southwestern



Towns and Trade in France and Flanders

SCALE OF MILES
40 80 120 240
Land Route, Bruges to Spain and Portugal
Land and Sea Route, England to Egypt
Routes from Italy and the Mediterranean to the Fairs of Champagne
Pointers indicate the beginnings and directions of various sea routes
Other routes are by river up the Loire, Seine, and Rhine
4° 0° 4° 8°
54° 50° 46° 42°
Longitude West 0° Longitude East 4° from Greenwich
Norwich
Stourbridge Fair
London
WOOL
TIN
Southampton
Winchester Fair
Channel Fisheries
To Baltic
To Spain and Portugal
Utrecht
HANSEATIC TOWNS
Antwerp
Bruges
Thurout Fair
Ypres
Ghent
Brussels
Lille
Tournai
TEXTILES
Liège
Cologne
Rhine
Coblenz
Douai
Arras
Valenciennes
Bapaume
Cambrai
Treves
Mainz
Amiens
Péronne
Laon
Soissons
Reims
Worms
Cherbourg
Rouen
Compiègne
Seine
FAIRS OF CHAMPAGNE
Moselle R.
Speyer
Caen
Paris
Provins
St. Malo
Chartres
R.
Troyes
Strassburg
BRITTANY
Le Mans
Orléans
Basel
Angers
Nantes
Loire R.
AGRICULTURE
Tours
Bourges
Dijon
Poitiers
Niort
To England
La Rochelle
St. Jean d'Angely
Geneva
Great St. Bernard Pass
ALPS
Clermont
Limoges (Enamels)
Lyons
Angoulême
Périgueux
Bordeaux
WINES
Garonne
Mont Cenis Pass
R. Rhone
Avignon
To Spanish Ports
Albi
Nîmes
Arles
Montpellier
Bayonne
Toulouse
Béziers
Aigues-Mortes
Marseilles
To Genoa
Pampeluna
Carcassonne
To Egypt
Narbonne
Perpignan
To North Africa
Burgos
Barcelona

France, and Spanish merchants were then permanently established in some of the towns of the Low Countries There was free trade between the northern part of Germany and the Flemish cities, with the result that the products of the Baltic region flowed to Flanders, whence they were exported to England and to the south and west

Bruges

In commerce Bruges was the Venice of the north, resembling that city further in its numerous canals One canal connected it with the sea, an arm of which was much nearer the town then than it is today. A writer of the early thirteenth century tells us that goods came to Bruges from Venice, China, the Cyclades, Hungary, Gascony, and England, and that there was room in its large quiet harbor at Damme for the entire French fleet Bruges was eventually to displace the fairs of Champagne as the chief trading center between the north and south of Europe In 1297 the city limits had to be enlarged, and the new walls then built were four and a half miles in circumference. Bruges at that time had a population triple that of London By this time, too, Bruges and Ghent boasted many houses built of stone, and their municipal governments appropriated money for paving the streets The leading gild in Bruges was the Hanse of London, an organization whose members were very rich and who were engaged in the wool trade with England, whence Flanders now got most of the raw material for its cloth manufactures The budget of Bruges for the year 1285 showed a total income of 55,043 pounds, 19 shillings, and 8 pence, as against an expenditure of 54,830 pounds, 14 shillings, and 5 pence The chief items of receipts were 25,644 odd pounds from the assizes of the different trades, 13,400 borrowed from money-changers, chiefly of Arras, 6044 from orphans, and 3494 from sale of annuities The chief items of expense were 23,530 odd pounds for running the commune, 10,435 paid in interest to the money-changers, 9902 paid to orphans, and 2200 spent on annuities

Elsewhere in the Low Countries towns were less numerous There were about a dozen in Brabant, seven in Hainault, and half a dozen in the bishopric of Liége. Industry and trade developed much earlier in what is now Belgium than among the Dutch, so that in 1200 there were very few towns in what is now the Netherlands The rise of towns on any large scale did not occur in Holland until the latter part of the thirteenth century. Before that Utrecht with its four markets a year was the chief commercial center in the north.

In England other prominent ports than London were Southampton in the south, and Bristol in the west. Foreign trade was largely carried on by foreign merchants, as is illustrated by the Flemish hanse in London

England

already mentioned. The chief local fairs were at Winchester in the south, Stourbridge and Walsingham in the east. It is noteworthy that the very towns in England which were most prosperous from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century came to life again only in the nineteenth century. Norwich, Coventry, York, Ipswich, and many others had two distinct periods of growth, separated by three centuries of arrest and even of decay (G. Unwin).

Wool

In connection with the extensive wool trade it may be noted that the monasteries were large wool producers. In 1270 the abbot of Meaux sold 120 sacks of wool to merchants of Lucca. A few years later a list of some two hundred monasteries which supplied Flanders with wool included thirty-nine from Yorkshire (Heaton). Even parish priests were known to spend their free time in clothmaking.

Spices

Spices were in great demand. When the Emperor Henry VI entered Rome in 1195, the streets were fumigated with balsam, incense, aloe, nutmeg, cinnamon, and nard. Tariffs of towns in Provence in the next century list pepper, ginger, cloves, zedoary, galangal, cubebs, saffron, canella, cumin, anise, dyestuffs such as lac, indigo, Brazil wood, and especially alum from Castile and Volcano, and groceries such as liquorice, sugar, and dates (Fluckiger-Hanbury). It has often been said that spices were used then to render palatable fish that was too old or meat which had begun to decay. It is more likely that they were valued for their own sake, and that, besides their frequent use in embalming and medicines, they tickled the palate and stimulated the thirst of an age which was without tea, coffee, tobacco, snuff, or tropical fruit. In *Piers the Ploughman* the first thing that Gluttony asked the tavern keeper was, "Have you in your purse any hot spices?"

German towns

Even in the thirteenth century the inhabitants of most German towns still engaged to a large extent in agriculture, and much of the land included within the new fortifications was still given over to farms and gardens. In the crowded streets of the center of the town, however, were to be found artisans carrying on various industries, and in the oldest and largest cities the gilds may be traced back to the twelfth century. Among the oldest craft gilds in Germany were the weavers of Mainz (1099), the fishermen of Worms (1106), the shoemakers of Wurzburg (1128), the makers of bed-ticks and the turners of Cologne, and the cobblers, tailors, and painters of Magdeburg from the twelfth century. Stone houses and glass windows did not come in until after the thirteenth century, although roofs of straw or shingles were already being replaced by tiles. The architects, furniture-makers, and wood-carvers of German towns in the thirteenth century gave little evidence of artistic ability In general Germany was at this time far behind Italy and France in commerce, industry, art, and wealth

There were three leading regions of urban life in medieval Germany One was the Rhine Valley, another was southern Germany, where Augsburg, Bamberg, Wurzburg, and Nurnberg were destined to become very wealthy by their trade across the Alps with Venice The third group consisted of towns of the northern coast, like Bremen, Hamburg, and Lubeck, which exploited the fisheries and commerce of the North and Baltic Seas Wisby, situated on the large island of Gotland off the Swedish coast in the Baltic, was a very flourishing trading town which now became German in character Earlier, judging from the many Arabian and Anglo-Saxon coins found there, it must have been an important station in the traffic of the Northmen with the Orient by way of the Russian rivers Though now deserted, its walls, towers, and ruined churches remain as a picturesque testimony to its medieval grandeur In Denmark, too, and elsewhere along the coasts of the Baltic, towns were numerous by the thirteenth century.

Weights and measures, like coinages, laws and customs, varied greatly from town to town, even in the case of those as near one another as Cologne, Utrecht, and Aachen For example, Cambrai and Arras had such different grain measures that at the same time one sold for fifteen solidi, the other for ten

Weights and measures

Workingmen were to a large extent organized in craft gilds, and although the gild system became more widespread and prevalent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, its life may be described now Gilds were called by various names in different places In Italy, *arti*, in Cologne, *Bruderschaften*, in Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, *Amter*, in Magdeburg and Stendal, *Innungen*, in the north, *Hansa*

In a gild there were apprentices, journeymen, and master-workmen The apprentices were boys learning the trade under the guidance of a master-workman in whose house they lived and worked without wages for several years. Indeed, at the start the lad's parents had as a rule to pay the master a sum of money, but at the close of the boy's apprenticeship he often received a parting donation from his master or sometimes was paid wages during the latter years of his term of service The time of apprenticeship varied from three to eleven years according to the difficulty of the craft When this term had been completed, one became a journeyman and worked for wages under the master-workmen The English word "journeyman" comes from the French *journée*, referring to the fact that they often

Gild organization

worked by the day, but the French name for such artisans is *ouvriers*, or *valets* Finally many journeymen became full-fledged members of the gild or master-workmen To attain this stage it was usually necessary to prove one's skilled workmanship by passing an examination or producing a "masterpiece," and to have saved enough money to be able to set up in business for one's self

While the master-workman was an employer of labor, since he had journeymen and apprentices under him, he also belonged to the laboring class because he had himself passed through the preliminary stages and because he usually continued to work at his craft along with his employees He further differed from a modern employer in that he employed but a handful of men in his own house, and was constantly in close personal relations with them, instead of employing large numbers under foremen in a factory The entire industrial situation was different from that of modern times, there was not the same cleavage between capital and labor, for there was not much capital, nor between employer and employee, and the craft gilds only faintly resembled our labor unions.

The capitalistic clothier

In some industries, however, such as that of clothmaking in Flanders, which supplied not only local needs but a large export trade, capitalists employing labor on a large scale had already developed by the second half of the thirteenth century There the clothier bought the raw material, gave it out to one set of workers to spin into thread — in their homes, it is true, rather than in a factory — then passed this on to others to weave, full, and so forth Sometimes tools and workshops as well as raw materials were controlled by the clothier Jehan Boinebroke, a clothier of Douai who died in 1286, was "one of those big businessmen of the thirteenth century before whom masters and artisans alike trembled, all in the last analysis equally in his pay and exploited by him mercilessly " In England in 1357 Abraham the Tinner employed over 300 men in two mines and four stream works

Gild regulations

The members of a gild elected officials, enacted statutes, had a court to settle their own disputes and a common treasury to which all made contributions. One of their chief concerns was to maintain a common standard of "good and honest workmanship" in the output of every member. Since they worked by hand and usually made a complete article and finished product instead of merely feeding a machine or attending to some stage in the manufacture of a bolt or shoe, the medieval artisans took a personal pride in the artistic quality of their work. This feeling was enhanced by the fact that the workman usually sold his product direct to the consumer and so could be held personally responsible for any defects Members of a gild charged the same price, since the quality of their goods was supposedly identical and since the organization often supplied the raw materials at cost price to its members Moreover, the ideal then prevailed of a just price, that a workman should charge for his manufactures only enough to recompense him for the cost of the raw material and to provide a decent wage for his time and labor As most workmen sold direct to the consumers and towns were small and individuals well known, this ideal was comparatively easy to enforce It was strongly supported by public opinion, and butchers or fishmongers who tried to elevate prices without necessity were likely to find themselves in serious trouble Hours of labor varied according to the amount of daylight, and as a rule the medieval artisan had a long working day But besides Sundays there were numerous religious holidays, in fifteenth-century France as many as fifty a year, and it was customary to stop work early on the day before such a holiday It was usual for the gilds to restrict the number of their apprentices, partly because a master-workman could not teach the trade as well to a number of boys as he could to one or two, partly because the members did not wish to admit more men to the exercise of their craft than employment and a sufficient livelihood could be found for In most towns only gild members could engage in those occupations which were represented by gilds, and articles made outside the town were heavily taxed before they could be sold within its limits In short, the gilds were protected industries

But gilds and craftsmen were also subject to strict regulation by the town government Thus at Pisa bankers must make a deposit with the city; barbers might not shave or bleed lepers laundrymen must not wear their customers' linen and must make good any loss on the mere word of the customer, masters of the art of grammar were forbidden to combine to raise their fees above a stated scale under penalty of a very heavy fine and expulsion from Pisa, vintners must close their shops in time of riots, exclude minors from seven to eighteen years of age, and permit no gambling or gambling devices The charter of the smiths was corrected eleven times between 1279 and 1306

Importance of gilds

The gild system was not universally adopted, just as all the land was not divided into fiefs and manors In Brittany and central France, for example, it took little hold, and some large towns of southern France, like Lyons, Narbonne, and Bordeaux, had no gilds In such cases, however, the town governments regulated the various crafts and trades in much the way that gilds did elsewhere There were still other parts of France where gilds existed, but where it was possible for a laborer to exercise his craft without joining the gild. Furthermore, not all occupations in a town necessarily formed gilds. Crafts in which there were not enough workmen engaged in that town to form a gild might either remain unorganized or attach themselves for the sake of protection and association to a gild representing another trade somewhat similar to their own craft. The number and size of the gilds varied greatly from place to place.

The gilds were important in social and political as well as in industrial and economic life, as indeed is shown by their power in town politics and the mystery plays which some of them presented for the general entertainment. Each craft or gild had its patron saint. In the stained glass windows of the clearstory of the choir of Le Mans cathedral there are giant figures of such saints, at whose feet are very lively and realistic depictions of the gildmen exercising their various trades. Of six sculptured maidens in the north porch of Chartres, one is washing wool, another combing it, a third bruising flax, a fourth carding it, a fifth spinning, and the sixth winding the thread into skeins.

Medieval industries

The number of crafts in a medieval town, considering its relatively small population, was often surprisingly large and indicates a minute specialization among the artisans. Sometimes an entire gild devoted itself exclusively to the manufacture of a single part of a suit of armor, such as the helmet or hauberk. One gild might make harness and another polish it. Metal-workers in general were minutely subdivided. At Paris, for example, where at the close of the thirteenth century from four to six thousand persons were enrolled in tax lists as engaged in mechanical arts, we find farriers, cutlers, locksmiths, men who make handles for knives, coppersmiths, beaters of brass, beaters of tin, workers in tin, wire-drawers, makers of copper lamps, makers of seals, makers of nails and rivets, makers of pins, makers of buckles, makers of clasps, and so on. In Nurnberg by 1363 there were twenty-nine different specialized groups in the metal industry. The manufacture of woolen and linen goods occupied a great many men in the Middle Ages, others manufactured hemp, flax, rope, and thread; tanners and furriers were numerous; a smaller number was engaged in making silks and other fabrics. There were special gilds for particular articles of clothing, such as tailors, hatters, glovemakers, beltmakers, shoemakers, cobblers, slipper-makers, stocking-knitters, hosiers, buttonmakers, sheathmakers, comb-manufacturers. Then there were the various dealers in articles of food, in beverages, and in spices. There were carpenters, masons, plasterers, mortar-makers, potters, porringer-makers, glassmakers, beadmakers, jewelers, goldsmiths, makers of gold thread and gold leaf, workers in wax, toymakers, and various other artisans and artists.

The following members of occupations not yet mentioned were subject to taxation in Paris in 1292: 151 barbers, 43 laundresses, 199 chamber maids, 44 criers, 13 messengers, 3 trumpeters, 58 water carriers, 47 carters, 42 porters, 8 booksellers, 17 bookbinders, 11 elementary school teachers, 24 scribes, 33 painters, and 24 image-makers

Mining at first was in the hands of individual miners. The prospector staked out his claim by digging a ditch, standing in it, and hurling his "hack" as far as he could at right angles to the ditch But some organization was necessary to enforce observance of such customs In England the lead miners of the Mendips held courts every three weeks, while the Stannaries or tin mines of Devonshire and Cornwall held parliaments as well as courts. The royal government granted various privileges to the lead miners, such as the right to prospect anywhere, to take what timber they had need of, and to own the mines themselves, although a percentage of the profits was paid to the king Similarly, the right of mining iron in the Forest of Dean was a monopoly of a gild of free miners who carried their forges about with them and lived in the forest All the present coal fields of England were already being mined to some extent before the end of the thirteenth century. There were mines in the Vosges mountains of Alsace-Lorraine, and iron was mined in many places in thirteenth-century Lorraine Another great mining region was in Saxony and Bohemia, and the gilds of miners which were formed there took good care of the health and well-being of their members After a time, however, outside capital began to seek investment in mining In 1315 the Cornishmen complained to Parliament that Florentines who had gained a practical monopoly of the tin of Devon and Cornwall were forcing down prices and paying the tin miners starvation wages

In 1273 in the Spanish peninsula the shepherds who led their flocks of merino sheep to and fro from south to north and north to south over an extensive network of sheep tracks and pasturage formed an organization known as the *Mesta* which lasted until 1836

Two important fishing areas outside of the Mediterranean basin were the Baltic and North Seas, where herring were caught in great quantity, and the Bay of Biscay, where whaling was carried on by the Asturians on the north coast of the Spanish peninsula and by the Basques and sailors of Bayonne There are still many words of Spanish origin in the whaling vocabulary

We have already had occasion elsewhere to allude to special localized industries of the period, such as the fulling mills that lined the streams of England, or the improved paper-making in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Italy

Agriculture

The open-field system of cultivation has already been described The lack of variety in crops and the supposedly consequent impoverishment of the soil in feudal Europe has sometimes been overstated Rye and oats, flax and hemp were common. Southern France had long raised clover, lucerne, and sainfoin Clover was already an English word in the Anglo-Saxon period, but seems to have been borrowed from outside Already in the thirteenth century crops were extremely varied in the rich Garonne valley, where the fertile soil was given no rest Before the English agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century, which borrowed the scientific rotation of crops from Flanders, that region had been intensively tilled for centuries in order to supply its numerous industrial towns with food and raw materials Therefore the eleven-year course which Arthur Young found common there on the eve of the French Revolution was probably nothing very new (1) wheat followed by turnips, (2) oats, (3) clover; (4) wheat, (5) hemp, (6) wheat, (7) flax, (8) coleseed, (9) wheat, (10) beans, (11) wheat.

Bibliographical Note

For general treatments, see Chapters 14 and 15 in Volume VI of the *Cambridge Medieval History* and the appropriate chapters in medieval economic histories such as those of M M Knight and H Pirenne, or Cave and Coulson, *A Source Book for Medieval Economic History* On shipping E H Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, H H. Brindley, *Medieval Ships*, the sections in H W C Davis, *Medieval England*, which begin at pages 132, 246, and 294, and the article by F. C Lane on Venetian shipping in *American Historical Review*, 34 (1934), 382–389. Works on other topics are L F. Salzmann, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, H Heaton, *Yorkshire Woolen and Worsted Industries*, J Klein, *The Mesta*, G R. Lewis, *The Stannaries*, R de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges*, and E. Straker, *Wealdes Iron*.

XXIX

Daily Life and Society

Religious hue

In attempting any picture of medieval social life we must recognize to begin with that, at least outwardly, it was religious Almost every phase of daily life was tinged, colored, or dyed deep with religious sentiment and usage Church buildings and chapels and shrines were as numerous and well patronized as moving picture theaters and radios are today The clergy were a much larger percentage of the total population than now and ranked socially as the first estate Any book on whatever theme was apt to open by invoking the deity and to close by giving thanks to God Even the scribe who copied it would add his "Deo gratias, Amen" The day at school opened with prayer, the lecture course at the university, with attendance at mass Time and space were both full of saints Many places were named after them, and not only their birthdays and the eves thereof were celebrated but also the days when their bones had been discovered or brought to the West Days were counted by the ecclesiastical calendar, hours, by the times of divine services Every individual and every occupation, gild, town, or other organization had its patron saint The fine arts found their chief employment and inspiration in religious undertakings and subjects

We have already described the life of the clergy and of the feudal nobility We now turn to that of the third estate, the middle class and the common people, in country and in town

Population

Digot, who published a careful history of Lorraine in four volumes in 1856, held that, although the country suffered considerably from wars in the thirteenth century, there was a rapid increase in wealth and population and a large number of emancipations. Most of the towns were small, but Verdun was probably larger then than in Digot's time Most villages of his day already were in existence in the thirteenth century, while he found in the charters names of nearly a hundred others that no longer existed, to say nothing of yet others which the charters did not happen to mention Much more honey was produced then, Digot said, and iron was successfully exploited in many places In general it may be said that, while there were very few cities with a population of one hundred thousand, there were a great many flourishing towns which were often local centers of enterprise, art, culture, and thought, as they no longer are today, when such activities tend to center in a few great metropolises Also the countryside was in many regions thickly settled The population in the early fourteenth century of the territory that comprises present-day France has been estimated at 24,000,000

The peasant

At the basis and bottom of feudal society and economy were the peasant and the land We have seen that many peasants had escaped from serfdom and won individual freedom, and that many entire villages now ran their own affairs as rural communes. Also there had always been some regions where the population was too sparse or the terrain too difficult to constitute large estates, and where there were single houses and farms. Even elsewhere some independent freemen with land of their own had always existed But even after the emancipation movement the villa or manor continued as a common land unit, and although the peasants might now make money payments to their lord in place of payments in kind and agricultural labor for him, they would perhaps continue to perform a few services such as repairing roads and bridges. They might still grind their flour at his mill and pay the miller a fee; use his wine-press, and settle their legal problems at the manorial court In some regions the peasants were still unfree The Catalan peasant might not leave the land unless he bought his freedom When about to marry, he must make a payment to his lord, and if his wife committed adultery, the lord added injury to insult by taking part or all of her property If the peasant's buildings or crops burned, the lord expected an indemnity If the peasant died intestate or without issue, the lord took a third or half of his movable property

Social gradations

On the same villa or manor there might be all sorts of persons from slaves and serfs to freemen There are many other appellations, varying in different places and at different times, which designate distinct groups and classes of men and indicate not only gradations of personal freedom or subjection, but also much disparity in the size of their holdings and in the amount of service and payment which they owed their lords. Some could marry their daughters to whom they pleased; some could leave the manor if they wished, some did very little work for the lord, but made payments instead; some did not do much more for the lord than attend his manorial court. But most of our records of medieval estates are from later centuries when the peasants had won greater freedom from their lords and had made definite bargains with them as to what services and payments they must render Otherwise there perhaps would have been no record set down in writing As for the disparity in the size of holdings, it partly corresponded to the person's social status and to the service and payment rendered, but also had been affected by marriage, inheritance, and division of a father's land among several sons

Peasant dwellings

Even serfs did not live together in slave barracks, but were allowed to build separate huts of their own The rude walls were made of crossed or interwoven laths with the interstices stuffed with straw or grass, and with a thatched roof. There was only one floor to the hut, the ground floor, and usually there was but one room inside with a fire in the center Yet there was no chimney, and if there were any windows, there was no glass in them, and in rain or winter they would have to be filled up with straw to keep the damp and cold out If the serf's entire family had a single bed, they were lucky; it was more likely their lot to sleep with a little straw between them and the soil Their other furniture was equally scanty The freer and more prosperous peasant would be correspondingly better off. By the year 1200 some middle-class landholders in England were surrounding their homesteads with quadrangular moats in imitation of the feudal castles of the nobles Cotters or cottagers were those who lived in smaller huts or houses than others. Although years of famine were not infrequent in feudal France, the average peasant was well fed in average years and warmly clad A comparison with the peasant communities of pre-Soviet Russia would suggest that the individual peasant might display both good taste and artistic sensibility in his house, furniture, clothing, utensils, and other material possessions

The peasant in literature

The peasant does not make much of a showing in the pages of feudal literature He does not figure in the *Song of Roland* at all In the later *chansons de geste* he and the townsmen play the part of helpless victims, on whom no sympathy is wasted, in the numerous accounts of plunder, burning houses and crops, and wholesale massacre Or he is held up to scorn and ridicule In the *fabliaux* rich peasants are often mentioned and needy knights make their daughters marry them, or we have tales of the smart peasant who forces his way into heaven or outwits the conspiracy of priest, forester, and *prévôt* against his beautiful wife.

Thomas of Cantimpré in the thirteenth century tells the story of a well-to-do Norman peasant who had educated his only son above his rank. A knight offered his daughter in marriage to this son on condition that the father cede all his property to the son who was to care for

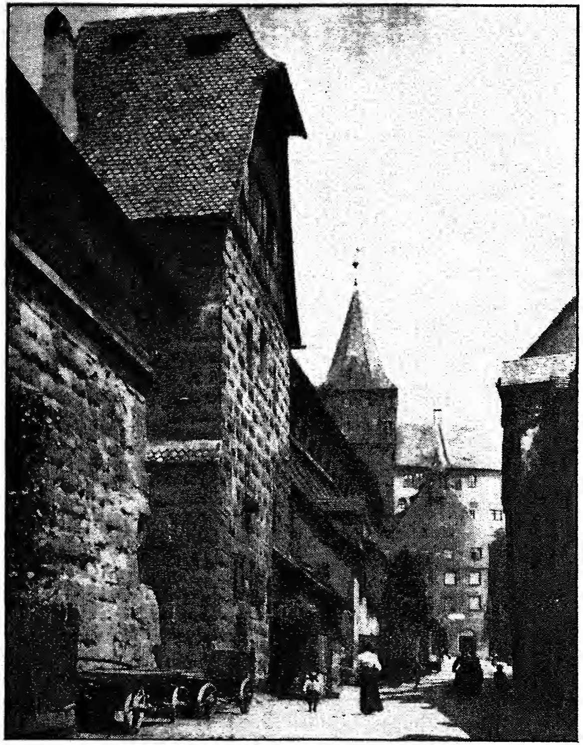


Figure 73

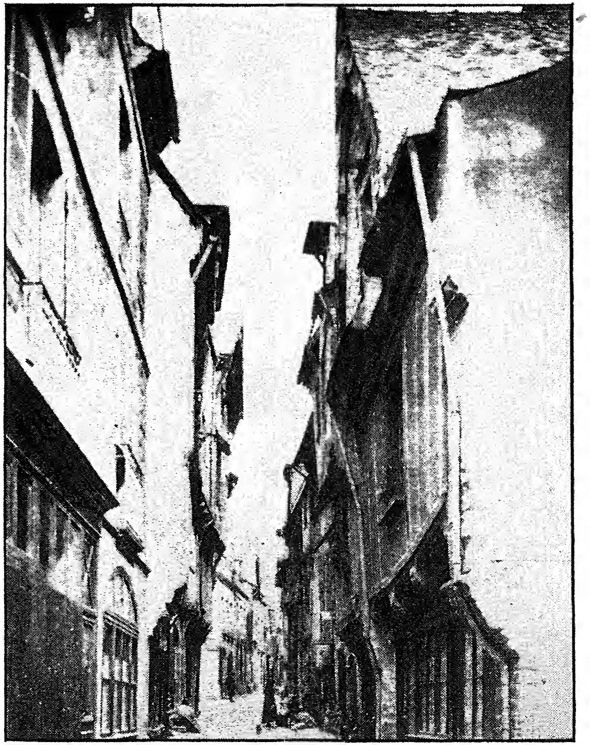


Figure 74

Left, along the town wall, Nürnberg; *right*, medieval street in Vitré him during his lifetime For a year or two this arrangement worked well, but in the fourth year at his wife's suggestion the son put his parents in a small house across the way where they suffered no little want and hardly dared enter the son's house One day the decrepit mother spied a goose cooking on the spit across the road and sent the old father over to ask for some of it The son saw him coming and hid the goose, and the timid old man did not venture to broach the subject When he had gone and the goose was again brought out, there was discovered on it a toad which jumped off onto the son's face and could not be removed He went to the bishop, who sent him all over Normandy that his disfigurement might be a warning to other ungrateful sons

The peasant in art

But whereas we have to wait until *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman* in the fourteenth century to find the peasant idealized in literature, in art it is a different story Both in the beautiful colored illuminations of manuscript calendars and in the sculptures of the portals and doors of great cathedrals, agriculture comes into its own in the representation of different occupations for the twelve months of the year and for the signs of the zodiac In March we see the peasant pruning vines or shrubs; in June or July mowing hay; in August, clad only in a cap, shirt and hose, threshing the grain, in September treading the grapes, in October sowing his winter wheat; in November collecting firewood for the coming winter or fattening the pigs on acorns, in December slaughtering them, in January, with shoes off, warming his bare feet before the fire "It was to the primeval work of tilling the soil, the task which God himself imposed on Adam, that the Church seems to have given the foremost place" (Mâle) Such humble figures are shown with striking dignity in a wonderfully simple setting in Benedetto's twelfth-century carving of the Flight into Egypt on the Baptistery of Parma. Joseph walks at the head of the little procession with a bundle on the end of a stick held over his shoulder, a patient tired ass bears the Virgin and Child, and two women follow on foot carrying bundles on their heads

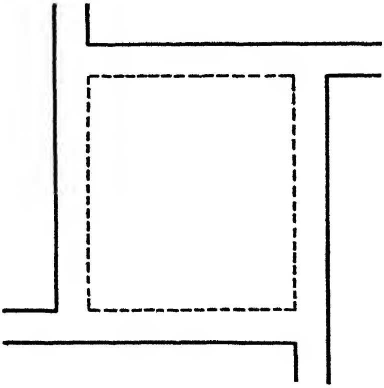
What was the external aspect, what were the material conveniences and comforts of a medieval town? Seen from a distance the town as a whole, with its walls, towers, and church spires, presented a very picturesque appearance There were 408 churches in Rome, for example, about the year 1320. Contemporary writers described their cities as wonderfully attractive, and the modern tourist, although he sees them in their old age and decay, is inclined to agree.

Since most towns grew up around a castle or monastery or market, or

The towns streets

followed the irregular contour of a hillside, a river bank, or the shore of a harbor, the streets tended to be steep, crooked, and labyrinthine They were also narrow like those in an ancient city, for the circumscribing walls limited the town area and made space within the fortifications precious (Figure 73) At first they were not paved The main streets ran to the town gates, which were the only points where one could pass in and out of town The value of land within the walls soon led to the building of overhanging upper storeys to the houses (Figures 74, 78) Goods exposed for sale in front of the shops, flapping signboards for the benefit of those who could not read, fountains providing a water supply for the neighboring houses, statues of saints and little shrines for the devotional purposes of passers-by further obstructed one's view and one's path In some places the rule existed that at leaat one clear thoroughfare must be left through the center of the town, so that a horseman with lance across his saddle could ride the length of the street without encountering obstructions This experiment was performed annually and any part of a building that interfered with the progress of the lance had to come down. In 1291 an ordinance of Bourg Saint Andéol on the west bank of the Rhone required the removal of exterior staircases which encroached on the street

New towns were often laid out in regular square plots with broad streets at right angles instead of the narrow, crooked streets of old towns which had grown up irregularly There is something to be said, however, for narrow, crooked streets They are not so windy; they are cooler in summer, they make it harder for a foe to penetrate the town Contrasted to the narrow streets were the open squares before churches or public buildings, serving as centers of town life and sites for local markets That men then knew something about handling traffic and town planning is shown by the custom of having streets lead in four directions from the corners of a square instead of crossing in the center. Thus traffic in or from any direction could follow the outer edges of the square and leave the center free and undisturbed for market or meeting place. Medieval towns did not need the parks and recreation centers of modern cities,



A TOWN SQUARE

since a short walk in most cases would bring one to green fields and open air beyond the walls

Houses

The first habitations of the townsmen were probably little superior to the huts of the peasants That they were small and of perishable materials is indicated by an old English law which directs that a house which has been contaminated by the presence of heretics shall be carried outside the walls and burned But since the town walls afforded a protection which the peasant's fields and dwelling lacked, as the burghers grew prosperous through trade and industry they naturally satisfied both their personal ambition and their civic pride by building better and larger and more durable houses and filling them with substantial furniture Indeed, a master-workman required a residence large enough to include his shop and sleeping-apartments for the apprentices who lived with him as well as quarters for himself and his family It is mainly in small, out-of-the-way places that such houses have been left unchanged, so that they are not representative of the mansions in the largest medieval cities Houses with towers were once numerous throughout southern France but today have almost all disappeared Louis VIII in 1226 tore down three hundred of them in the city of Avignon alone Moreover, the present decrepit and disfigured condition gives little idea of how the medieval houses looked when new Allowing for this, we find that those which have survived in small French provincial towns compare favorably in appearance, size, and construction with the dwellings inhabited by men of the same class in those towns today, and suggest a municipal prosperity and spirit which passed away with the disastrous wars of religion in the sixteenth century We have seen that medieval artisans were often artists as well and it is not surprising if the appearance of their homes reflected this

It is hard to give one general description of the medieval house which will fit all, since not only were there differences between different countries, but it seems to have been customary to construct houses with a view to the particular needs and even the personality of the owner Instead of having the windows all of a size and placing them in regular rows, the medieval architects made the size of the windows correspond to the size of the room and placed the windows so as to admit most light. Glass windows by which the rain and snow and cold could be excluded without shutting out the light now came into domestic use for the first time, and chimneys with flues which enabled one to heat the interior without filling it with smoke were another innovation Such improvements did much to develop home life In some French houses

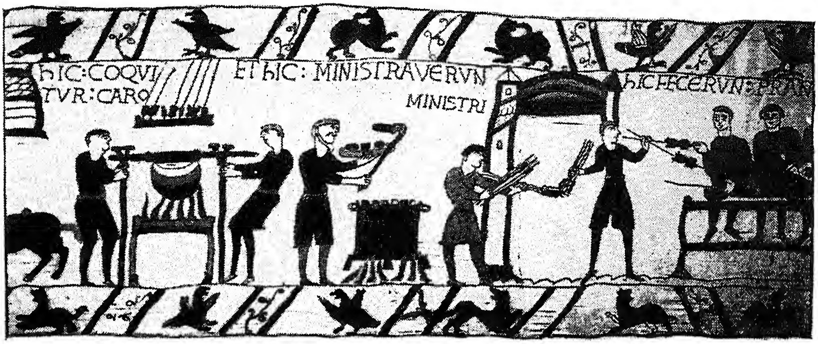


Figure 75

Cooking and serving a meal — soup, bread, and meat on spits (from the Bayeux Tapestry)

of the twelfth century the front of the ground floor is occupied by the shop of the owner. Behind it is a little courtyard along one side of which a passage runs to the kitchen situated at the rear and separated by the court from the main body of the house. Above the shop is a large living-room occupying the entire front of the house and containing also the bed of the father and mother. Over the kitchen was a smaller room or rooms, reached from the living-room by a gallery overlooking the court. Here perhaps would be the bedrooms of the older children of the family, while the apprentices slept in garrets on the third floor over the living-room.

Long duration

Although few houses or other town buildings, with the exception of the churches everywhere and the stone towers of the nobles and town halls and gild houses in Italian cities, have come down to us from as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, yet the towns did not alter greatly in their general appearance and character until after the great industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since then the old has been rapidly swept away and even the picturesque walls have been leveled and replaced by monotonous and dusty "boulevards." Before the French Revolution Rouen had seventy-seven churches. In the decade from 1820 to 1830 the citizens of Rouen, acting on the motive of what they thought was classical good taste, "pulled down houses of the greatest beauty and interest." In 1860 came another period of destructive vandalism, when a broad new street was driven ruthlessly through the very center of the town, destroying "noble and picturesque façades." William Morris, who first visited Rouen as an undergraduate in 1854, wrote later, "Less than

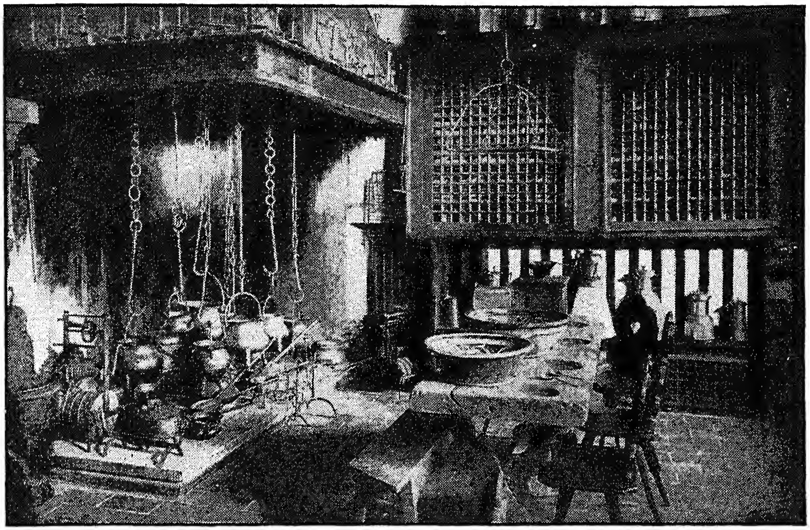


Figure 76

A collection of cooking utensils (from the Landesmuseum, Zürich)

forty years ago I first saw the city of Rouen, then still in its outward aspect a piece of the Middle Ages: no words can tell you how its mingled beauty, history, and romance took hold of me: I can only say that looking back on my past life I find it was the greatest pleasure I ever had: and now it is a pleasure which no one can ever have again: it is lost to the world forever" (Tilley). But in many cities there are still a few old houses left, though their exact age is often uncertain; and some towns, like San Gimignano in Italy, Dinan in Brittany, Schaffhausen and Basel in Switzerland, and Nördlingen and Rothenburg on the Tauber in Germany, still preserve a great deal of their medieval atmosphere and charm. In previous editions of this book I went on to say, "Larger cities like Rouen and Nürnberg are fast losing it before the increasing inroads of modern business, factories, and truck automobiles, although it is hard to get rid of the old, narrow, crooked, and hilly streets." It never occurred to me that both of these cities would be almost obliterated in my own lifetime by the most destructive war of all history.

Sanitation

Medieval towns were much more careful of the public health than used to be supposed. Many towns had municipal physicians; hospitals and public baths were common. Men bathed more in medieval than in early modern times. On the other hand, if the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, were any criterion, laundry was

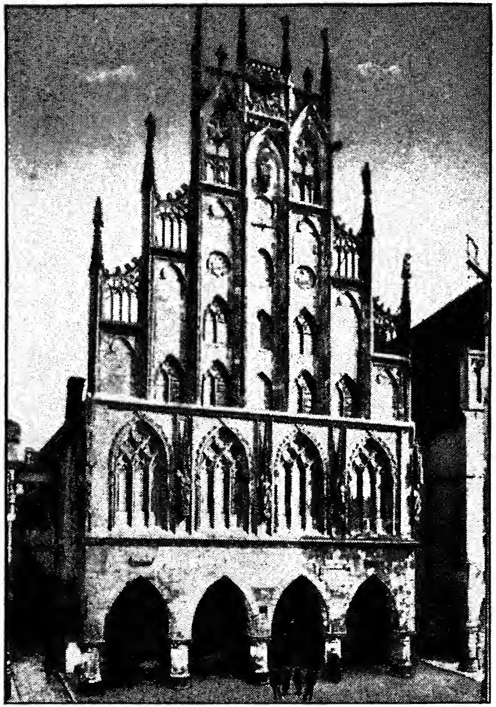


Figure 77

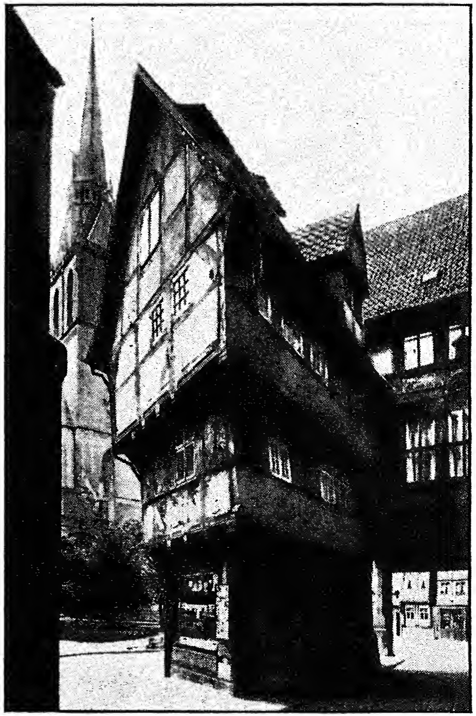


Figure 78

Left, Rathaus, Münster; *right,* house with projecting stories, at Hildesheim not sent out any too often, since the monks had their shirts, drawers, and socks washed only every three weeks in winter and every fortnight in summer. Florence in 1283 had thirty hospitals with over a thousand beds. This was at least one for every hundred inhabitants, a better showing than most modern cities can make. Such occupations as butchering were under strict hygienic regulation, noisome stenches were forbidden, the smoke nuisance from burning coal was already the subject of legislation. Individual towns differed in regard to street-cleaning, lighting, and sewers. Some had special officials to oversee these matters. London and many smaller French and Italian towns carefully regulated the distance which cesspools must be from the adjoining premises. The towns of Flanders had paved streets from the thirteenth century on. During the fourteenth century they kept prohibiting thatch roofs and ordering roofs of tiles instead in order to lessen the danger from fires. They regulated the height of houses and projecting stories, and enforced requirements for street-cleaning and for pure food and water. Tafur, a Moslem traveler of the first half of the fifteenth century, found Florence "very clean and well ordered" and its hospitals "unequaled in the world," but Budapest in Hungary "not so cleanly as the German cities."

Charity

The misleading assertion has often been made that the Church was the only charitable agency during the Middle Ages, or that charity was entirely administered by the Church. It is true that the period was pre-eminently Christian, and that other activities were likely to have a religious tinge. The Church encouraged almsgiving, which was classed as a good work and often substituted for the performance of penance. Also gifts to the poor and to the Church were for a time scarcely distinguished, since by the legislation of the Christian Roman emperors property which was left vaguely to the poor went to the Church as their legal representative. But the last universally binding ecclesiastical legislation concerning poor-relief was in 817.

It is only necessary to recall that every medieval monarch and great feudal lord had his almoner, an official to distribute alms to the poor, to see the absurdity of the contention that the Church was the only channel of charity.[1] But far more important than this — especially in the period from the twelfth century on, when medieval civilization

---

[1] This paragraph and those which follow on charity and hospitals are quoted with some omissions and revisions from my chapter on "The Historical Background," in the volume entitled, *Intelligent Philanthropy*, edited by E. Faris, F. Laune, and A. J. Todd (Chicago University Press, 1930), to which the reader may turn for further detail and bibliography.

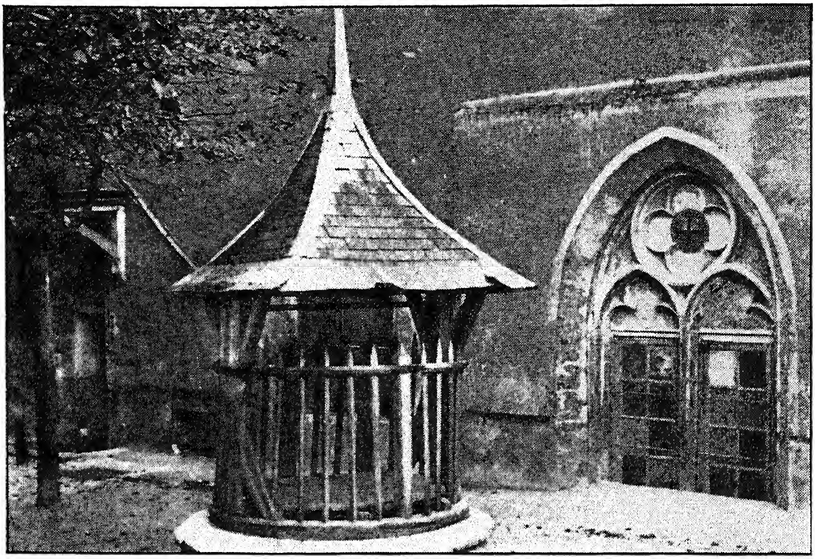


Figure 79

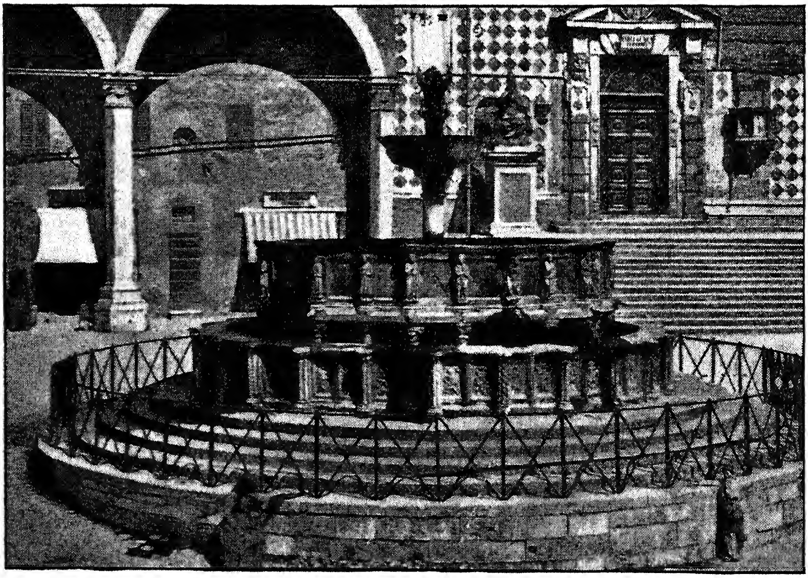


Figure 80

MEDIEVAL WATER SUPPLY

Above, an old well in the cloister of Saint Cyr, Nevers; *below*, a fountain at Perugia dating from 1277–1280 and adorned with reliefs by Niccola and Giovanni Pisano and Arnulfo di Cambio reached its height, and we have the most information concerning it — was the vast outpouring of gifts by private individuals, the formation of lay brotherhoods for charitable purposes, and the social service performed by the industrial gilds and political communes In none of these three great sources and channels of popular charitable activity did the clergy or Church necessarily either dictate the form which the benefaction should take or dispense the funds which were provided Only in the first case were they likely to have any considerable influence. The motives of the givers were no doubt in part primarily religious and in part with an eye to their own future salvation, reward, and punishment, but they were also in part actuated by human kindliness, solidarity, and zeal for social welfare These donors, whether individual or corporate, gave not merely of their property but of themselves in service, and their benefactions in great measure took the form, not of passing largesses to beggars, but of permanent foundations, buildings, and endowments

Charity, then, was a community affair, not merely the concern of church or monastery More than this, the first and elementary form of community organization often had been charitable, and the medieval municipalities in many cases were an outgrowth from charitable fraternities which had been the earliest form of anything like popular and democratic organization in the regions concerned It was under the cover of such pious fraternal and charitable associations of laymen that training in common counsel and action was had, and that conspiracies were hatched against feudal or episcopal rule which resulted in winning political and economic freedom and self-government Let us illustrate this point and at the same time show how deep the charitable and popular organization of the Middle Ages penetrated by the example of a rural commune in Provence Jules Roman writes.

> As for the commune of Ollioules, it originated, like other rural communes of Provence in the *parlamentum* which gathered in one assembly all the *caps d'ostal*, that is, all the heads of families Such assemblies date far back They met as occasion required at irregular intervals under the lord's *bailli* as presiding officer Ordinarily they appointed a syndic or committee to carry out the matter concerning which they had deliberated This was only a rudimentary organization, but the Fraternity of the Holy Spirit (*Caritas Sancti Spiritus*) supplemented it Such brotherhoods, whose origin sometimes dated back to the twelfth century, were for the purpose of assisting the poor and administering hospitals They had a council, priors, and guardians of the poor Their council comprised the leading men of the region and occupied itself not merely with works of charity but with the ordinary affairs of the community They took the initiative in calling general *parlamenta* when the situation seemed critical Such was often the origin of the *conseil étroit* and of the permanent syndics

So closely intertwined was charity with other vigorous local and popular institutions

The extent and multifariousness of medieval charitable establishments would be difficult to overestimate or exaggerate In 1225 Louis VIII gave one hundred sous to each of the two thousand houses for lepers within his realm, which at that time had hardly reached one half the extent of modern France It is estimated that there were nineteen thousand houses for lepers in western Christendom Many modern hospitals and other eleemosynary institutions and methods may be traced back to the medieval period, while many other medieval charitable establishments failed to survive through early modern times to the present In the department of the Aube in the thirteenth century there were sixty-two hospitals or hospices, of which twenty-one were located in rural communities. Of these last but one remained in the eighteenth century, and it too has now disappeared

These forgotten and neglected charitable institutions of feudal states, municipalities, and rural communities, which long anteceded the development or taking-over of poor-relief by the modern nationalist state as such, are now being investigated in detail by localities and should provide valuable material and suggestion for present social scientists and social workers for two reasons These materials from the closing medieval centuries are far more abundant than any records we have or are likely to have for ancient, Moslem, and Far Eastern Charities In the second place, the medieval municipalities, with their community spirit and prominence of business men and leading citizens, have a closer affiliation with our democratic institutions, community chests, and the like than have the absolute monarchies and the bureaucracies of early modern times.

Hospitals

The history of hospitals antedates the Middle Ages, since the *Xenodocheion,* or house for strangers, was a Greek and Jewish institution, and we hear of private infirmaries in the first century of the Roman Empire In the Christian period under Basil (329–379) the two purposes were fused, and the hospice or hospital became a refuge both for wayfarers and sick patients At first this service was rendered chiefly by churches and monasteries, but as time went on, they were less able to bear the increasing expense of such hospitality and were supplemented by new secular foundations. The medieval hospital was usually small, especially if located in the country Hospitals were very numerous, being founded in rural communities as well as towns and on every highroad or at every bridge and ferry Even in a town there was likely to be a number of small hospitals, founded at intervals by different persons or societies and dedicated to varied purposes “Our fathers,” says a modern French writer on the subject, “loved diversity and not uniformity which so pleases us today ” It is therefore as difficult to describe a typical hospital as a castle or town A small hospital for general use would usually have a common hall where poor pilgrims and others might sleep overnight, a chapel, and a few separate rooms and beds for the sick In 1351 the Maison-Dieu of Corbeil had fourteen beds and a staff consisting of a director, four brothers, and four sisters, who cultivated their own lands to supply their needs Sometimes the persons who founded hospitals themselves served therein, devoting the rest of their lives to the care of the sick There were municipal hospitals in Southern France and Burgundy by the thirteenth century

These hospitals appear to have been clean and well kept, intelligently and conscientiously administered and inspected Even the poor wayfarer was given fresh sheets to sleep in Such matters as bathing and shaving were carefully regulated The number of brooms used in a year at the Hotel-Dieu of Paris indicates that the premises were kept scrupulously clean The poor and sick were also kept warm At Sherburn in northern England, “Every morning the woman must ‘make the poor men a fire against they rise and a pan of fair water and a dish by it to wash their hands ’” At Paris movable stoves were wheeled up to the bedsides of the sick in winter Perhaps the chief complaint which may be made against medieval hospitals is that the insane often were housed rather indiscriminately in the same institution with other sick and poor, whereas we hear of separate asylums for the insane in the Moslem capitals centuries earlier There came, however, to be hospitals especially for the insane in the Christian West, such as Saint Mary of Bethlehem, or Bedlam in London

Public education

A great deal is known about advanced or university education in the Middle Ages; less concerning the grammar schools, which by intensive training in the Latin language and literature prepared boys for the university, still less concerning the education of girls; and almost nothing of the most elementary schools and instruction in the vernacular languages A person was not regarded as really educated or literate unless he knew Latin, which in the West was the universal language of learning and culture and essential for clergymen, lawyers, physicians, and most public officials, and for anyone writing or reading a serious learned or scientific book Merchants and troubadours, however, used the vernacular in keeping their accounts and writing down their verses, so that they must have somehow picked up the ability to read and write in their mother tongue.

Elementary and grammar schools

There were certainly elementary schools where little children learned their alphabet and first letters in the towns by the thirteenth century. At Lubeck the consuls petitioned the cardinal legate to grant them permission to build near the outer parish new schools for the elementary boys, since access to the schools at the great church was difficult for the youngsters because of the crowded and dangerous way By 1317 there were four such elementary schools in Lubeck The density and dangers of traffic at the town bridges similarly impelled the government of Breslau in Silesia to grant in 1267 a concession to found a school at the church of Saint Magdalen for the especial benefit of little children who had previously had to go to schools outside the city walls At Milan in 1288 there were seventy "teachers of beginning letters" as against eight "professors of grammar" In 1283 at Florence there were between eight and ten thousand boys and girls learning to read, between 1000 and 1200 attending six abacus schools to learn reckoning preparatory to a business career, and between 550 and 600 in four high schools for grammar and logic In Paris there were schoolmistresses and separate elementary schools for girls In 1253 Ypres in Flanders gave three high schools a monopoly of public education of that grade, but anyone might open a small or lower or elementary school without even obtaining a license from the cathedral chapter or town aldermen

In the grammar schools not much — some singing and perhaps a little arithmetic — was studied except Latin, but that was studied very thoroughly for six, seven, or eight years The pupil not only mastered Latin grammar and composition but read various authors, including not only the classics but also recent texts more suitable for a Christian It seems fairly evident that the intensive study of Latin was confined to the grammar or high schools, whose students were preparing themselves for the universities and teaching or for a professional, ecclesiastical, or official career And it seems equally patent that the instruction of the much larger numbers in the elementary schools was primarily in the vernacular, although it might include the Psalter and catechism, as it usually did when the children went to the church to learn their letters Such elementary education of course became widespread and general with the growth of the towns, but it probably had been in existence on a smaller scale long before.

Certainly some sort of education had been Documents of the eleventh century at Florence name a number of schoolteachers who were laymen, and such lay teachers were found by the twelfth century even in the small towns and villages around Florence By the first half of the

Progress of education

eleventh century a German poet was reproaching his countrymen for not educating their sons, asserting that in Italy "all the youth are bade to sweat in schools," and that only Germans thought it unnecessary to educate a boy unless he were going into the Church. By the early twelfth century this reproach no longer held good, for a writer then asks: "To say nothing of other parts of the empire, are there not throughout France and Germany, Normandy and England, not only in cities and walled towns, but even in villages, as many learned schoolmasters as there are tax collectors and magistrates?" Another writer of the early twelfth century tells us that teachers of grammar were now much more numerous and better trained than they had been in the previous century

Such evidence indicates a great development of general education, elementary and secondary, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century The most common method of getting an education was by paying fees to an individual schoolmaster, not by attending a cathedral or monastic school Education was neither public, nor gratuitous, nor compulsory for children of a certain age, but it was becoming a general practice for parents who could afford it to give their children at least some education This was even regarded as an obligation In 1492 the courts of Rouen decided that the mother and guardian of Marion Boucher, of Haye-du-Theil, whose father had died, must support her for three years including schooling and the necessary books during all that time Contracts of apprenticeship sometimes provided for general schooling as well as training in the particular trade Those who could not afford to educate their children — and the fees were reasonable — could turn to the church schools and to private philanthropy. Thomas of Cantimpré tells of a little peasant girl who asked her father to buy her a Psalter that she might learn to read He replied, "How can I buy you a Psalter, when I can barely provide you bread enough?" She then went to the village schoolmistress, who gave her some free instruction outside of school hours, while the paying pupils, taking pity on her, clubbed together and purchased a Psalter for her

Municipal schools

We have said that education was not public, but the growth of towns and the communal movement were followed by the rise of municipal schools. The town governments everywhere tended to set up new schools of their own and tried to free them from the control which the bishop or other local ecclesiastical authority had exercised over private lay teachers as well as the cathedral school. The growth of a town in extent and population called for new schools. But even where the existing church schools were fairly adequate, the towns often preferred to have others of their own Sometimes they wished to check the excessive number of private teachers and their rivalry for pupils The town supplied the building and hired the masters for the municipal school, but citizens who were able to do so continued to pay fees In some places municipal schools came in late Venice, great city as it was, had only private instruction until the fifteenth century On the other hand, Lubeck founded a municipal grammar school in 1253

Bibliographical Note

For English translation of primary sources, see G C Coulton, *Social Life in Britain*, and C H Bell, *Peasant Life in Old German Epics* General in character are Eileen Power, *Medieval People*, and Nellie Neilson, *Medieval Agrarian Economy*, but most works in English are concerned with England, such as Prothero, *English Farming*, H Peake, *The English Village*, G C Homans, *English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*, Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, Messent, *Old Cottages and Farmhouses of Norfolk* A L Poole, *Obligations of Society in the XII and XIII Centuries* (1946) is scholarly and technical On France there are J. Evans, *Life in Medieval France*, K Fedden, *Manor Life in Old France*, and Luchaire, *Social France.* A Nobel Prize novel about Polish peasants is L Reymont, *The Peasants*, 4 vols On sanitation in towns, see *Speculum*, III (1928), 192–203, and IX (1934), 303–321 On education, *Speculum*, XV (1940), 400–408, and A F Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* On charity, *Intelligent Philanthropy* (1930), chapter 2

PART FOUR

The Passing of Medieval Civilization

XXX

The Black Death and Hundred Years War

The fourteenth century

HISTORIANS in the nineteenth century had a poor opinion of the fourteenth century. The Englishman, Stubbs, wrote in his lectures on *Germany in the Later Middle Ages*, "We pass, as it were, out of the light and truth of the thirteenth century, that wonderful, if troublous, seedtime of principles and realities, into the gorgeous, chivalrous, unreal, selfish, oppressive, and unprincipled fourteenth." The German, Gregorovius, the historian of Rome during the Middle Ages, believed that "the fourteenth century put an end to the Middle Ages and shook to the foundations their institutions." The Frenchman, Giraudet, local historian of the city of Tours, saw general decadence everywhere in the fourteenth century, "in the faith of the people, in the morals of the clergy, as well as in theology and in political institutions," while he thought that learned studies were null. These estimates were reaffirmed in 1924 by Monnier who saw in the fourteenth century "a general decline of humanity in all departments, an exhaustion after the great efforts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."

Our previous chapters have shown, however, that any such change occurred at some time in the course of the fourteenth century rather than at its beginning. *Chansons de geste* and *fabliaux* continued for a few years; Dante did not die until 1321, Giotto, not until 1337; Bartolus, not until 1357; scholastic philosophy continued to develop and science actually progressed during the whole first half and more of the century; charters on into the fifteenth century continued to proclaim that man was born free.

Petrarch's comparison

In the view of Petrarch, who was born in 1304 and died in 1374, the change took place about mid-century and was marked by loss of economic prosperity and political security, and by increasing ignorance, rather than by the moral decline which Stubbs and Giraudet stressed. Writing of his student days earlier in the century, he says:

> Moving on to Montpellier, then a most flourishing town, and to the study of law, we spent another four years in that place, of which the sovereignty was then in the hands of the king of the Greater Balearic Isles [i e , Majorca], except a tiny angle subject to the king of the Franks [i e , of France], who, as the neighborhood of the very powerful is always importunate, in a short time drew unto himself the rule of the entire town

Here, it may be interjected, Petrarch perhaps tacitly supports the charge of "selfish, oppressive, and unprincipled" made by Stubbs He continues.

> But what tranquillity there was there too in those days! What peace! What wealth of merchants! What throngs of scholars! What abundance of masters! How great poverty is there now in all these things, and how great a change in public and private life, both is known to us and is felt by the citizens who have seen both times .
>
> Then [Petrarch goes on] we came to Bologna, than which I think there was nothing more agreeable and more free in all the world You recall surely what gatherings of students, what discipline, what watchfulness of preceptors. You would think the jurists of old indeed divine, of whom today there is almost none there, but in place of so many and so great geniuses general ignorance has invaded the city . Furthermore, what abundance of all things and what fertility was there then, so that in all lands the recognized epithet was "fat Bologna." .

Petrarch adds that the young people of his day, "born amidst these evils, because they see nothing else, ignorantly and incredulously contend that there never was anything else "

When Petrarch first visited Rome, he continues, there were still some sparks in its ashes, now all is cold and extinct With the death of King Robert in 1343 came the ruin of the kingdom of Naples, and the city of Naples is not what it was before

> Cisalpine Gaul [i e , Lombardy], only touched on before, I now saw entire, not as a visitor but as a resident of many cities Verona first, and presently Parma and Ferrara, finally Padua

The last-named had recovered somewhat since he first saw it just after the terrible plague of 1348 But the others, and also Milan and Pavia, were all changed for the worse. So were Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, Perugia

> All are in the same state, they are not today what they were yesterday. . . . I could lead you now through all Italy, nay, and through all Europe, and find everywhere new substantiations of my contention. Even Venice, though prosperous compared to the others, was once more prosperous

The vicinity of Avignon, where Petrarch used to wander alone at night secure on the mountains, is now infested by wolves and robbers Flanders, the Low Countries, and lower Germany, all once so opulent, are now in ashes, and scarcely a house remains standing unless within city walls "Where is that Paris of old?" Now the sound of arms is heard where once the noise of the disputants used to resound

It would seem that the catastrophic changes which Petrarch deplores were in large part the result of the Black Death and of the early stages of the Hundred Years War, to which events we now turn

The Hundred Years War

The Hundred Years War is a rather misleading phrase. War between the kings of France and England had been chronic since the Norman conquest, and this so-called Hundred Years War made no important change in the relations between the two lands until its close, when England lost its possessions on the Continent and turned subsequently to the upbuilding of sea power We might, therefore, better speak of a four hundred years war from the Norman conquest to the close of the Middle Ages Moreover, this so-called "Hundred Years War" was not exactly a century in duration, but covered the period from 1337 to 1453. On the other hand, the number of years of actual warfare were much less than a hundred, since in the course of this period there were numerous long truces and two treaties of peace intended to put a stop to hostilities entirely But at the time usually accepted as the end of the war there was no treaty Finally, the causes of the reopening of hostilities in 1337 between Edward III and Philip VI were not new, but the old problems of Guienne, Flanders, and Scotland over which Edward I and Philip IV had fought already.

The French succession

In 1328 the direct male line of the Capetians expired and the French had to determine to whom of the royal family the crown should go. Already in 1316, upon the death of the oldest son of Philip the Fair, it had been decided that his brother rather than his daughter should succeed him and that a woman should not hold the throne in France Hence it was now logical to decide that Philip of Valois, a son of Philip the Fair's brother, should become king rather than Edward III of England, whose mother was a daughter of Philip the Fair Not only should women not succeed to the throne, but also the male descendants of a female line were excluded. Edward's mother accepted this decision, and the young King of England, who was not yet of age, did homage to the new French monarch for his fiefs on the Continent But a few years later the inevitable quarrel with France over Guienne, and the Scottish and Flemish questions, led Edward III in 1337 to lay claim to the French crown and declare war

Opening years of the war

One of the first acts of Philip VI had been to aid the Count of Flanders and to wipe out the disgrace of the defeat of Courtrai by the victory of Cassel over the Flemish in 1328. But now there was a democratic uprising led by Jacob Artevelde of Ghent, the power of the count was overthrown, and the Flemish towns made an alliance with Edward III The English king was also joined by many lords of the Netherlands and northwestern Germany who felt their independence menaced by the growing power of France These last allies, however, proved of little assistance The first important battle of the war was a naval one at Sluys in 1340 off the Flemish coast, where the English fleet, aided at the last moment by the Flemish, decisively defeated the French and gained control of the sea for the next thirty years Papal legates now arranged a truce which lasted until 1345 Meanwhile, however, both French and English were fighting on opposite sides in Brittany over a disputed succession to that duchy In 1345 the Flemish became dissatisfied with their leader Artevelde, who had proposed to make the son of Edward III Count of Flanders, and murdered him, but they continued for a while longer to be allies of England

Crécy

In 1346 direct war between the kings of England and France was renewed in the famous campaign of Crécy, familiar, like so many other incidents of the war, from the chivalric pen of the fourteenth-century historian, Froissart Edward III landed with a small but well-trained army on the coast of Normandy at La Hogue, and marched through that province plundering In particular he took and sacked the rich city of Caen When Philip VI set out to catch him and asked him to name a place of battle, Edward suggested a point south of Paris Instead, however, of continuing his march along the southern bank of the Seine, he repaired a broken bridge, despite the French troops guarding it, and forced a crossing not far from Paris. He then scurried north toward Flanders as fast as he could go The river Somme was also guarded, and only by crossing an estuary at low tide did Edward escape being caught in an unfavorable position by Philip who was close on his heels with a much larger army

When the French overtook the English army three days later, it was drawn up in a favorable position on rising ground at Crécy waiting for them. The French were hot, hungry, and thirsty, but so eager for battle that those behind kept pressing on instead of obeying the royal command to halt Presently Philip's fighting blood was aroused, too, and he ordered his Genoese crossbowmen to open the battle, just as a modern general begins with a heavy artillery fire. These mercenaries were not so eager to advance as were the French knights, however, especially since a recent shower had affected their bows On the other hand, the English archers had kept their longbows dry, and the destructive volleys of shafts which they poured in throughout the battle were probably the decisive factor The longbow had been used in the Welsh campaigns of Edward I and in the subsequent Scottish wars, so that the English archers had become proficient in its use When the Genoese made no headway, the French king lost his temper and ordered the knights to ride them down, thus throwing his entire front into confusion The knights made many successive attacks upon the English position, but to no avail, and they were slaughtered in great numbers

Edward did not follow up his victory by invading France again, but continued his march northward, and, after a long siege, took the important port of Calais, just across the Channel from Dover England would henceforth have a Continental port handy for landing armies to invade France and for its wool and import trade with Flanders Meanwhile the Scots had been defeated at Neville's Cross and their king captured, and a like fate befell the French candidate in Brittany By papal intervention another truce was arranged, which lasted from 1347 to 1355 Meantime the count recovered his power in Flanders, but Edward III did not attempt to save the Flemish towns either on this occasion or later in the Treaty of Brétigny In Calais he now had a port of his own for the Continental wool trade, and many Flemish weavers were emigrating to England and manufacturing their cloth there

Capture of Calais

In 1348 not only both France and England, but the countries of Europe generally (Germany and Scandinavia in 1350) were visited by a plague compared to which the most destructive wars of that time seemed but slight disasters This pestilence was at first known as the "Great Mortality" and later as the "Black Death," from the dark blotches which appeared upon the body It also was marked by swellings of the glands in the groin, armpits, and neck, where hard lumps would suddenly appear as large as hen's eggs, and by many smaller boils and carbuncles Sometimes those stricken by the plague vomited blood and sometimes they became delirious The majority died within from one to three days This terrible plague probably came from the East by the trade routes across Asia and was spread over the Mediterranean by Italian merchants and rat-infested ships from a trading station and grain port on the Black Sea It was essentially the same as the bubonic plague which still exists in the Orient, and in Europe it frequently cropped out again during the remainder of the Middle Ages and early modern times

The Black Death

It has often been said that the Black Death carried off from one third to one half of the population. If such estimates are anywhere near correct, it must have been an almost inestimable calamity for civilization and for society. Individuals would lose their relatives and friends and have no one to lean upon or to help them or to start them in the world. There would be countless widows and orphans. Homes would be broken up and entire families, some of them the noblest in the land, would be blotted out. Agriculture would cease on the manors for lack of tenants and laborers or for lack of lords and overseers. In the towns in many gilds there would be no master-workmen left to hand on the knowledge of their crafts to apprentices. Trade would diminish greatly in bulk and everything would be upon a smaller scale. Monasteries would have hardly enough monks left to maintain them; schools would cease, and the Church and learning suffer. Many artists and authors would have perished, and with so greatly reduced a population there would be little demand for new ecclesiastical and municipal edifices. The difficulty would be to keep in repair those which already existed. And society would be too busy in readjusting itself to the changed conditions to spare much time for works of art or of literature.

Let us note some specific examples of the loss of life. Krafft-Ebing[1] estimates that in the city of Vienna from Christmas, 1348, to Michaelmas (September 29), 1349, some 30,000 persons died out of a population less than 100,000. At Modena in Italy we are told that 10,000 perished in 1348; 36,000 in a recurrence of the pest in 1362, according to a contemporary who lost his entire family then; and 17,000 more in 1373–1374.[2] If these round numbers are open to suspicion, we have more precise and irrefutable figures from smaller places. At Givry in France the parish register showed in a space of less than four months 615 deaths, more than had been recorded for the twenty years preceding.[3] Saint Flour had 1299 heads of families in the period 1338–1344, of whom 703 were in the town proper, 596 in the suburbs. These figures do not include apprentices, students, and clergy, or heads of families who were too poor to be taxed, so that the total population would come to about 8000. Between 1346 and 1348 the total number of heads of families dropped to 864, rose to 938 in 1349. Then the tax rolls are lacking until 1356, when there were only 769 heads of families, and the population has never reached five thousand since.[4]

---

[1] *Geschichte der Pest in Wien.*

[2] Guido Guerrini, "Notizie storiche e statistiche sulla Peste," *Rivista di Storia delle Scienze Mediche e Naturali*, XVI (1925), 293–316.

[3] P. Gras, "Le registre paroissial de Givry," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, C (1939), 295–308.

[4] Marcellin Boudet et Roger Grand, "Étude historique sur les épidémies de peste en Haute-Auvergne," Paris, 1902, Extrait de la *Revue de la Haute-Auvergne*.

The worst feature of all was that the plague kept breaking out again at intervals until the early eighteenth century, so that it was a continual menace to society and check upon increase in population. In the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor there were nine great outbreaks of the plague between 1348 and 1431, which it will be noted is also the time of Ottoman expansion and conquest in those regions

Effects of the plague

In England all religious orders suffered from the pest both in personnel and in revenue In Lorraine the number of religious and charitable foundations diminished An East Anglian school of manuscript illumination disappeared after 1348. Wall paintings were often whitewashed over as a health measure after outbreaks of the plague The first indications of a decline in Gothic style now became evident in England Teachers of grammar became scarce, a master at Vercelli in Italy found his pupils reduced from two hundred to forty; a teacher at Lucca found so few paying pupils that he had to appeal to the commune for a stipend At the University of Paris the oldest extant register, that of the German Nation, breaks off from 1347 to 1396 There are various instances of the founding of new colleges at the universities to supply the lack of properly prepared teachers In the later fourteenth century, parties to lawsuits and witnesses were not expected to know the local customs as they had been previously Leading intellectuals like William of Ockham, Thomas Bradwardine, Giovanni d'Andrea, and Gentile da Foligno passed away in the year 1348–1349

While most of the effects of the Black Death were negative and in the nature of subtraction, it had some positive results It stimulated the members of the medical profession to compose a large number of pest tracts and it led to the development of measures of quarantine against contagious diseases In the field of literature it induced Boccaccio between the years 1348 and 1353 to compose his *Decameron*, in which seven young ladies and three young gentlemen of Florence, who have fled to the foothills of Fiesole from the plague, beguile the time by each telling a story every day for ten days The very title given to this collection of indecent, amusing, and realistic stories, recounted in a masterly fashion, is in impudent contrast to that of the *Hexaemeron*, in which the church fathers and earlier schoolmen had commented upon the six days work of creation

The sect of Flagellants, who wandered about from place to place, scourging one another in public processions, has been ascribed to superstitious fear and religious emotion aroused by the Black Death And the Jews are said to have been persecuted on the charge of having caused the plague by poisoning the wells But both these phenomena have been shown to have begun some time before the Black Death.

The economic effects of the Black Death have been chiefly studied for England There it broke up many of the manors and left crops to rot and cattle to starve and the surviving serfs to wander off looking for work as free men For the great mortality made labor, especially agricultural labor, very scarce and wages very high Prices also went up There was general abandonment of mining after the Black Death In many manors and towns the court rolls and other records are very scanty or cease altogether for many years after the pestilence In some places all local government may have come to a standstill, in others there was no one left who could write Yet medieval English literature reached its height after the plague in the writings of William Langland, the reputed author of *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman*, and Geoffrey Chaucer in the second half of the century

Piers the Ploughman

It was perhaps, however, in the Black Death that Langland lost the father and friends who had paid for his education, but whose deaths left him unprovided with a regular living in the Church and compelled him, though he was "poor gentle blood," to "dwell on Cornhill, Kit and I in a cot, clothed as a loller," and to "beg without other bag or bottle than my belly," or "in the habit of a hermit unholy of works to wander wide in this world wonders to hear" It was thus that he gained that intimate knowledge of the low life of his time: the vagabonds, the beggars; the poor, uncared-for lunatics, "more or less mad according as the moon sits"; the false clergy and pretended hermits and pilgrims, the deserving poor, "prisoners in pits and poor folk in cottages," who "go hungry and thirsty" in order to dress respectably and "are ashamed to beg"; the tavern-keepers and their customers — Sis the shoemaker, Wat the gamewarden, Tomkyn the tinker, "Hickey the horse-dealer and Hogg the needle-seller," "a fiddler, a rat-catcher, a Cheapside scavenger" — all these and many more live for us in his pages. If Will, as the poet calls himself, depicts low life for us and also satirizes iniquity in high places, he none the less cherishes high ideals both in politics and religion, and also portrays ideal characters such as Piers the ploughman, the thrifty and industrious peasant. As for Will himself, after a long search for Saint Truth and for Do Well, Do Better, and Do Best, in which he was occasionally cheered by the song of wayside birds and of sweet brooks and by many a marvelous dream, Hunger and Fever met him and proved too much for him. Finally, we are told,

> Death dealt him a dent and drove him to earth.
> He's now covered with clay. May Christ have his soul!

When the Hundred Years War resumed, John the Good, so-called because he was "a good fellow," not a good general or king, was on the

Poitiers and Brétigny

throne of France and Charles the Bad of Navarre, whose sobriquet we do not need to qualify, was making him trouble This Charles, born in 1332, was son of that daughter of Louis X who had been excluded from the succession and so Charles had the same sort of claim to the throne as had Edward III Edward's eldest son, the Black Prince, so named because of the black armor which he wore to set off his fair complexion, had won his spurs at Crécy and now became the English commander in Gascony From there he made a plundering raid into Toulouse as far as the Mediterranean, and then, after marching north and finding that he could not cross the Loire, retreated to Poitiers There he defeated and captured King John, who spent the remainder of his reign in honorable captivity in London, voluntarily returning thither when his son, who had taken his place as a hostage while he returned to France to try to collect the remainder of his enormous ransom, broke his parole Meantime, in 1360 peace had been concluded in the Treaty of Brétigny, for although the French government had neither army nor money left, the English could not capture the walled towns, and even the peasantry offered a local resistance The treaty gave Edward III a little territory near Calais and greatly enlarged his borders in southwestern France, where he received all Gascony, Guienne, and Poitou free from any feudal bond to the French king In return he renounced his claim to the French throne. The terms of the Treaty of Brétigny are of slight importance, however, since it was soon broken and went by the board

Companies of mercenaries

The French had suffered and were yet to suffer far more injury from the war than the English, not so much because they had been beaten as because the war was fought on French soil where the English invaders found rich unwalled towns to sack Also both sides came to rely mainly upon hired troops under mercenary leaders, and these companies, as they were called, lived on the country, and if they did not receive their pay promptly, made it up by plundering Even after peace had been declared, it was almost impossible to get rid of them in France. They defeated the royal troops in 1362 and lasted into the next reign They put an end to the fairs and to economic prosperity. Thus war in a sense was becoming demoralized, and the mercenaries were more destructive during truces than during hostilities. Those of the Hundred Years War were not the first such hired soldiers, since the famous Catalan company had begun its conquests in Greece early in the century.

Warfare was further about to be revolutionized by the introduction of artillery (Figure 81) In the previous century Roger Bacon had mentioned gunpowder as employed in children's toy explosives, and recipes

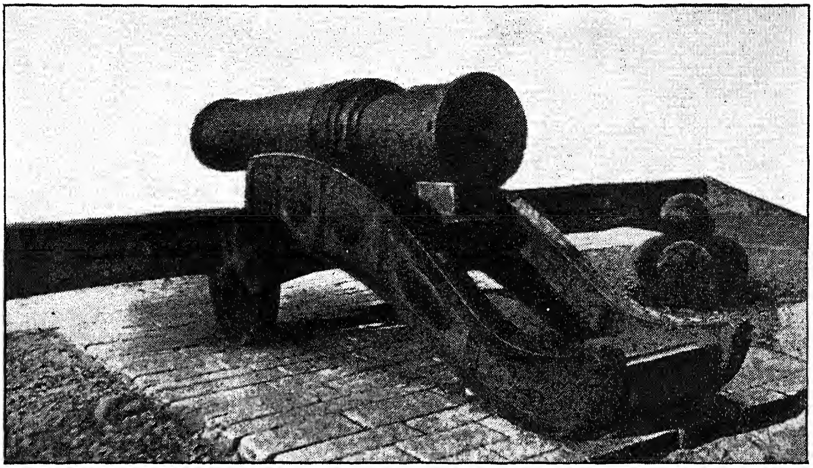


Figure 81

Mons Meg, Edinburgh Castle, a cannon cast in 1455

for such fireworks as rockets and roman candles occur in the manuscripts. **Introduction of artillery** But guns and cannon do not seem to appear in the West until about the close of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. "There are indisputable references to guns shooting missiles in 1324–1326, and the first contemporary picture of a cannon may be seen in an Oxford manuscript of 1327" (Oman). In 1338 a French fleet to invade England had "un pot de fer à traire garros à feu," and in 1339 cannon were used at the sieges of Cambrai in Flanders and of Puy-Guilhem in Périgord. In 1345 the town of Cahors, early noted for its money-dealers, birthplace of Pope John XXII (1316–1334), and where still stands a fine fortified bridge of the fourteenth century (Figure 82), appropriated funds to purchase at Toulouse cannon, slings, hurling machines, coal and 36½ pounds of saltpeter and 25 pounds of sulphur to make gunpowder. If artillery was employed at Crécy, it was on a small scale and ineffective compared to the English longbows. But small cannon which a single soldier could carry and fire are mentioned by 1365, and very effective use was made of such hand-guns by the Hussites in the next century. The Turks used sixty-two large pieces of artillery to breach the walls of Constantinople in 1453. Robert Valturius of Verona, who composed his work on warfare in 1463 or earlier (*De re militari*, first printed in 1472), says that the generals of his time employed artillery to oppress and destroy free peoples, and that it shook the walls of cities.

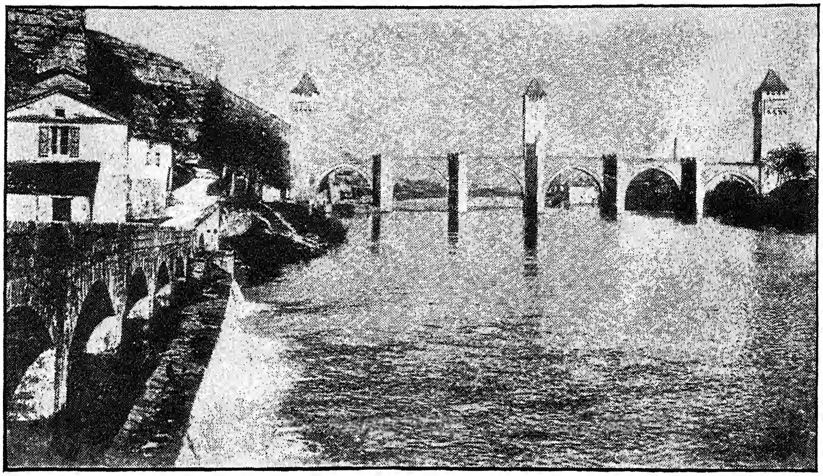


Figure 82

The fourteenth-century fortified bridge at Cahors

Indeed, the early writers of histories of inventions, like Polydore Vergil in 1499, join in condemnation of the invention as inhuman and the inventor as an enemy of mankind. Sixteenth-century authors, however, such as Ramus, Cardan, and Fernel, represented gunpowder and artillery as one of the three great discoveries which initiated modern times, the other two being printing and either the mariner's compass or the discovery of America. Later modern nationalist historians praised it as a means by which kings were able to shatter castles and subdue the feudal nobility.

Edward III and Parliament

In order to secure generous grants for the prosecution of the war abroad, Edward III had rather allowed the Parliament to have its way in the conduct of internal affairs. Once he annulled some laws to which he had agreed the previous year, but Parliament exacted a promise that he would not so offend again. Sometimes he took taxes before asking its consent, but either obtained it later or promised not to levy such a tax again. Thus, the principle was repeatedly stated and upheld that legislation and taxation must be through Parliament. Important legislation of the middle of his reign included the Statute of Treason which further safeguarded the crown, the Statute of the Staple regulating trade, the Statute of Laborers — an attempt to keep down the wages of agricultural laborers after the great pestilence — and the Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire* directed against papal appointments of foreigners to positions in the English Church and appeals of cases from English courts to Rome The Parliament also repudiated the annual tribute which King John had agreed to pay to the pope

Royal power of Philip VI

In France under Philip VI the royal power continued to develop. Philip gave away a good deal of territory in appanages, it is true, but added to his dominions by purchase the city of Montpellier near the Mediterranean and the province of Dauphiné east of the Rhone. As the oldest son of the King of England is called Prince of Wales, so from this time in France the crown prince was known as the "dauphin" During Philip's reign the central administration and machinery of monarchy were further elaborated by a series of royal ordinances Royal taxation also continued to increase Toward the close of this reign, however, and during the disastrous reign of John which followed, it looked for a time as if the Estates General might acquire the same control over taxation as had the English Parliament

The Estates General

The first meeting of the Estates General in the reign of Philip VI, concerning which we have detailed information, was in 1346 It ventilated various grievances, but made no grants of money. In the next year, after the defeat at Crécy, the Estates read the king quite a lecture, and during the remainder of the reign became increasingly niggardly and exacting toward the Crown The provincial estates were equally difficult to deal with Under John, who was extravagant and had bad advisers and favorites, the general dissatisfaction with the misconduct of the war and the sad state of the country increased until it resulted in a revolutionary movement In December, 1355, just before Poitiers, the Estates General granted supplies for the war only on condition that they have complete charge of collecting the taxes, organizing the army, and auditing the accounts. For these purposes they appointed committees and stipulated that they should meet again after three months to see that their wishes had been carried out In these measures the lead was taken by the representatives of the towns under the leadership of Étienne Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris The Estates, however, had not shown much wisdom in the type of taxes which they levied, and they had to alter them twice in the course of the next six months. Meanwhile, the king suspected Charles the Bad of Navarre of fomenting the opposition and of having designs upon the throne, and in April, 1356, suddenly arrested him and beheaded his councilors This act caused many of Charles's followers to go over to the English side

In Holland and Hainault, as in many of the provinces of France, meetings of representatives of the three estates of clergy, nobles, and townsmen were held from the fourteenth century on In 1356 the Duke of Brabant granted the Joyous Entry, by which he agreed not to make war, coin money, or contract foreign alliances without the consent of the three estates

Assemblies elsewhere

The defeat of Poitiers and the capture of the King of France by the English occurred in September This absence of the king lessened the authority of the central government and emboldened the opposition One could say things to ministers or a regent which one would hardly utter to the king's face, and one felt less scruples about disobeying them than resisting a command made by the king in person When the dauphin summoned the Estates General in October, they would do nothing for him unless he released the King of Navarre, reformed governmental abuses such as the debased currency, and replaced his advisers by men chosen by the three estates. He thereupon prorogued them and tried in vain to secure taxes through the provincial estates Meanwhile Marcel had armed the burghers of Paris By February, 1357, the dauphin was forced to resort to the Estates General again They released Charles of Navarre, appointed a committee composed of twelve representatives from each of the three estates to direct the government, and issued a long program of reform, demanding, among other things, that henceforth the Estates General should meet every three years whether summoned by the king or not, that the administration of justice should be reformed, and that private war among the nobility should cease When the dauphin showed himself unwilling to submit to these conditions and began to recall his former advisers, the Parisian mob killed some of his ministers, while others fled, and forced upon his head a cap with the red and blue colors of the popular party But the other towns of France were not ready to go so far as this, and when the dauphin escaped from Paris he received support from provincial estates and from a meeting of the Estates General summoned at Compiègne away from the influence of Marcel and the mob of Paris

Revolution in Paris

But now a new uprising broke out among the peasantry of northern and northeastern France, called the "Jacquerie" from *Jacques*, or Jack, the common name for a peasant This uprising was directed, not so much against the royal government as against the local lords who had failed so completely to protect their tenants from the ravages of the English and of the companies of mercenaries and yet were insisting upon their rents and services as oppressively as ever. The peasants were numerous, but poorly armed and organized, and were soon crushed by the united action of the feudal lords As usual in the repres-

The Jacquerie

sion of such revolts, the nobles took a terrible vengeance for the acts of violence which the peasantry had committed The Jacquerie had the effect of bringing all the feudal lords over to the dauphin's side, while the townsmen lost support in public opinion because they were suspected of having encouraged the peasants' revolt Moreover, Charles the Bad proved treacherous to his Parisian supporters and negotiated with the dauphin Finally Marcel was assassinated, as Artevelde had been in Flanders, and the dauphin recovered Paris

Reign of Charles V

Thus the attempt to impose a permanent check upon the monarchy through the Estates General, and in particular to give the towns a greater share in the central government, had failed During the following reign of Charles V, known as "the Wise," and famous for his library and patronage of art and literature, the Estates met but once As dauphin he had had his fill of them He introduced two important customs which remained characteristic of the French government until the French Revolution of 1789, namely, the custom of having royal legislation registered by the *Parlement* or chief court of justice instead of bringing it before the Estates, and the vicious practice of customs duties on trade between the different provinces of France Charles taxed heavily, but he was economical and intelligent, employed able officials, corrected abuses in the government, and maintained law and order to the best of his ability He also was more successful against England than his two predecessors and did not have to shoulder the blame for any such defeats as those of Crécy and Poitiers

Philip VI and John II had led their armies in person and had displayed inferior generalship Charles V was himself sickly and no warrior, but found in the Breton, Du Guesclin, an able military leader. After some preliminary fighting against Charles of Navarre, and in Brittany where the succession was still disputed, and in Spain where Du Guesclin and the Black Prince fought on opposite sides in another disputed succession to the throne of Castile, direct hostilities between France and England broke out again. In 1369 an appeal from the inhabitants of southwestern France against the harsh rule of the Black Prince led Charles V to renew the war, which this time turned in favor of France The Black Prince soon became broken in health and returned to England, where his father was still king, but now in his dotage. In 1372 the Castilian fleet in alliance with France defeated the English at La Rochelle, and by the close of the reign of Charles V, the English had little left on the Continent except such seaports as Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne During the remainder of the century there was no fighting of importance.

It was now the turn of the English people to express dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war and with their royal government. In the "Good Parliament" of 1376 the leading part was taken by the House of Commons and its speaker,[1] who is today purely a presiding officer, but then was the spokesman who presented their petitions to the king. The corrupt favorites and ministers of the aged king were banished or were impeached by the Commons before the House of Lords, the first instance of the exercise of this constitutional power. Many reforms were planned in the government, and the succession to the throne was secured to Richard, the young son of the Black Prince, as against his ambitious and unpopular uncle, John of Gaunt. After this Parliament was over, the corrupt court party recovered to some extent its former position and the program of reform was not carried out. But then within a year came the death of Edward III, the flight of his greedy favorites, the withdrawal of John of Gaunt from domestic politics, and the accession of the ten-year-old Richard II with a council of twelve selected both from the court and the parliamentary parties.

The "Good Parliament"

The English Parliament, however, and even the House of Commons, made up as it was of representatives of the land-owning class and of the more prosperous townsmen, had little sympathy with the lower classes of workingmen who had but recently come up from serfdom or villeinage, as it had already shown in its Statute of Laborers. This attempt to force men to work for the same wages as before the Black Death had caused great discontent among the laboring classes and was almost impossible to enforce, but the government had kept trying to enforce it, and had enacted a series of similar laws in the years from 1351 to 1381. Now, in order to meet the expense of the unsuccessful French war, Parliament agreed to a new form of taxation, namely, poll taxes which everyone except absolute paupers had to pay, instead of the usual taxes levied upon land, merchandise, and other forms of property. When in addition these poll taxes were unjustly and unsystematically collected, the peasants, especially in southeastern England, rose in revolt. They also had other grievances against both their feudal lords and the clergy. They succeeded in entering London, where the humbler artisans sympathized with them, they killed the Archbishop of Canterbury and some other high officials and did some plundering; but then most of them dispersed to their homes when the boy king promised to abolish serfdom and to redress their other grievances. These promises were not kept, even had the king been sincere, the nobility and Parliament would not have allowed it. The revolt was suppressed in the same cruel way that the Jacquerie had been put down in France. However, it was as impossible

Peasants' Revolt, 1381

---

[1] Peter de la Mare, whom the Commons chose as their leader on this occasion does not seem to have had the title of speaker, but it was introduced the very next year.

to enforce the Statute of Laborers after the Peasants' Revolt as it had been before, and it is also noteworthy that poll taxes were not levied again in the Middle Ages. The peasants also continued gradually to escape from villeinage, just as they had been doing before the revolt.

Popular movements fail

Contemporary with the Peasants' Revolt in England occurred popular risings in other countries. The heavy taxation of Charles V finally resulted in popular resistance at the very close of his reign and during the minority of his son. Revolts occurred in Amiens, Laon, Rouen, Rheims, and other towns of northern France, and in 1382 reached Paris. In Languedoc bands of peasants and artisans became brigands in order to procure food and to escape taxation. In 1379 the Flemish towns revolted once more against their count. When the rich townsmen in Bruges recalled him, the people of Ghent made the son of Artevelde their leader, conquered Bruges, massacred the foes of democracy there, and spread the movement, not only throughout Flanders, but into Brabant and the bishopric of Liége. But the French led an army against them and they were defeated, and the younger Artevelde was slain in the battle of Roosebek in 1382. It was at this same time that the city leagues of southern Germany reached their height, and that the *Ciompi*, or lowest class in Florence, gained for four brief years the suffrage. All these movements failed, and the lower classes nowhere secured equal political rights, largely, it would seem, because the well-to-do middle class preferred to maintain the established government.

Richard II, Charles VI

The reigns of Richard II of England and Charles VI of France were somewhat alike. Both opened with minorities during which the kings were in tutelage and affairs came largely into the hands of their uncles, whose rule in both cases was bad. The first few years of both reigns were also marked by popular revolts, as we have seen. Both kings then declared themselves of age and ruled well for a few years. In 1396 Richard married Charles's daughter and peace prevailed between the two realms. From 1392 Charles was insane most of the time, and some have thought that Richard's reason became affected also. At any rate, after eight years of constitutional government he suddenly in 1397 began to disregard Parliament and act as an absolute monarch and take vengeance on those who had opposed him during the period of his minority.

Lancastrians and Parliament

Such conduct resulted in Richard's deposition in 1399 and in the throne being offered by Parliament to the son of John of Gaunt, who as Henry IV was the first king of the House of Lancaster. Richard II had left no children, but even after he had died or had been murdered in prison, there were alive other descendants of

Edward III who had a better hereditary claim to the throne than the Lancastrians, for John of Gaunt was not the next oldest son after the Black Prince The reign of Henry IV was filled with uprisings against the new king, whom many regarded as a usurper Therefore Henry IV and his two successors Henries V and VI, were careful not to offend Parliament, which enlarged its powers during their reigns They also favored the Church in order to secure its support. There had been considerable opposition to the clergy, as well as to the papacy in England in the second half of the fourteenth century, as we shall see more fully in our next chapter

Burgundians, Orleanists

When Charles VI became insane, there ensued a struggle for the control of the central government between two parties, one led by his brother, Louis of Orléans, the other by the Duke of Burgundy In the reign of John II the old feudal dynasty in that duchy had died out and the fief had escheated to the French crown But John had promptly granted it again to his younger son, Philip This Philip presently married the daughter of the Count of Flanders, and when her father died in 1384 they inherited not only Flanders, but also the counties of Burgundy, Nevers, Rethel, and Artois Philip had had less difficulty with the towns of Flanders than his father-in-law had experienced, and now Paris and the other French towns joined the Burgundian party, while the feudal nobles were generally Orleanists The House of Bourbon, which in early modern times was to ascend the throne, had during the fourteenth century added to le Bourbonnais Auvergne, la Marche, Forez, Beaujolais, and les Dombes In 1404 John the Fearless became Duke of Burgundy and three years later murdered Louis of Orléans Writers were found, however, to defend the deed on the ground that the Louis of Orléans was a tyrant and that tyrannicide was justifiable The death of Louis for the moment left the Orleanists without a head, but in 1410 various nobles formed a league against Burgundy in which the leading spirit was the Count of Armagnac Henceforth, therefore, the civil strife is spoken of as between the Burgundians and Armagnacs. The dauphin sided first with one party and then with the other

Agincourt

This divided state of France gave the brilliant and ambitious king of England, Henry V, an opportunity to carry the war once more into French territory. He opened negotiations with the Burgundian party and in 1415 conducted a campaign similar to that which had led to the battle of Crécy in 1346. Like Edward III, he landed on the coast of Normandy, but north of the Seine, where he besieged and took Harfleur He then marched north and had difficulty in crossing the Somme, just as had Edward III, and finally won, over a much larger French army, a victory at Agincourt, nor far from Crécy, and by similar tactics to those employed at that battle He also resembled Edward III in not following up his victory, but in continuing his march north to Calais and returning home In 1417, however, he resumed his attempt to reduce the towns of Normandy and gained a rapid series of successes, now actively aided by the Duke of Burgundy who had held aloof from both sides at Agincourt In 1418 Paris opened its gates to the Burgundians and the Count of Armagnac was murdered But soon the English successes and exorbitant terms of peace named by Henry V caused Duke John of Burgundy to seek a reconciliation with the dauphin By this time the death of his older brothers had made dauphin the youngest son of the insane king As the Duke of Burgundy knelt before this sixteen-year-old prince, he was attacked and slain, paying the penalty for his murder of Louis of Orléans fifteen years before

The Treaty of Troyes

The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, held the dauphin responsible for his father's murder and came over wholly to the English side He agreed to the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, by which Henry V married the French Princess Catherine and was to become King of France upon the death of the insane Charles VI An assembly of the Estates at Paris approved the treaty, and Henry was making good his claim by further conquests at the dauphin's expense, when death overtook him in 1422 at the age of only thirty-five Charles VI died a little later in the same year Henry VI, son of Henry V, was not yet a year old, but his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, tried to procure the French throne for him and continued the military successes of the English for some years. He also tried to give Normandy and other French territory under his rule good government But the people were neither prosperous nor happy under English rule; the country was still suffering from the effects of the war; the captains of Charles VII, as the former dauphin styled himself, kept making raids; and local resistance to English rule kept cropping out.

The siege of Orléans

The situation by 1429 was as follows: Charles VII, who was but nineteen at his father's death, whose face was unprepossessing in appearance, and whose short, knock-kneed legs moved with an undignified gait, had so far remained inactive south of the Loire. He appeared to have no money and to be controlled by unworthy favorites, and was derisively known as "the King of Bourges," from the cathedral town where he most often held his court The English and Burgundians held everything north of the Loire and some territory on the southwestern coast Situated upon the northernmost bend of the Loire, Orléans was strategically important as the key to the interior of France It now barred the way of the English south and they were besieging it. Charles, located for the present at Chinon rather than at Bourges, seemed unable to do anything to relieve the beleaguered city

Jeanne d'Arc

An illiterate peasant girl now turned the tide of victory in favor of France Saintly voices and visions, Jeanne d'Arc, or Joan of Arc, believed, bade her leave her home on the border of Lorraine and go to the help of her king and her country Her father had little sympathy with what he regarded as idle fancies, but she persuaded an uncle to take her to a royal captain in the neighborhood After this captain had refused her once, she finally induced him in turn to supply her with an escort so that she might ride through the intervening hostile territory to the royal headquarters at Chinon Here, strange to say, she persuaded Charles to give her a few troops and let her try to save Orléans But many other soldiers joined her as she marched through Blois toward Orléans She brought provisions into the starving town by boats on the river, and then, by capturing one English fortification after another, forced the English within a few days to abandon the siege Then she led the army of the dauphin, as she called him until his formal coronation, northeast in a victorious march through the enemy's country to Rheims where he could be duly crowned king in the great cathedral

Joan's marvelous success was due chiefly to the fact that all the French needed at this time to defeat and drive out the English was confidence and leadership She supplied both She believed firmly in her "voices" and the age was still ready to accept the miraculous Consequently many of her followers believed her to be a saint divinely inspired, and found in that belief assurance of victory Even the English had to admit that there was something supernatural about her, but they preferred to insist that she was a witch and an instrument of the devil Joan also loved her country and her king. She wanted to relieve her suffering land and to drive the English home where they belonged That there were plenty of other Frenchmen who felt as she did is evidenced by the strong backing she at once received and by the way she set her soldiers' hearts on fire The idea of one France in contrast to feudal states and local interests had now come into being, and devotion to the king was a sentiment that burned in many a breast as well as in the pure bosom of the peasant maid of Domremy. Joan had other qualities of leadership. She was not an ordinary visionary, but natural, self-possessed, and apt at repartee despite her lack of education Her life was pure and noble, she was genuinely religious, she inspired respect in the rough soldiers, and enforced strict discipline and order throughout the camp Although she endured

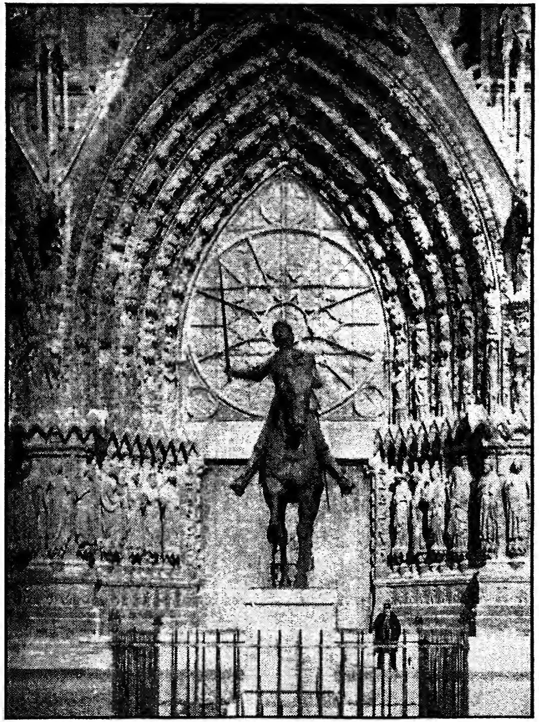


Figure 83

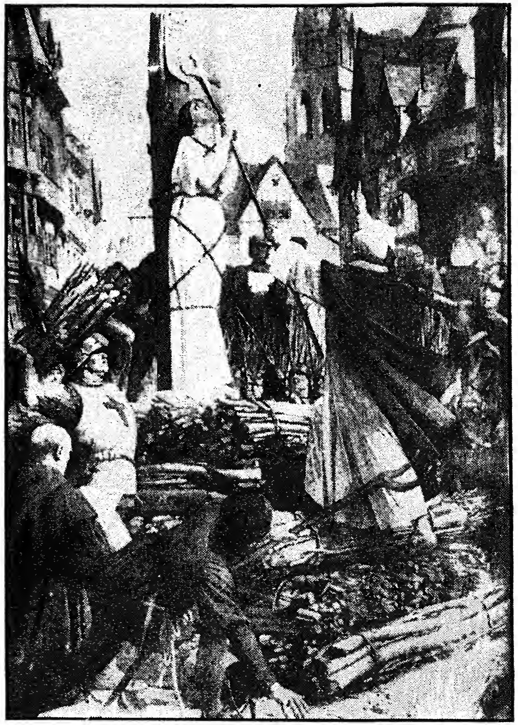


Figure 84

Left, Statue of Joan of Arc before the cathedral at Rheims, which, like most statues of her, errs in having her hold a sword rather than a banner; *right*, execution of Joan of Arc, a fresco in the Panthéon, Paris many hardships and wore armor like a man, she remained womanly and in battle carried a banner in order not to kill anyone Yet she spoke out boldly her opinion in the king's councils of war, and was the most aggressive of his commanders Where there was the most danger, there was her banner (Figure 83)

Charles VII was still too sluggish or cautious to keep pace with her impetuosity for long He hesitated about attacking Paris until it was too late, and then withdrew to Bourges again Joan went off to relieve Compiègne from the Burgundians She was captured and tried at Rouen, the English headquarters in France, by a large ecclesiastical court under English influence in an effort to prove her a witch or at least a heretic The trial was unfair and she was unfairly dealt with in prison She was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake only two years after her relief of Orléans (Figure 84) The English had hoped to justify themselves and to throw discredit upon her by this course, but the result was just the opposite Charles VII made no move to save her at the time, but twenty-four years later the pope ordered a retrial of her case and her name was cleared of all suspicion of heresy In 1909 occurred her beatification by the Roman Catholic Church, in 1920, her canonization.

The English driven out

After their execution of Joan, the English won no more victories In 1435 the Duke of Bedford died, and thereafter there was dissension and lack of capable military leadership among Henry VI's advisers and generals In 1435, too, the Duke of Burgundy abandoned the English alliance and made the Treaty of Arras with Charles VII, from whom he received territorial and other concessions The next year the French king re-entered Paris There was a truce from 1444 to 1449, but in 1450 the English lost Normandy and in 1453 their possessions in southern France. In both cases the French defeated them by a skillful use of artillery Calais alone was left to them. No definite treaty was signed relinquishing their claims, but none was needed, they were not to recover the lost ground However, it was some time before English monarchs wholly gave up the idea of invading France Edward IV came in 1475 with the largest army that England had yet sent across the Channel, but he went home without having fought an engagement. Henry VII came again, but also allowed himself to be bought off with money Henry VIII was possessed in his youth with the notion of winning glory in French campaigns, but was soon turned from this policy by the wiser head of his minister, Wolsey

The war left France in a sad state of desolation, depopulation, and apparent ruin, with large areas thrown out of cultivation, with homes and fields replaced by forests and wild beasts, with large beggar and criminal classes recruited from the impoverished peasants and disbanded soldiers. Crime had increased and religion had declined It is true that the recovery from all this was surprisingly rapid But an irreparable hurt was that for over a century France, hitherto the leader in medieval culture, had been held back from further accomplishment and development. Nationality had been attained, but at a great cost

Bibliographical Note

On the fourteenth century, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, pp vii–xx. On the Black Death, F A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence*, Anna Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning*, A. Coville in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 37 (1938), 325–90. On the Hundred Years War, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII, chapters 12, 13, VIII, chapter 7, Froissart in English translation English history in Traill, *Social England*, II, or C Oman, *Political History of England, 1377–1485* Oman has treated the art of war both in a separate book and in *Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII, 646–659. Lives of Joan of Arc by F C. Lowell and Anatole France; English translation of the records of her trial by T D Murray, 1902, and W P Barrett, 1932

XXXI

Religious Cleavage, Discontent, and Efforts at Reform

In this chapter we shall see the papacy removed for a long time from its traditional seat at Rome We shall see discord arise between the pope and the college of cardinals, and a consequent protracted division and dispute of the see of Peter between rival popes In order to heal this schism it became necessary to call general church councils This raised the question as to the respective power of pope and council and resulted in a quarrel between them We shall see another cleavage occur in the Franciscan order We shall see a movement to separate the spheres of Church and State more sharply and at the expense of the Church, in other words, an increasing tendency towards secularization. We shall see papal centralization resisted and local or national church control re-asserted in England, in Bohemia, in France, and in Spain We shall see a growing breach between laity and clergy, criticism of the papacy and papal court, of the clergy and the sacramental system; a divorce of mysticism and popular piety from the formalized church organization and services We shall see efforts at church reform which are either behind the times or partial or temporary or unsuccessful

The papacy at Avignon

From 1309 to 1376 the popes remained at Avignon, a period of roughly seventy years which suggested comparison with the Babylonian Captivity of the Jewish people. This long absence from Rome greatly scandalized many persons first, the Romans, who lost the presence of the splendid papal court and the profitable stream of pilgrims and clergy from other lands; second, Italians like Dante and Petrarch, who felt aggrieved that Italy had thus been abandoned to its fate and that Italian families had been deprived of their accustomed first pick of choice church positions, third, the English, who contended that the popes were favoring their foes, the French, fourth, the Germans, who resented the pope's claim to temporal superiority over the Holy Roman Emperor and his refusal to confirm as emperor whomsoever they elected, his disinclination to recognize any longer the imperial power in Italy, and his attempt on one occasion to make the French king Holy Roman Emperor; fifth, all Christians who believed as a matter of principle that Rome was the true capital of Christendom.

Centralization and taxation

Along with a continued centralization of ecclesiastical power in the hands of the popes a prominent feature of the Avignon residence was a large increase in papal expenditure and revenue. This was accomplished partly by bringing into the pope's hands the right of appointment to an increasing number of church offices, and then demanding of these papal appointees, not five per cent, as a modern employment bureau does when it gets one a position, but one half of the first year's income of the bishopric or other prebend. This payment was known as "annates." Moreover, far-sighted office-seekers in the Church sometimes, by a liberal expenditure, received assurances at the papal court that a certain position should be theirs upon the death of the present incumbent. Another source of papal revenue was from payments for dispensations, and from the contributions of the faithful in connection with indulgences, pardons, and jubilees or anniversaries. There were regular papal collectors scattered over western Europe, which was systematically divided up for the purpose into seven regions; namely, the British Isles, the Scandinavian kingdoms, Poland and Hungary, Germany and Bohemia, France, the Spanish peninsula, and Italy. At the papal court great magnificence prevailed (Figure 85), and the subordinate officials at least were very corrupt and demanded no end of tips and fees. One reason, however, why the popes required more revenue at Avignon was that their possessions in Italy were in a state of rebellion

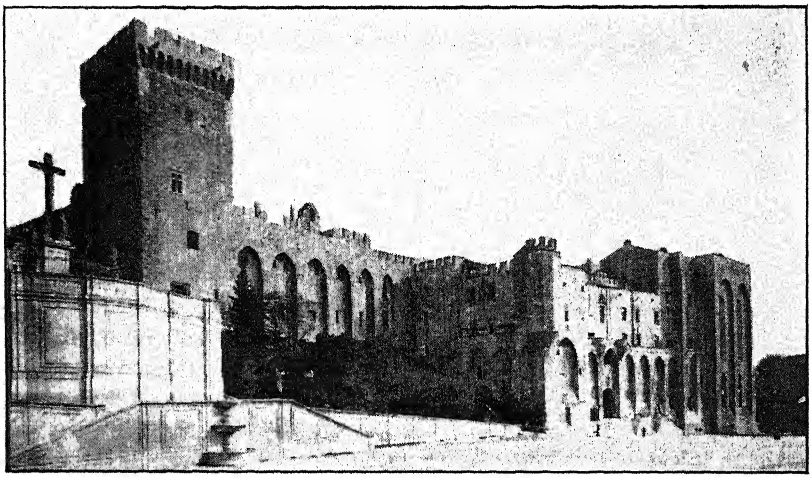


Figure 85

Palace of the popes at Avignon

and confusion and that they not only derived little income from them any longer, but spent a good deal in endeavoring to subdue them. Indeed, the popes remained at Avignon partly because Rome and its vicinity had for a long time been gradually growing too hot for them.

Spiritual Franciscans

Whatever good reasons it may have had for being at Avignon, the papacy did not escape criticism. John XXII, besides his struggle with the German emperor, Louis of Bavaria, had another with the Spiritual Franciscans, as those of the order called themselves who insisted upon absolute fidelity to the injunctions of Saint Francis and standards of apostolic poverty. The pope, on the contrary, supported the inquisitor of Narbonne in his declaration that it was heresy to assert that neither Christ nor the apostles individually or collectively possessed any property. Michael of Cesena, who was the general of the Franciscans, and William of Ockham were imprisoned at Avignon but escaped and joined Louis of Bavaria in Rome. In Italy the Spiritual Franciscans broke away from the order and formed a separate group known as the Fraticelli. They, with the Beghards and Beguines, the Flagellants and Brothers of the Free Spirit, were often persecuted as heretics.

Marsiglio of Padua

Louis of Bavaria's court physician, Marsiglio of Padua, who had been rector at the University of Paris, and who sided with the emperor and the Spiritual Franciscans against the pope, wrote a remarkable work, *Defensor pacis* (*The Defender of Peace*), which was translated from the Latin into both French and Italian. The idea in the title is that the exorbitant power claimed by the pope had disturbed the peace of the world, to recover which it was essential to restore the State to its proper place of superiority in all worldly concerns, to reduce the pope to his and the clergy to their proper places in the Church itself as well as in society, and to recognize the fundamental sovereignty of the entire community of believers in the Church and that of the people in the State. The clergy should not judge nor govern the people, but merely preach and administer the sacraments to them, and themselves approach the condition of apostolic poverty, taking tithes for no more than their absolute needs. Marsiglio opposed crusades and religious wars, and was critical of such practices as confession to a priest, penance, and indulgences. He held that there was no Biblical support for excommunication and interdict, that all bishops were of equal authority, and that papal primacy was a matter of custom and tradition, not, as Boniface VIII had held, a dogma necessary for salvation. Pope John XXII called Marsiglio and his collaborator, Jean de Jandun, "those miserable fools who rob Christ of all dominion, all power over the things of this world." After Marsiglio had fled from the University of Paris to the court of Louis of Bavaria, he somewhat changed his tune to conform to his new surroundings and wrote a *Defensor minor*, in which he justified the imperial power rather than popular sovereignty, restricting the human legislator to the Roman people, who by their superior force, valor, and virtue won the right to make laws for the whole world, so that the legislative power of all the provinces passed to them, while they had transferred it to the emperor But of this work there is only one manuscript and no translation

The reaction against repressive measures taken by the Church was marked by attacks on inquisitors in different regions One was assassinated at Breslau in 1341, another at Susa in 1354, while two Franciscan inquisitors were murdered in Provence in 1357

English criticism

Of the feeling against the papacy in England in the fourteenth century we have already noted signs in the Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire*, the repudiation of John's tribute, and the hostility toward the clergy manifested in connection with the Peasants' Revolt And it had even been proposed in Parliament to confiscate the property of the clergy for political needs The author of *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman*, although he is careful to protest his orthodoxy and is evidently deeply devout and devotes the greater part of his poem to religion, nevertheless finds, like Dante and Chaucer, much to criticize in the Church of his time. The friars are "preaching to the people for profit of their paunch " Papal legates keep fools and jesters and encourage flatterers and liars Parsons and parish priests, archdeacons and deacons

Are loping to London by leave of their bishop
To sing there for simony, for silver is sweet

The pardoners who blind the people's eyes with their bulls and briefs are really "gluttons" and "profligates who practice vice" and who spend "what otherwise the poor of the parish would have " At the Day of Judgment, the poet opines, indulgences and pardons and "a pocketful of provincial's letters" won't be worth "one pie crust " He complains that money "bestows bishoprics on men who are base," and permits priests "to have concubines all their lives," and that "popes and patrons refuse poor gentle blood and take Simon's son to keep sanctuary." The sin of Sloth is personified as a clergyman and confesses·

I have been priest and parson passing thirty winters;
Yet I can neither tell the notes,
Nor sing, nor read a saint's life.
But I can find in a field and in a furlong a hare,
And hold a knight's court, and account with the reeve;
But I cannot construe Cato, nor speak clerically.

Such was the feeling in England when John Wyclif late in life began his work as a popular preacher and religious reformer. Previously he had been a professor at Oxford and had written works of the scholastic type in Latin. His scholastic theories of divine and civil lordship had, however, an important bearing upon his attitude to the problem of Church and State and led him to question the doctrine of papal supremacy. Wyclif found for a time a powerful patron in John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III, and supported the Parliaments toward the close of that king's reign in their hostile attitude toward the pope's temporal and financial claims. Like the author of *Piers the Ploughman*, Wyclif criticized the pilgrimages, indulgences, and worship of relics of his time, the mendicant orders, and the lives of other clergy. He believed that it would be better for the Church to lose its vast lands and wealth and be reduced to apostolic poverty. He also believed that the people lacked religious instruction. He preached to them and wrote tracts for them in their own tongue, founded an organization of "poor priests" to do the same, and had the Bible translated into English.

John Wyclif

Wyclif was a forerunner of the later Protestants in making the Bible the sole standard of religious belief and practice, and in rejecting such customs and doctrines of the medieval Church as he felt could not be justified by Scripture; for instance, auricular confession, celibacy of the clergy, masses for the dead, and the doctrine of purgatory. He not only denied to the pope and clergy any political power and held that the State was as directly founded and authorized by God as was the Church; he not only declared that the clergy were entitled to their privileges and property only so long as they lived and taught in a way to deserve them; he also argued that their spiritual power depended upon their personal faith and conduct. Even a pope who did not live a Christlike life was no head of the Church, but an antichrist. Salvation, Wyclif taught, depends not upon obedience to pope or priest, but upon divine grace and predestination and upon the faith of the individual believer. Wyclif, in fine, proclaimed "the universal priesthood of believers" and denied the special sacramental power of the clergy. Some of the seven sacraments, like confirmation and extreme unction, he rejected entirely, and he even dared to attack the theory of transubstantiation in the mass. He denied any material change in the bread and wine or any priestly miracle, and taught that in the sacrament one does not actually partake of the body of Christ, but sees Him through faith and communes with Him in spirit.

The pope had tried to call Wyclif to account in 1377 before he had done much more than to attack the political power and worldly possessions of the clergy, but the support of John of Gaunt and of the populace saved

His followers

him. After this he went on to more and more radical utterances, until in 1381 his denial of transubstantiation lost him the favor of John of Gaunt and his position at Oxford. The Peasants' Revolt, for which many held him responsible, further injured his popularity. But the House of Commons declined to co-operate with the Archbishop of Canterbury in persecuting him, and while he retired to his parish in Lutterworth, he continued to produce pamphlets until his death in 1384. His followers, known by their enemies as "Lollards," or heretics, continued through the reign of Richard II, when they seem to have been influential even at court; but early in the reign of Henry IV Parliament passed the statute *De haeretico comburendo*, which provided that they should be burned at the stake when turned over by the church courts to the secular authorities. After this the Lollards were pretty well stamped out in England, but some survived to help kindle the later Protestant reformation. The Lollards held that the poor and lowly were especially fitted to interpret the Bible.

Some monastic reform

Having failed in the case of the Franciscans, the pope tried to bring about the reform of other religious orders. In 1336 a papal bull was issued reforming the Benedictines, which remained in force until the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. In 1360 Innocent VI ordered a reform of the Dominicans and next year demanded that they reinstate their general whom they had suspended as too severe. But as they continued recalcitrant, Gregory XI in 1373 and 1377 stopped their privileges and set a cardinal over them. Within the Franciscan order dissensions continued between those who wished to live more strictly and the rest of the order.

Prophets, mystics, saints

The fourteenth century was a period of religious mystics, of anticlerical writers and prophesiers of the near coming of antichrist, and of female saints. The German mystic, Master Eckhart, had died in 1327, and John XXII in 1329 confirmed the condemnation of twenty-eight propositions ascribed to him. John Tauler, who wrote in the German vernacular, died in 1361, and Henry Suso in 1366. Margarete Ebnerin began to write down her revelations in 1344. The Life of Christ by Ludolph of Saxony appeared in 1350. John Ruysbroeck, after such writings in Flemish as *Seven Castles*, *The Spiritual Tabernacle*, and *Ornament of Spiritual Marriage*, passed away in 1381. The anticlerical prophets included such important names in science as the physician, Arnald of Villanova, and the alchemist, John of Rupescissa. Long before Hus, the Bohemian theologian, Milec of Kromeriz, preached in Latin, Czech, and German the coming of antichrist and equal rights of the laity in the Church. The two leading female saints were

Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena Saint Bridget, who in 1344 was left a widow with eight children and founded a convent, urged the return of the pope to Rome and died there in 1373 on her return from a pilgrimage to Palestine Her visions were translated into Latin Saint Catherine of Siena, the daughter of a dyer, advocated a life of complete renunciation but addressed letters to popes and cardinals, kings and condottieri, prelates and priests, magistrates and monks, nobles and artisans, and might almost be called the Dorothy Thompson of her day

The great schism

The great schism in the papacy, which began in 1378, had probably emboldened Wyclif to increase the vigor of his attack upon the papacy and had enabled him to escape punishment for his heretical views During the latter years of the residence of the popes at Avignon, Cardinal Albornoz, by a very able combination of diplomacy and firmness, had recovered much of their lost Papal States in central Italy Accordingly Gregory XI had at last returned to Rome in 1377 and had died there the following year. The Roman populace now raised a great tumult outside the Vatican palace and insisted upon a Roman, or at least an Italian, as the next pope The cardinals thereupon elected the Archbishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, who became Pope Urban VI He soon turned the cardinals against him by his scoldings and other measures directed against their worldly extravagant life and their corrupt manipulation of ecclesiastical offices. Moreover, during the past century the cardinals had acquired considerable power and were therefore incensed at what they regarded as an unwarrantable infringement of their privileges and a cruel tyranny They expected half of the papal revenues and a share in the direction of papal policy Finally the Ultramontane or French cardinals left Rome and elected one of their own number, Robert of Geneva, as Pope Clement VII (1378–1394) There had been schisms in the papacy before, but the anti-popes had usually owed their office to the Holy Roman Emperor Now the Church was divided against itself, the schism was due to a quarrel between the cardinals and the pope The French cardinals declared that the election of Urban had been forced upon them by the Roman mob It was hard to learn the true facts of the case and many pious people were in honest doubt who was the rightful pope The cardinals, however, had not raised objections to Urban's election immediately, but only when they saw how he acted as pope The Roman Catholic Church since has regarded Urban as the rightful pope.

Meanwhile Urban had more than doubled the number of cardinals by appointing twenty-nine Italians in order to command a majority of the college It must be admitted that Urban was a person very hard to get on with. He moved his court from Rome to Naples, from Naples to Nocera, from Nocera to Genoa, from Genoa to Lucca, from Lucca to Perugia, from Perugia back to Rome, where he died in 1389 — poisoned, it was whispered, by the Romans. No matter who might be monarch at Naples, Urban quarreled with him; and the pope's own Italian cardinals were soon conspiring against him. But when he died, they elected another pope who continued the struggle against Clement VII; and when Clement died, his cardinals also chose a successor. Thus the schism bade fair to become interminable, since there were two rival colleges of cardinals ever ready to continue it. Another circumstance that perpetuated the schism was that the different rulers and nations of Europe had taken different sides. The support of the French king seemed to insure the pope at Avignon from overthrow; he was also recognized by Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Scotland, Flanders, and a few Italian and German principalities. But most of Italy and Germany, also Poland, Hungary, the Scandinavian kingdoms, England, and Portugal sided with the line of popes which began with Urban VI. It will be noted that in this grouping of the European nations England was on the opposite side from France and Scotland, at that time her natural enemies.

Effect upon the Church

In order to retain the support of these states, the rival popes had to make many concessions and abandon to a large extent the previous papal custom of interference in national politics. On the other hand, there were now two papal courts to be maintained, and so the burden of papal taxation was felt even more than during the Avignon period. Also in many localities there were struggles for church positions and benefices between rival appointees of the two popes. These circumstances, and the unreadiness of the rival popes and cardinals to make sacrifices in order to restore church unity, caused great scandal and distress throughout Christendom and greatly damaged the prestige of the papacy. The religious life of the people also suffered. As a result, many writers, especially at the University of Paris, suggested methods for ending the schism and demanded accompanying reforms in the Church.

Council of Pisa

At last the two colleges of cardinals came to an understanding. In 1409 they joined in summoning a general council at Pisa and ordered their respective popes to appear before this assembly. When they failed to appear, they were both deposed as notorious schismatics and heretics, and the cardinals combined to elect a new pope, Alexander V. But the kingdom of Naples and a few other states of Italy and Germany persisted in supporting the cause of Gregory XII, the third successor of Urban VI, while the Spanish peninsula and Scotland still adhered to Benedict XIII of the Avignon line Alexander V died the next year and was succeeded by a warlike cardinal who had been helping him to conquer the Papal States and who now took the title, John XXIII Thus the Council of Pisa, instead of ending the schism, had made it a triple one

Council of Constance

The Emperor Sigismund now succeeded in assembling at Constance, a German city where no one of the three popes would have much influence, a larger and more generally representative council than that at Pisa. It was, indeed, one of the most impressive gatherings during the Middle Ages and lasted for three years John XXIII came in person, bringing with him a throng of Italian supporters But their numbers were rendered of no avail by the decision of the council that voting should not be by heads, but by four nations, namely, the French, Italians, English, and Germans The arrangement was borrowed from the organization of the universities in "nations," but the recognition of different nationalities by a church supposed to be catholic was nonetheless significant The council also received the envoys of Gregory and Benedict as papal legates, and it became evident that the plan was to secure the resignation of all three popes John at first agreed to resign if both the others should do the same, but then he fled from Constance and called his clergy to him But the English, French, and German nations stood firm; the cardinals and other clergy who had joined John soon deserted him again, Frederick of Tyrol, who had given him protection, was defeated by Sigismund with the aid of the Swiss, and John himself was captured, deposed, and kept a prisoner until the council was over and the schism ended Gregory resigned voluntarily, but although Sigismund went to Narbonne and Perpignan to interview Benedict, he could not persuade him to abdicate Sigismund did, however, induce Benedict's Spanish and Scottish supporters to abandon him and to participate in the Council of Constance Martin V, of the Roman family of Colonna, was elected pope in 1417 and therewith the great schism was virtually ended.

John Hus

While healing the schism, the council also considered the problem of a new heresy. The writings of Wyclif had by the end of the fourteenth century reached Bohemia, and his views had been adopted and widely spread by John Hus, rector of the University of Prague, and a preacher of great influence among the people As a result he had already been excommunicated in 1411. Jerome of Prague had further disseminated these ideas in Austria, Hungary, Poland, and even in Lithuania and Russia Hus had opposed a papal bull which preached a crusade against the King of Naples and offered indulgences in order to raise money for this purpose He had none the less become the idol of the Bohemian people, and all efforts to check the spread of Wyclifism in that country had thus far been unavailing Hus willingly appeared before the council in the vain hope of winning over to his views some or all of the clergy there assembled He had received a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, but the council paid no attention to it Hus and later Jerome of Prague were condemned to be burned at the stake This action simply caused Hus to be regarded as a holy martyr as well as a national hero in Bohemia, and the whole country was up in arms Priests were driven from their parishes and monasteries were burned

Utraquists

Many of the German colonists in Bohemia, however, remained loyal to the council and to Roman Catholicism, and the Bohemians were unable to agree among themselves as to their religious beliefs The more moderate and conciliatory party, known as the "Calixtins" or "Utraquists," and represented especially by the Bohemian nobility, adopted a platform of four articles, demanding (1) free preaching of God's word, (2) the communion in both kinds for the laity, (3) surrender of worldly power and property by the clergy and a return on their part to the life led by Christ and the apostles, (4) punishment by the magistrates of all deadly sins and public disorders, even if committed by the clergy The stress laid upon allowing the laity the wine as well as the holy wafer in the Lord's Supper shows that the Utraquists were far from regarding the communion as a purely spiritual affair as Wyclif had Their name comes from the Latin word, *utraque*, referring to the communion "in both kinds," while Calixtins is derived from the *calix*, or cup containing the wine Earlier than this there had been an agitation in Bohemia for a more frequent or even daily partaking of the sacrament by the laity

Taborites

Thus two different currents combined to form the Hussite movement The demand by the laymen for a fuller participation in the Eucharist overemphasized the value of the rite upon which the medieval Church already laid the most stress The other more revolutionary movement, following along the trail which Wyclif had blazed, attacked the clergy and departed more or less from the customs and doctrines of the medieval Church The Utraquists had gone but a little way in this direction, the more radical party became known as the "Taborites," because their first meeting was held upon a hill to which in characteristic fashion they gave the Biblical name, Mount Tabor. They wished to do away with much of the formality and ceremony in religious worship, and their priests officiated without wearing any distinctive ecclesiastical vestments. They also addressed one another as brothers and sisters, and represented a democratic movement among the peasantry and lower classes in contrast to the Utraquist nobles While the Utraquists and Taborites were the two chief religious parties among the Hussites, there were further divergences of belief, and from time to time factions appeared within the two main parties

The Hussite wars

King Wenzel, who had done little toward suppressing the Hussites, died in 1419 His obvious successor was his brother, Sigismund, but the Bohemians were suspicious of the man who had allowed Hus to be burned to death, and it became evident that Sigismund would have to employ force to win his kingdom The pope proclaimed a crusade against Bohemia and a great army gathered The majority of the crusaders were Germans, just as the orthodox party in Bohemia itself was composed largely of the German settlers Thus to religious strife was added the racial antipathy of Teuton and Czech The crusaders, of course, hoped to win large estates for themselves in Bohemia But the method which the Church had found effective against the Albigensians of southern France was not to prove successful in this case. For although the Hussites were divided among themselves, they usually united to repel the foreign invaders, and in John Ziska, the leader of the Taborites, they possessed a military genius He employed the new firearms which had followed the invention of gunpowder, and also made use of ironclad wagons, which were chained together in four lines or columns and which could readily be formed into a hollow square Even after his death from the plague in 1424, the Hussites continued their series of victories In 1427 and 1431 the crusading armies fled without risking a battle, and in the years between these two dates the Bohemians invaded Germany and spread terror far and wide Both the crusaders in Bohemia and the Hussites in Germany were guilty of shocking atrocities

Since the Hussites could not be suppressed by force, another general council was called at Basel in 1431 and long negotiations ensued. While these were in process, the Hussites quarreled among themselves and the moderate party of nobles administered a crushing defeat to the Taborites Finally, in 1436 the moderate Hussites accepted their four articles in a new form suggested by the council which somewhat weakened their force. The important question, however, was whether this agreement would be lived up to The pope refused to confirm a Hussite whom the Bohemians elected Archbishop of Prague, and Sigismund was inclined toward a Roman Catholic reaction. He died the next year, however, the reign of his Hapsburg successor, Albert of Austria, was brief; and then followed the long minority of Albert's posthumous son, Ladislas I

During this minority George of Podiebrad, the leader of the Utraquists, gained the chief power, and when the young king died in 1457, he was chosen king. He maintained the Hussite archbishop, and, on the other hand, captured Mount Tabor where the radicals had been holding out to the last. They survived, nevertheless, as a persecuted sect and later became the Bohemian Brotherhood or Moravians. The pope now refused to stand by the compromise which the Council of Basel had made with the Hussites, and preached another crusade against Bohemia which was undertaken by Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. Podiebrad died in 1471, but was able to secure the election of a younger son of the King of Poland as his successor rather than Matthias.

This king, Ladislas II, was himself a papal sympathizer, but found it necessary to tolerate the Utraquists, who continued to receive the communion in both kinds. The Bohemian nobles also kept the estates which they had taken from the Church in the course of the Hussite wars. The German colonists and the monks had been pretty well driven out of the country, but the native peasantry, who for the most part had belonged to the defeated Taborite party, now sank into serfdom. On the whole, Bohemia had lost greatly in economic prosperity and in civilization as a result of the long period of bitter strife and cruel anarchy. But the Church and the Papacy had failed during the whole course of the fifteenth century to reduce Bohemia to obedience. Ecclesiastical authority had been long and successfully defied, and that on a sacramental question.

The conciliar movement

Many who attended the Council of Constance had come there persuaded of the need of a thoroughgoing reform of the Church "in head and members." Various committees had been appointed and suggestions made, but in the end the council broke up without having accomplished much, leaving the task of reform to the new pope and a future council. A decree had been passed that another council should assemble at the end of five years, a second after seven years, and others every ten years thereafter. This revealed a strong tendency to introduce something like parliamentary and representative government into the Church, and to limit the pope's absolute power. Indeed, at the time of John XXIII's flight and attempt to break up the council, that body had passed the decree *Sacrosancta*, affirming the supremacy of the council over all Christians, even the pope, on the ground that it represented the entire Church and derived its power and inspiration directly from Christ. Martin V, therefore, had no desire for more councils, and the one which met at the end of five years at Siena accomplished nothing of moment. Neither did the pope execute the reform program which the Council of Constance had entrusted to him, because the most desired reforms were limitations of the excessive interference which the popes had come to exert in the local churches, especially in the three matters of appointments to ecclesiastical benefices, financial exactions, and the drawing of lawsuits to Rome Instead of reducing his own powers in these respects, Martin V gave his attention to the recovery of the Papal States in Italy.

Council of Basel

When, however, the failure of the crusades against the Hussites necessitated the calling of the Council of Basel, public opinion was again insisting upon a real reform in the Church in order to prevent the further spread of heresy The council was organized into four "holy deputations" in place of the four nations of the Council of Constance The first deputation dealt with matters of faith and heresy, the second, with peace with the Hussites, the third, with reform, the fourth, with miscellaneous matters Each deputation was reconstituted every four months, and a board of four passed on the credentials of the new members The president and other officials of each deputation were newly elected monthly Business was distributed among the four by a board of twelve made up of three members from each deputation, of whom two from each, or eight in all, retired monthly. The order of business within each deputation was determined by its president In each deputation a majority vote was decisive, while in the general assembly a majority of deputations was required, and a measure proposed by one deputation could be brought before the full meeting only after it had been submitted to the other three deputations and approved by two of them Very able men took part in the council, whose expenses were met by taxing the churches of all localities one twentieth of their income The universities, however, found difficulty in paying the expenses of their representatives

Eugenius IV and council

Martin V died before the council was opened by Cardinal Contarini, and the new pope, Eugenius IV (1431–1447), instead of attending the council, tried first to postpone it for eighteen months and then to have it meet in Italy at Bologna But the council refused to disband and reaffirmed the declaration made at Constance of its superiority even to the pope It then proceeded not only to arrange the compromise with the Utraquists, but to pass various decrees for the reformation of the Church In 1433 the pope was forced to make his peace with the council, which was supported by most of the European governments In that year Nicholas of Cusa wrote *De concordantia catholica,* in which he held that authority in councils does not depend on the head of the council but on the common consent of all But when the council continued to pass reform measures which were directed especially against the papacy, Eugenius IV broke with it again and held a rival assembly in 1438–1439, first at Ferrara and then at Florence, which arranged a fleeting union with the Eastern Church. Meanwhile the Council of Basel had deposed Eugenius, and it continued its sessions until 1449. By that time Europe had grown rather weary of the council and most rulers had decided in favor of Eugenius, who usually in return promised to observe more or less of the reform decrees of Basel, or to share his powers of appointing to ecclesiastical benefices with the secular rulers. Finally the Council of Basel recognized Eugenius's successor, Nicholas V, as pope and disbanded, and the conciliar movement was over. No further attempt by the Church as a whole to reform itself was made until after the Protestant revolt.

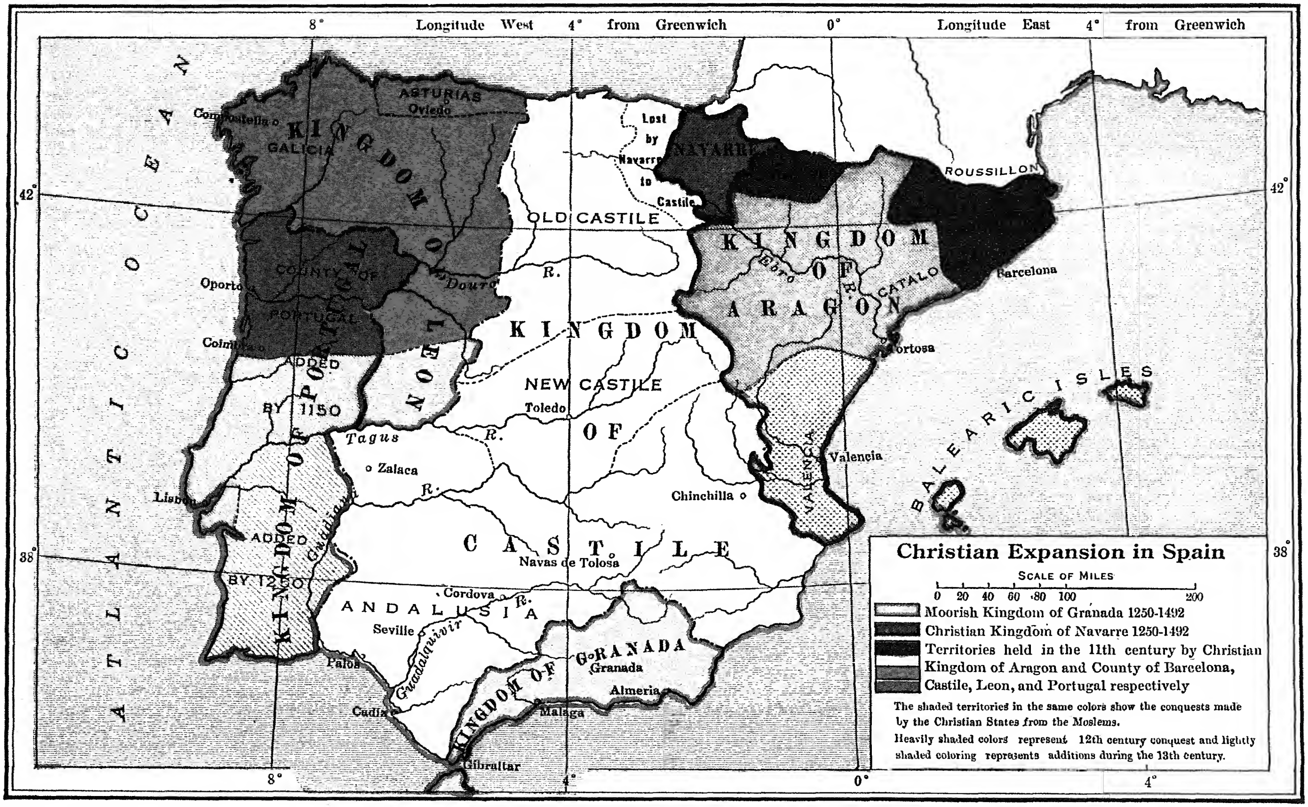
State reform of Church

Charles VII, however, by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, in 1438, had assured to the French churches regular meetings of provincial councils and freedom to fill their own church positions by election of bishops by chapters, and had strictly limited the papal income and appeals to the papal court from France. This was the foundation of the later liberties claimed by the Gallican Church. In 1482 Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile secured from the pope pretty complete control of the Church and even of the Inquisition in Spain, and proceeded to execute a thorough reformation of the Spanish clergy. They saw to it that the right sort of men became bishops, that the clergy in general were well educated and of high moral character, and that purity of doctrine was maintained. Germany and England secured no such gains, and so it was not surprising when later they took the lead in the Protestant revolt.

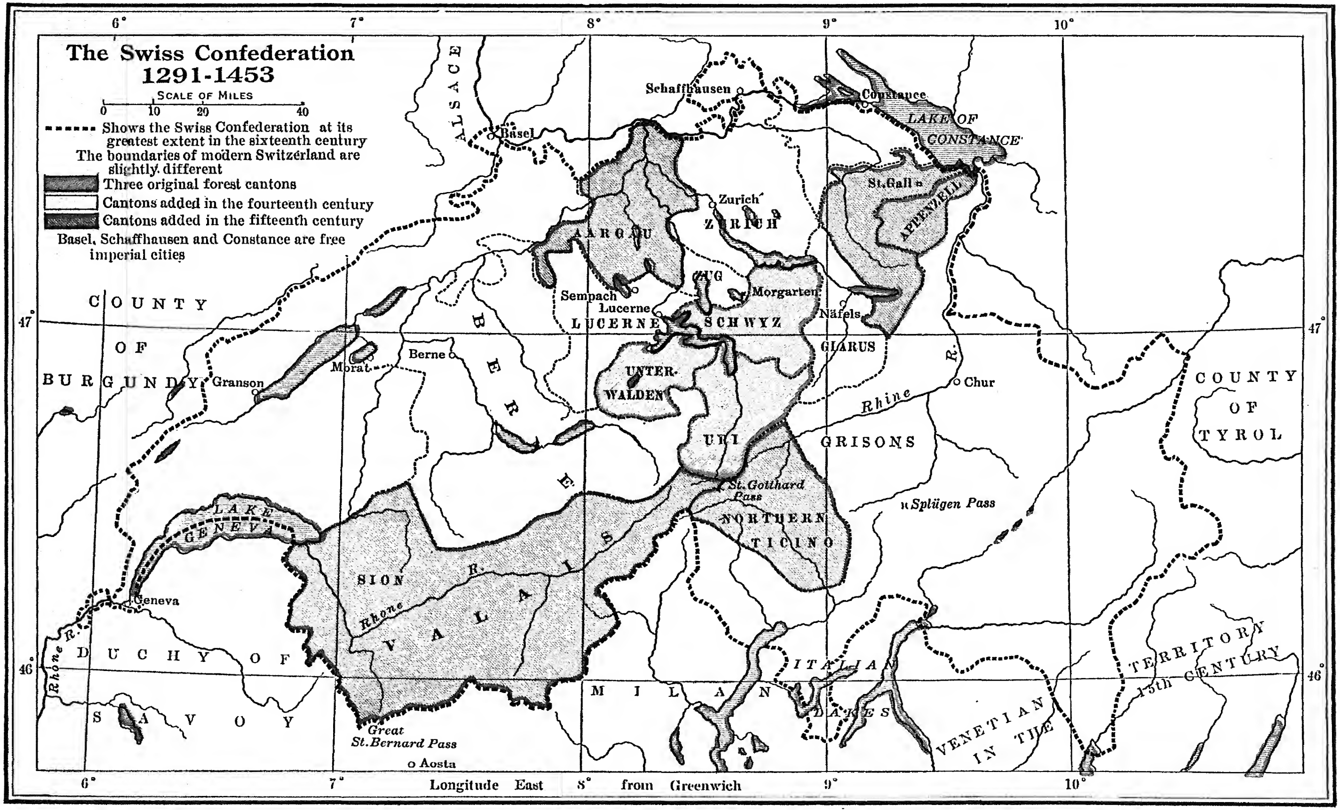
Monastic reform

Considerable monastic reform was achieved in the fifteenth century. Colette Boellet of Corbie (1381–1447) reformed the Poor Clares. The first half of the century saw such reform initiated in Germany at Bursfeld, Melk, and Windesheim, whose strict rule had spread by 1496 to a hundred branch monasteries, including some at Sens and Paris. In France many monastic orders were reformed at the end of the century by their own abbots and abbesses. In England in the early sixteenth century Cardinal Wolsey had taken some steps towards reforming the monasteries before his fall and the break with Rome. But asceticism and monastic orders did not make the same popular appeal as of yore. The decline of the friar orders continued through the fifteenth century. Their intellectual level was lowered, and unworthy persons received the doctorate. The general chapter of the Dominicans at Ferrara in 1494 bemoaned this, while at Paris by this time the teaching of both Aquinas and Scotus had passed into the hands of the secular clergy.

Two important religious works written in the early fifteenth century


Christian Expansion in Spain

Longitude West 4° from Greenwich
Longitude East 4° from Greenwich
8°
0°
4°
42°
38°
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 200
Moorish Kingdom of Granada 1250-1492
Christian Kingdom of Navarre 1250-1492
Territories held in the 11th century by Christian Kingdom of Aragon and County of Barcelona, Castile, Leon, and Portugal respectively
The shaded territories in the same colors show the conquests made by the Christian States from the Moslems.
Heavily shaded colors represent 12th century conquest and lightly shaded coloring represents additions during the 13th century.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGDOM OF LEON
ASTURIAS
Oviedo
GALICIA
Compostella
Oporto
Coimbra
COUNTY OF PORTUGAL
ADDED BY 1150
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
ADDED BY 1250
Lisbon
Douro
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
R.
Ebro
Lost by Navarre to Castile
NAVARRE
OLD CASTILE
NEW CASTILE
Toledo
KINGDOM OF CASTILE
Zalaca
Chinchilla
Navas de Tolosa
Cordova
ANDALUSIA
Seville
Palos
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Malaga
KINGDOM OF GRANADA
Granada
Almeria
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
CATALONIA
ROUSSILLON
Barcelona
Tortosa
VALENCIA
Valencia
BALEARIC ISLES



The Swiss Confederation
1291-1453

SCALE OF MILES

0 10 20 40

------ Shows the Swiss Confederation at its greatest extent in the sixteenth century

The boundaries of modern Switzerland are slightly different

▨ Three original forest cantons

☐ Cantons added in the fourteenth century

■ Cantons added in the fifteenth century

Basel, Schaffhausen and Constance are free imperial cities

6°
7°
8°
9°
10°
47°
46°
ALSACE
Basel
Schaffhausen
Constance
LAKE OF CONSTANCE
St.Gall
APPENZELL
Zurich
ZURICH
AARGAU
ZUG
Morgarten
Sempach
Lucerne
LUCERNE
SCHWYZ
Näfels
GLARUS
UNTER-WALDEN
URI
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
Granson
Morat
Berne
BERNE
Chur
Rhine
R.
GRISONS
COUNTY OF TYROL
St.Gotthard Pass
Splügen Pass
NORTHERN TICINO
LAKE GENEVA
SION
Rhone
R.
VALAIS
Geneva
DUCHY OF SAVOY
Rhone R.
Great St.Bernard Pass
Aosta
MILAN
ITALIAN LAKES
VENETIAN TERRITORY IN THE 15th CENTURY
Longitude East from Greenwich

Religious thought

were the *Imitation of Christ*, traditionally attributed to Thomas à Kempis, and the *Natural Theology* of Raymond de Sebonde, a work in which he sets out with great verve and assurance to demonstrate the truth of Christianity on natural grounds. Reginald Pecock in his *Repressor of Excessive Censure of the Clergy* took the Lollards to task for their excessive dependence on the Bible, to which he would add the judgment of conscience, reason, and natural law. He held that the Gospel of which the Apostle Paul said not one jot should be changed could not be the New Testament, since most of it was not yet written when Paul composed the *Epistle to the Corinthians*. He also denied that the Apostles' Creed was their work, and he criticized the church fathers. As a result of this premature biblical criticism he lost his bishopric and ended his days a prisoner in Thorney Abbey. Wessel Gansfort was another scholar who held liberal views and participated in debates at Paris but escaped condemnation, although he was later recognized by Luther as his forerunner.

Popular piety

Gansfort's early education had been with the Brethren of the Common Life, a fraternity of pious laymen in the Low Countries founded by Gerard Groote (1340–1384), who lived lives of celibacy, poverty, and religious contemplation, and copied and sold manuscripts to support themselves, and sometimes on feast days preached in the vernacular to the people. Their educational work began in connection with existing schools such as the chapter school at Deventer and the municipal school at Zwolle. At first they merely took in poor boys as lodgers, then began to give some elementary instruction to those pupils who were not yet far advanced enough to enter the local school which they had come to attend. Then the Brethren were employed as masters by the local authorities or opened schools of their own. Their discipline was harsh and the life monastic, and the boys had to work to pay for their board and lodging as well as study their lessons. But they had a number of famous graduates. Their devotional side illustrates the widespread popular piety, although this often expressed itself elsewhere in superstitious practices and purchase of indulgences. Saints' days and holidays, however, were seldom observed to the satisfaction of preachers and confessors.

The unreformed papacy

Against the popular thirst for religion we have to set an unreformed and Italianized papacy. After the conciliar movement was over, the popes devoted themselves largely to Italian affairs. They gave some attention to the Turkish menace, planning crusades against the advancing Moslems; they were still looked up to as international arbiters, as appears in the appeals of the Portuguese and Spanish sovereigns to the pope to sanction their exclusive title to all new discoveries in America and the East, but they neglected the problem of reforming the Church until it was unpleasantly forced upon their attention once more by the Protestant revolt For the present some of them played a prominent part in Italian politics, while others were patrons of art One or two were learned men themselves namely, Nicholas V, a librarian of note, and Pius II, who before his election was the humanist, Aeneas Sylvius (Figure 90) But his *Commentaries*, written while he was pope, are chiefly concerned with a detailed exposition of the political interrelations of the leading states of the Italian peninsula during those few years Our next chapter will deal much more briefly with the same subject over a much longer period of time

Failure of conciliar movement

The petering out of the Council of Basel in particular and the failure of the conciliar movement in general had marked the passing of medieval civilization in more ways than one Not only was the failure to settle relations between pope and council, and to effect any general reform in head and members, a calamity for the Church and foi religion which led on to the Protestant revolt of the sixteenth century and the increasing secularism of early modern times The political as well as the ecclesiastical institutions had been affected The Holy Roman Empire under Charles IV, himself from Luxemburg and founder of the first German university at Prague in Bohemia, had momentarily given promise of again becoming a force for international unity Then the Emperor Sigismund had taken the lead in calling the Council of Constance But the Hussite wars divided Czechs and Germans and did great damage both to property and popular liberty in Bohemia, while Frederick III abandoned the Council of Basel in favor of his own family and territorial interests This was true of the princes in general, while the self-interest of rising national states replaced the ideals of unity, reform, and local liberty. Not only the local clergy of bishopric and monastery but such intellectual centers as the universities and such leading thinkers as their representatives had finally failed in their effort to guide the course of events There was even more to it than this. Political thought had in the past been largely formed and influenced by the writings of theologians, canonists, and other clerical authors Hence the failure of the Church to establish a representative and parliamentary form of government and to satisfy local demands was a blow to democratic thinking and even to limited monarchy It was a gain for absolute rule in State as well as Church, a great loss to other institutions and to independent thought It was a failure comparable to that of the League of Nations after World War I and to the present difficulties of the United Nations.

Bibliographical Note

There is a partial translation of *Defensor pacis* by E Emerton *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol VII, chapters 4, 10, 16, 20, vol VIII, chapters 1, 2, 3 The histories of the papacy by Creighton and Pastor begin from the residence at Avignon On other topics D S Muzzey, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, V D Scudder, *Saint Catherine*, A Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance*

XXXII

Italian Politics

General features

THE ITALIAN PENINSULA was seldom visited by the Holy Roman Emperors in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and had its own separate history. The menace of French aggression remained for the most part dormant during the long period of the Hundred Years War. Foreign relations were more with Hungary to the east or the Spanish peninsula to the west. The thirteenth-century trends of which we have spoken continued to prevail: namely, the rise of despotisms, the wars of *condottieri* (Figures 86, 87), the aggrandizement of larger cities at the expense of smaller. This was especially the case in the north of Italy, and in the Papal States during the long absence of the pope from the peninsula and his residence at Avignon. While the rise of despotisms put an end to independent political activity on the part of the citizens in many Italian cities, in others experimentation with various forms of government and constitutional change and development continued, as will be illustrated presently by the examples of Venice, Florence, and Siena. The rise of despotisms was far, however, from putting an end to wars between the cities, since most despots were ambitious to extend their states' frontiers at the expense of their neighbors, while the most powerful rulers even aimed to make themselves supreme in the peninsula.

Northern Italy

In northern Italy in the fourteenth century there were nine important states. To the northwest, in or near the French Alps, the duchy of Savoy and the marquisate of Montferrat were old feudal principalities rather than city states. Genoa and Venice were great maritime powers, but through the middle of the century they engaged in a series of destructive naval conflicts which temporarily exhausted them both, although finally Genoa was the loser and the greater sufferer. In between Genoa and Venice came five great despotisms which became hereditary in certain ruling houses: at Milan the Visconti; at Verona the della Scala or Scaliger; at Mantua the Gonzaga; at Ferrara the House of Este — itself a small place north of Ferrara; and at the university town of Padua, which was the nearest to Venice, the

Carrara family Of these Milan ruled the largest territory, extending north to Como on the lake of that name, west to Novara and Asti, source of the famous sparkling wine *Asti spumanti*, and east to Cremona, later celebrated for its paintings and violins

Brescia, Emilian towns

This left in doubt the fate of Brescia, which lay between the territories of Milan and Verona, and that of the Emilian towns — Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna — which lie in a row in that order along the old Roman Aemilian road from slightly northwest to southeast The Emilian towns were captured for the papacy by a cardinal legate in 1325–1327, but in the latter year the Italian expedition of Louis of Bavaria nullified this papal acquisition When Brescia was besieged in 1330 by Mastino della Scala of Verona, the town called in the aid of King John of Bohemia — he who later went blind and died fighting on the field of Crécy The papal legate further offered him Parma, Reggio, and Modena as a fief But Florence, Venice, and Naples joined with the Ghibelline forces to drive him out of Italy As for Bologna, in 1350 Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, seized it and in 1352 forced the pope to accept his nephew as its vicar Urban V bought it back in 1364 Meanwhile another papal legate, Cardinal Albornoz, had between 1353 and 1363 recovered much of the territory and cities which were claimed by the pope as Papal States

Milan under the Visconti

In Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, after poisoning his uncle Bernabò in 1385 and making a French marriage for his daughter Valentina with Louis of Orléans, pursued a career of conquest and enlarged the Milanese territories In 1395, in order to legalize his despotism, he purchased the title of Duke of Milan from the Emperor Wenzel He died unexpectedly in 1402, leaving two young sons One of them was assassinated in 1412; the other, named Filippo Maria, resumed his father's policy of expansion and conquest He was also an able diplomat and financier, and Lombardy prospered under his rule. But in 1423 Florence declared war upon him, in 1425 Venice joined in The hostilities were conducted for both sides by mercenaries under the lead of *condottieri*, and many artful stratagems and heroic exploits were recorded

The unscrupulous and self-centered ambition of the local despot of those days is well illustrated by the story told of the ruler of Cremona who was executed at Milan in 1425 On the scaffold he said that the one thing which he regretted in his past life was that, when pope and emperor had visited him in 1414 and had decided to hold the Council of Constance, and the three had ascended the campanile, 396 feet in height, to enjoy the view, he had not obeyed an impulse to push them both off and then

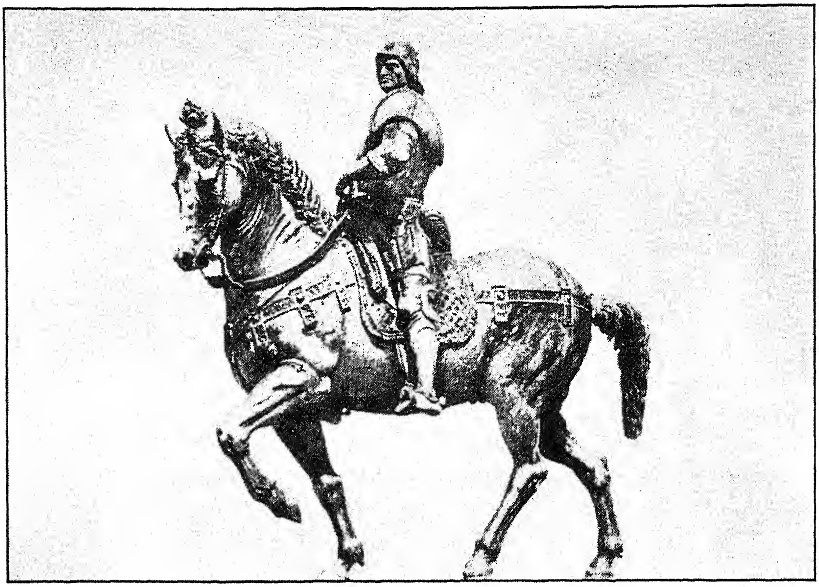


Figure 86

Equestrian statue of the condottiere Colleoni by Verrochio at Venice

profit by the political confusion which would have resulted to build up his own power. As it was, the emperor made him imperial vicar of Cremona.

Venice: foreign policy

Of Venetian ports, islands, and other possessions and trading interests in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, and of Venetian relations there with the Turks as well as with Genoa and Constantinople, we have treated or shall treat in other connections. Genoa also was Venice's greatest rival in the western Mediterranean and in trade with northern Europe. For a century after 1261, when the Genoese overthrew the Latin Empire at Constantinople, and 1284, when they decisively defeated the Pisans, their chief competitors on the west coast of Italy, Genoa was at the height of its power. Two great naval wars from 1350 to 1355 and from 1378 to 1381 ended the struggle of Genoa and Venice for maritime supremacy in favor of the latter. From 1396 to 1409 Genoa was under French control. During the second war with Genoa, however, Venice lost the Trevisan Mark to Austria, while Padua revolted from Venetian rule and was governed independently by the Carrara family. Venice was also on hostile terms with Hungary over Dalmatia, the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, which

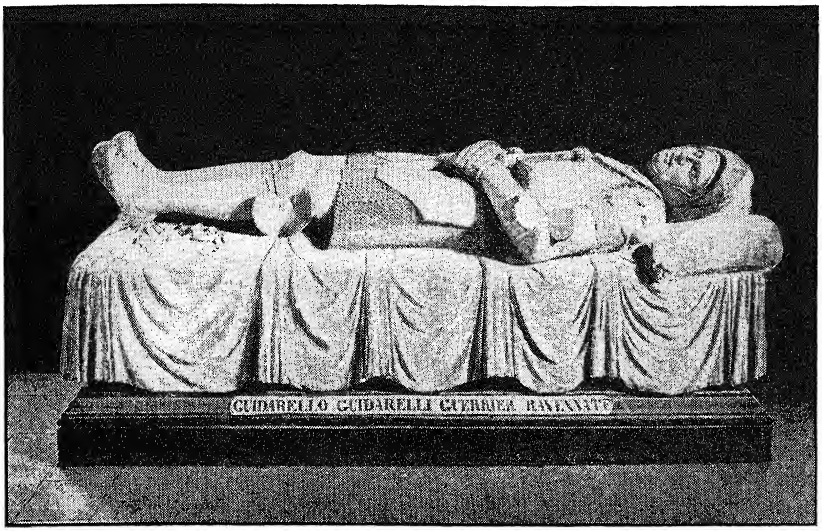


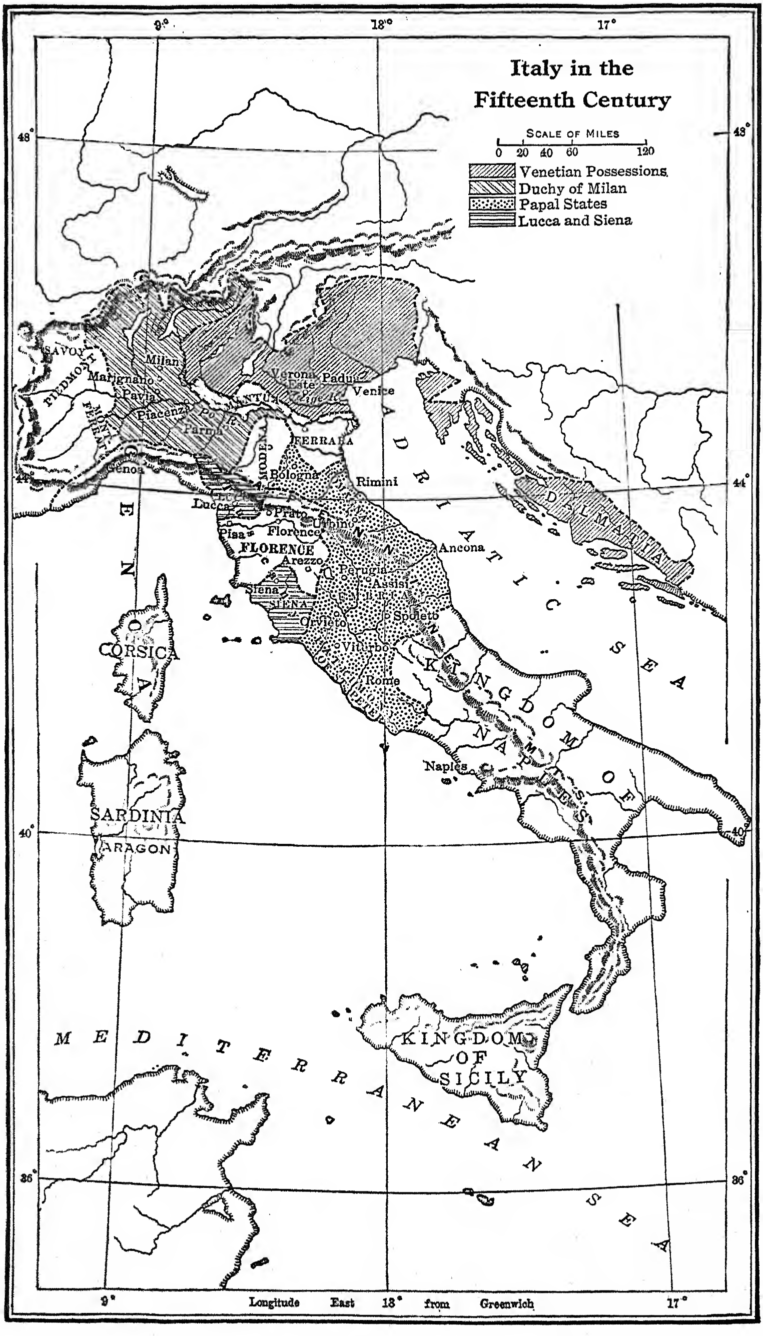
Figure 87

Funeral monument of Guidarello Guidarelli, Ravenna:
a condottiere (1468–1501) who died in the service of Caesar Borgia

it desired to control, not only for commercial reasons, but even more in order to secure a food-supply near at hand for its city population. In 1357–1358 Louis of Hungary rewon the Dalmatian coast from Venice. Until the fifteenth century Venice's interest in the Italian mainland was limited to keeping the routes through the Alpine passes open to its trade. But in the first half of that century the acquisition of considerable territory in the northeast of the peninsula brought Venice into close and frequently hostile relations with Milan, Florence, and the papacy, and made it no longer possible for the city to hold aloof from Italian politics as it had usually done hitherto.

The Council of Ten

In Venice, although to a less extent than in most Italian cities, since its constitution was far more stable than the average, first one magistracy and then another would come to the front and then drop to a secondary place in the constitution. After 1310 the Council of Ten gradually became perhaps the most potent single factor. In that year a dangerous conspiracy led to the establishment of this new board, which was at first intended as a temporary committee of public safety, but was afterward retained as a permanent feature of the constitution. Primarily it was a court before which persons dangerous to the State or guilty of gross immorality could be secretly tried and, if it



Italy in the Fifteenth Century

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 120
▨ Venetian Possessions
▨ Duchy of Milan
▨ Papal States
▨ Lucca and Siena
9°
13°
17°
48°
44°
40°
36°
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
MONTFERRAT
Milan
Marignano
Pavia
Piacenza
Parma
Po R.
MANTUA
Verona
Este
Padua
Venice
FERRARA
MODENA
Genoa
Bologna
Rimini
LUCCA
Lucca
Prato
Urbino
Pisa
Florence
FLORENCE
Arezzo
Perugia
Assisi
Ancona
Siena
SIENA
Orvieto
Spoleto
Viterbo
Rome
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
GENOA
CORSICA
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
SARDINIA
ARAGON
KINGDOM OF SICILY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude East from Greenwich

seemed best, secretly executed This body probably did much to prevent revolutions and to maintain the established form of government in which there was little further change during the remainder of the Middle Ages The Ten usually met together with the doge and his six councilors. Gradually they came, not merely to act as a secret court of treason and criminal tribunal, but, in the case of an emergency or when prompt action was urgent, to take a hand in foreign affairs and in the government of the city But they never ceased to be a committee of the nobility and responsible to them, for, like most of the Venetian magistracies, they were elected annually by the Great Council and could not be immediately re-elected

Good government

The fear instilled in the public mind by the secret and summary methods of the Council of Ten was perhaps not altogether unsalutary At any rate, it must be admitted that in general the Venetian aristocracy gave the city a very good government and one which was satisfactory enough to the mass of the population Its rule was strong and intelligent and left the common people undisturbed and prosperous The nobles worked hard for the State themselves, setting an example of patriotism to others The State, too, was so closely identified with the business prosperity of the city that everyone had a selfish interest in it Taxes were light; the laws were good, the courts numerous, and the settlement of cases speedy The city had a special court for foreigners, who often voluntarily brought their lawsuits to the Venetian courts to settle, so high was their reputation. The Church was carefully regulated by the State at Venice and did not exist as a conflicting and trouble-making jurisdiction

The government kept careful records and went at its problems in a systematic way, so that the city on the Adriatic has been called the birthplace of statistics Its ambassadors stood first among the diplomats of Europe and in early modern times sent home reports of conditions in other countries which are among history's most valued sources. When Cardinal Bessarion in 1468 bequeathed his collection of rare Greek manuscripts to Venice, where they are still preserved in the library of Saint Mark's, he used the following words of high praise:

> Of all the Italian towns, your illustrious city appeared to me most suitable for the purpose. What country could offer a safer asylum than yours, ruled in equity, obedient to the laws, and governed by integrity and wisdom; where virtue, moderation, gravity, justice, and loyalty have fixed their abode, where power, although very great and extensive, is also equitable and mild, where liberty is exempt from crime and license; where sages govern, and the good com-

mand the wicked, where individual interests are unanimously and unreservedly sacrificed to the public welfare.

Florence

Florence during the later Middle Ages brought most of the other towns of Tuscany under her sway and was more powerful than Pisa, Lucca, or Siena, her closest rivals. Her internal city government, after progressing for a while in the direction of democracy, had undergone a reaction and deteriorated into a virtual despotism under the cover of the old republican forms. In the fourteenth century the lesser gilds began to struggle for an equal share in the government with the fat gilds and ultimately won. Next the *Ciompi* (wool-carders), who did not belong to gilds at all, secured political rights by a revolution in 1378, only to lose them in a counter-revolution of 1382. Under the forms of the republic there then ensued a fifty-year rule by a political ring composed of a few burgher families. This oligarchy was very successful in foreign policy, but finally in 1435 was overthrown by Cosimo de' Medici, a wealthy banker (Figure 98).

Rule of the Medici

Cosimo was a political "boss" who had put himself at the head of a popular reaction against the oligarchy in power. He was careful, however, to keep all real power in his own hands, although he too preserved the old republican forms. Much use was made of a practice known as *balìa*, which had become common in the Italian cities, by which power was delegated to a committee or individual for a limited time or purpose. Cosimo catered to the lower classes in the city and to the peasantry outside the walls, while he taxed the wealthy citizens heavily and was harsh toward men of too prominent family or political promise. Antonino, Archbishop of Florence (1389–1459), had the courage to post on the cathedral door a letter written in his own hand urging the citizens to maintain the secret ballot, but his advice was unavailing. Finally, in 1480, Lorenzo de' Medici set up a Council of Seventy whose members were to hold office for life and to fill their own vacancies.

Both Cosimo (1435–1464) and his grandson, Lorenzo (1469–1492), were generous patrons of art and letters and among the most enlightened of the despots. They preserved order and were peacefully inclined. Astute diplomats, they were aided in the field of foreign affairs by their extensive banking connections and loans to other European governments. Cosimo was a good businessman; Lorenzo, a very engaging personality.

The republican government of Florence had been crippled by the eagerness of all its citizens to hold office and by their general reluctance to allow any one person to hold office for any length of time. They therefore multiplied magistracies until these conflicted with one another, shortened the term of office in most cases to two months, and elected their officials by lot Thus authority was too divided, the time in office was too short for anyone to accomplish much or acquire experience, and officials were not selected with a view to their fitness. The clever and conceited Florentines, however, believed that they were all capable of holding any office But really some political ring or boss was needed behind the scenes to run things, especially the intricacies of foreign affairs The method of election by lot, too, lent itself to such external control. A "scrutiny" was first held for the purpose of determining who were "good citizens", that is, acceptable to party or person in power The names of these citizens were then placed in bags and were drawn out from time to time as there were offices to fill until the bags were empty, when a new scrutiny would be held Whoever had hold of the bags evidently controlled the situation To have any real change a revolution was necessary, and when a revolution occurred the old bags were always destroyed whether they were emptied yet or not

Defects of constitution

The internal political development of Siena was along more democratic lines. In 1277 the nobles had been excluded from the supreme council, which was soon reduced to nine members taken from the burgher middle class It gave good government for some time, but deteriorated into a close oligarchy In 1355, in connection with the first Italian expedition of the Emperor Charles IV, it was overthrown in favor of a council of twelve from the lower classes, which remained in power until 1368, when a series of shifts took place, resulting in a board of fifteen, of whom three were taken from the party of the old "Niners," four from the party of the Twelve, and eight from elements in the population hitherto unrepresented When Charles IV, now on his second Italian expedition, tried to restore the rule of the Twelve, he was defeated and captured, and obliged to recognize the new government When a famine occurred in 1371, the wool-carders staged a revolt, plundered the houses of the wealthy, and replaced the three Niners and four Twelvers by seven representatives of their own. Their revolt, however, like that of the *Ciompi* at Florence, was soon crushed There were many subsequent ups and downs in the formation of the chief magistracy and the allocation of places on it to different classes and parties, and for a few years Siena came under the rule of Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan. But on the whole the government was representative of the population of the city, and the townspeople continued to be politically active.

Siena

Rome and Rienzo

Of popular uprisings in cities within the Papal States two examples may be given: the one at Rome itself, the other at Bologna. Cola di Rienzo, "the last of the tribunes," was a notary of humble birth. Inspired by the perusal of classical and mystical literature, he aroused the people of Rome, but remained in power only from May to December, 1347. After spending two years in the Apennine mountains with Fraticelli who regarded him as a prophet, he went off to Germany to try to gain the support of the emperor. But Charles IV sent him a prisoner to the pope at Avignon. Other popular leaders who succeeded him proved no more satisfactory, so in 1354 the pope sent Rienzo back to Rome to see what he could do a second time. He proved to be too tyrannical and was killed by the populace before the year was out.

Bologna, John of Legnano

On March 19, 1376, amid scenes of wild enthusiasm, with shouts of "Long live the people and liberty," and raising of a red flag embroidered with the word, *Libertas,* the city of Bologna proclaimed itself a republic. However, the citizens were persuaded to return to allegiance to the papacy for a term of five years by John of Legnano, who had been lecturing at the University of Bologna since 1350 and who in 1360 during the siege of the town by Cardinal Albornoz had composed a work on war in which he justified it as a medicament for the noxious humors of the body politic. He was named papal vicar, was generally liked, and so was continued in office until his death in 1382–1383. In connection with the revolt of 1376 he composed a treatise on *The Rights of the Roman Church over the City of Bologna,* in which he held that the uprising had been the work of a minority, and that, while the slogan "Long live the people and liberty" sounded well, there was no such thing as liberty under popular government.

The kingdom of Naples

After the death of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples from 1309 to 1343, and a patron of writers and scholars, that kingdom fell into a state of chaos. Joanna, his 'teen-aged successor, first married a Hungarian cousin whom she soon had strangled. Marrying another cousin, she fled to Provence, and in order to win over the pope she sold him Avignon for a low price. The death of her second husband in 1362 occasioned more family murders. After a short third marriage with Jayme III of Majorca, she made her fourth and final wedding with Otto of Brunswick, but died childless in 1382. An equally notorious queen was Joanna II who passed away in 1435.

The King of Aragon had annexed Majorca in 1344 and through the rest of the century tried to conquer and hold Sardinia and Corsica. A younger branch of the Aragonese royal line had been ruling Sicily. When

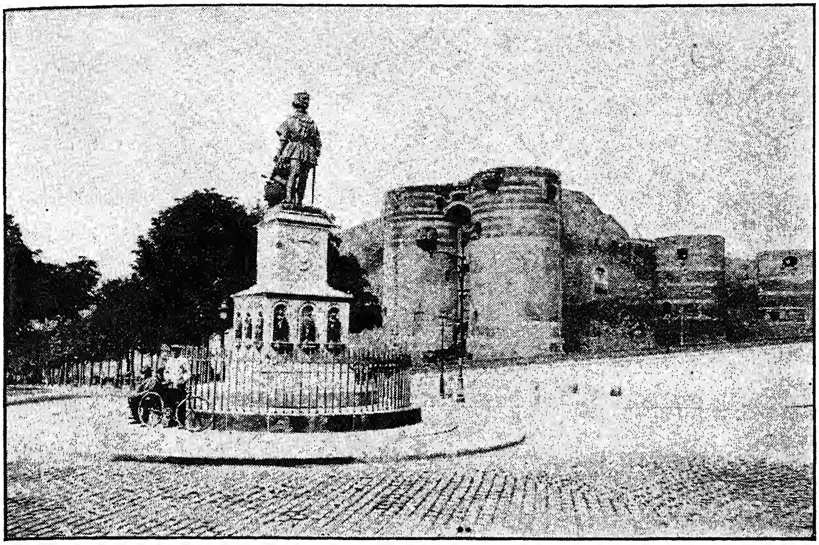


Figure 88

Statue of René of Anjou (1409–1480), titular King of Naples and Sicily, Duke of Anjou and Maine, Count of Provence, before the castle of Angers

The House of Aragon

Frederick III of Sicily died in 1377, his daughter Maria fled to Barcelona, where she married a grandson of Peter IV or the Ceremonious, King of Aragon. This grandson, whose name was Martin, spent several years in reconquering the kingdom of Sicily. His wife Maria died in 1402 and he followed her to the grave in 1409. Thereupon Sicily reverted to the main line in the person of the King of Aragon.

Alfonso V or the Magnanimous, who reigned in Aragon from 1416 to 1458, on hearing of the death of Joanna II in 1435, set out to take the kingdom of Naples, although she had recognized René of Anjou (Figure 88) of the hitherto ruling Angevin house as her successor. But the Genoese defeated his fleet and took him prisoner, handing him over for safe-keeping to their ally, Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan. Alfonso, however, persuaded Filippo to release him and to ally with him against Genoa and Florence, and so eventually in 1442 succeeded in adding Naples to his other Mediterranean kingdoms of Aragon, Majorca, Sardinia, and Sicily. When Alfonso V died, his brother became King John II of Aragon and the islands, but the kingdom of Naples on the Italian peninsula went to his illegitimate son, Ferrante I, who reigned there from

1458 to 1494 Such were the ups and downs, the criss-crossing and double-crossing, of the Italian politics of that period

On the death of Filippo Maria in 1447 a republic was set up in Milan The condottiere, Francesco Sforza, had married Filippo's daughter and had fought both for him and with Venice against him Now he was taken into the service of the republic and fought against Venice, but then changed sides again Finally both Milan and Venice combined against him, but he laid siege to Milan and forced the starving citizens to overthrow the republic and accept him as lord of Milan rather than Alfonso of Naples, whom Filippo had designated as his successor, or Charles of Orléans, who claimed the duchy as the son of Valentina Visconti Sforza further succeeded in 1454 in making a defensive league with Venice and Florence Naples and the papacy were also persuaded to join Of Italian states only Genoa and Rimini, under its despot Sigismondo Malatesta, were excluded, while the Swiss Confederation was included Provisions were made for mutual defense and for arbitration of disputes between members But when Sforza entered Genoa as master in 1464, Venice declared that he had violated the league Ten years later Lorenzo de' Medici succeeded in forming a league among Milan, Florence, and Venice, but Naples and the papacy held aloof and made an alliance of their own. The states just mentioned may be regarded as the five leading powers in Italy

Sforza in Milan

In 1492 the death of Lorenzo de' Medici left Florence under the rule of his incompetent son, Piero, and deprived Italy of an able diplomat who had preserved peace and the balance of power between the rival states into which that peninsula was divided Charles VIII of France in 1491 at the age of twenty-one had married Anne of Brittany despite the efforts of the Emperor Maximilian, Henry VII of England, and Ferdinand of Aragon to prevent it He now determined to conquer the kingdom of Naples, taking advantage of the claim which René of Provence and Anjou had bequeathed to Charles's father, Louis XI, against the actual ruler, Ferrante of the Aragonese line Charles was urged to invade Italy by Lodovico Sforza, who was usurping the throne of Milan at the expense of his nephew and against whom Florence and Naples were conspiring Before setting out Charles found it necessary to protect his rear by concessions to Henry VII, Maximilian, and Ferdinand. He bought Henry off with money; Maximilian with Artois, Charolais, and the county of Burgundy; and ceded to Ferdinand Cerdagne and Roussillon in the Pyrenees In 1494 he crossed the Alps with an army composed of 10,000 Swiss, 24,000 French archers and 12,000 bowmen from Brittany and Gascony, and about 15,000 cavalry

Expedition of Charles VIII

Savonarola

Lodovico gave Charles free passage through his territory. Venice held aloof. In Florence the effect of Charles's approach was the overthrow of Piero de' Medici and the ascendancy of the Dominican friar, Savonarola, who set up an aristocratic constitution modeled after Venice and its Great Council. The Florentine capitalists had begun to abandon industrial and commercial activity and to invest their money in agriculture and country estates. Savonarola represented a reaction against this and proposed a tax upon real estate only. He was also a popular preacher who had been conducting a religious revival in Florence, denouncing the sins of the time and the abuses in the Church, especially at the papal court. Machiavelli heard him attacking "your books, O priests, and treating you in a way that even dogs would not endure." Savonarola also assumed the role of a prophet and seer of visions, and had much to say about a scourge of God which was coming upon the Italians for their sins. The appearance of Charles VIII seemed to the people a fulfillment of this prediction. "This friar," wrote the cynical Machiavelli, "is coloring his lies to suit the times." Savonarola made an alliance with Charles and urged him to proceed to Rome and reform the papacy.

Alexander VI, Caesar Borgia

The pope at this time, of whom Machiavelli heard Savonarola say "everything that can be said of any great villain," was the notorious Alexander VI of the Spanish family of Borgia. Before becoming pope he had some reputation as a theologian, but as pope he devoted himself largely to politics and especially to building up a principality for his illegitimate son, Caesar, and negotiating influential marriages for his daughter, Lucrezia. Caesar hesitated at no violence or crime to accomplish his political designs, and both he and his father were popularly believed to be adepts at poisoning. Their reputation in this particular is probably grossly exaggerated. But Alexander actually negotiated with the infidel Turks against the Christian king, Charles VIII. The importance of Alexander VI and Caesar Borgia, however, is not that they were monsters seldom seen in history, but that they were representative of the popes and despots of their time. The cardinals knew well enough that Alexander had children when they chose him pope, and his immediate predecessor had had children too. As for Caesar, Machiavelli in his famous book, *The Prince*, selected him as the model for all who would become despots.

Charles did not pause at Rome to reform the papacy or to depose Alexander VI, but hurried on to Naples. Ferrante I had died in 1494, his successor, Alfonso II, resigned in favor of Ferrante II, who in his turn fled before the French without a struggle. But after Charles had wintered

In and out of Naples

in Naples, the situation in the north of the peninsula began to assume a dangerous aspect, and the doors which had swung open so readily before him now seemed about to be bolted behind him. Ferdinand and Maximilian had united with Milan, Venice, and the pope in the League of Venice against him He left half his army, which a winter of dissipation had somewhat enervated, to hold Naples and hurried home with the rest before Ferdinand and Maximilian could stop him. Venice and Milan, however, nearly did so in the indecisive battle of Fornovo The French troops who had been left behind in Naples were soon expelled, and the Aragonese line returned in the person of its fourth ruler within two years, Federigo

Fate of Savonarola

The only one in Italy who remained true to the French was Savonarola, and his government in Florence ended with his burning at the stake on the charge of heresy in 1498 He had tried to effect a puritanical reform in the manners and morals of the Florentines, and had induced them to destroy a great pile of "vanities" in the enthusiasm of the moment, but they soon tired of his strictness His unfavorable attitude drove many artists away from Florence to other centers The Medici and the pope were of course both bitterly opposed to him A final reason for his fall was that he was, as Machiavelli remarked, "a weaponless prophet"

Policy of Louis XII

In the same year that Savonarola was executed, Charles VIII died childless and Louis XII of the Orléans line came to the throne Through his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, he had a claim to Milan, which he proceeded to occupy, imprisoning Lodovico As for Naples, Louis made the mistake of arranging with Ferdinand that they should conquer it together and divide it equally Ferdinand soon occupied it all and forced Louis to sell out his rights. This brought a third of the peninsula directly under Spanish rule. the recent Aragonese rulers of Naples had not been kings of Aragon, still less of a united Spain as Ferdinand was.

Bibliographical Note

Cambridge Medieval History, vol. VII, chapter 3, vol VIII, chapters 5, 6 Sedgwick, *Short History of Italy*, chapters 19–28; Symonds, *Age of the Despots*, chapters 3, 4, 7, *Short History of the Italian Renaissance*, chapters 3, 4; also histories of Venice, Florence, Siena, etc The work of John of Legnano on war was sumptuously edited by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1917, with an English translation on pages 207–374. *The Prince* of Machiavelli, a wonderful pen-picture of the politics of the period, may also be had in English translation

XXXIII

Germany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Lack of unity

GERMAN HISTORY in the later Middle Ages lacks unity compared to that of France or of England, and is more closely connected with lands to the east like Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, and with the countries about the Baltic Sea to the north, than it is with the states of western Europe. Germany was nominally under the rule of one emperor, but really had become a shifting chaos of principalities and powers, great and small. Various local dynasties rose and fell, increased or diminished in territory, impinged upon or gave way to one another. Among these some are worth noting as the later founders of modern states. Important also are certain co-operative forms of government which developed in this period: the Hanseatic League of cities in the north, the military order of Teutonic Knights in the northeast, the Swiss Confederation in the southwest. In the later Middle Ages Germans, although divided politically, were still expanding territorially. Teutonic colonists thronged into Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary; the Knights conquered and converted Poles and Letts, the Hanse towns acquired a commercial supremacy over Denmark, Norway, and Sweden — in fact, from the east coast of England to Novgorod they almost monopolized trade. German cities in general flourished in the later Middle Ages as never before: the great southern cities of Augsburg and Nurnberg reached the height of their prosperity about 1500. In the thirteenth century German public opinion had been interested in general problems of Church and Empire, in the fourteenth century it was concerned chiefly with local subjects. The imperial cities now became prominent in verse and song.

The Golden Bull

While the authority of the Holy Roman Emperor had declined, that of the seven electors was defined in permanent written legal form in the Golden Bull of the Emperor Charles IV in 1356, but this was for the most part a rehearsing of what had long been customary. It may be regarded as the chief constitutional document in the history of medieval Germany and thus somewhat comparable to Magna Carta in English history Whereas the Great Charter shows us a united action by the baronage which was something akin to a national opposition and which later perpetuated itself in the Parliament, the Golden Bull reveals the great local lords as the chief power in the empire and is largely devoted to their ceremonial functions and political privileges It is treason to attack their persons, they elect the emperor and hold the chief offices about his person, in their own territories they may coin money and collect taxes and hold independent courts. While the imperial office is elective, the office and lands of each lay electorate are to be transmitted hereditarily observing the rule of primogeniture and territorial indivisibility

Many petty states

The electors, however, were not able to monopolize such rights for themselves, a number of other lords were equally independent in their local government. But the rule of primogeniture was not universally followed; family lands were sometimes partitioned among several sons, and intermarriage also kept altering boundaries Germany came to be composed of two or three hundred little states There were ecclesiastical principalities ruled by archbishops, bishops, and abbots, there were dukes and counts and margraves and landgraves There were simple knights with perhaps a solitary castle and not enough lands and subjects to support them, so that some resorted to plunder and private warfare and were hence known as "robber knights" But even such nobles often claimed to be independent sovereigns Then there were the free or imperial cities which also undertook to govern themselves and recognized only the vague authority of the emperor over them The territories of these lords and states, great and small, wound in and out among one another, and their jurisdictions overlapped and conflicted in a way to make the preservation of peace and order practically impossible, and feud and neighborhood war practically certain And it was easy for criminals and outlaws and fugitive serfs to escape across the frontier of one petty state into the territory of another

Courts of the Vehm

This defect was to some extent remedied by an organization whose members in the fourteenth century existed in all parts of Germany and which is known as the *Vehm* or *Fehm* This society had grown out of earlier local courts among the people in Westphalia. Some of its meetings were open to the general public, but others were secret, especially those concerned with criminal justice and with witchcraft or heresy It was these secret tribunals that were of the most importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries The penalty for any outsider who intruded at one of these secret sessions was death Any freeman, however, who was of honest birth and character was qualified to apply for membership and be initiated into the mysteries of the organization Such an initiate took a solemn oath to assist his associates in serving summonses on accused persons and in executing the sentences of the Vehmic courts, and was then informed of the passwords and secret signs by which the *Wissendi* of the Vehm recognized one another

The only penalty of these criminal courts was death If three or more members of the Vehm caught a criminal red-handed in the act, they killed him on the spot without further trial Otherwise crimes were investigated by the method of sworn inquest, every member of the Vehm being pledged to tell what he could of crimes in his neighborhood Having thus determined whom they should accuse and bring to trial, the next step was to summon the accused before the Vehm This was done mysteriously by nailing a notice on a tree or leaving it in some other spot where the accused would be sure to see it, but would not know who had posted it At the trial, if the accused appeared and were himself a member of the Vehm, he could usually clear himself of the charges against him by his solitary oath If not himself a member, he would have to produce more oath-helpers who were members to swear on his behalf than had already taken oath against him If, however, as many as twenty-one initiates gave their oaths in his favor, he was acquitted anyway If condemned and present, he was executed without delay Otherwise it was the duty of the first member of the Vehm who met him to hang him to the nearest tree, leaving by his side a knife marked with the cryptic symbols, "S S G G ," to show that the Vehm had done its work

This impressive method of intimidating the criminal classes, which reminds us of lynchings and vigilance committees, but whose self-help and summary procedure were to a large extent a survival of primitive German custom, was favorably received by the society of the time, as the Vehm proved more efficacious than any other court Only at a later date did the secret character of the organization breed abuses and call forth complaints and lead finally to its suppression In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it was joined by entire cities, by bishops and great lords, and finally by the emperor himself, who encouraged this rough-and-ready way of dealing with offenders against justice because he had nothing better to offer — indeed, had no imperial system of justice

No imperial policy

It was almost impossible for the emperor to maintain order between the various principalities or to carry out any policy dealing with Germany as a whole, especially since no institutions of imperial government had been developed in the past, and since the heads of the local states seldom co-operated loyally with him in any proposed measures for the general welfare Whether from these reasons or from mere selfish ambition, the emperors in the later Middle Ages were apt to employ the term of their office and their imperial power chiefly in extending their own family possessions within or without the boundaries of the empire These local lordships they could hope to hand on to their sons, whereas the imperial office might go to some other family upon their death For money, troops, administrative assistance, and the like, the emperor had to rely mainly upon the particular state of which he had been head before he became emperor If he exploited it for the benefit of the empire, he would be likely to ruin the possessions of which his family had hitherto been reasonably sure It seemed better and safer for him to exploit the imperial office, to which he had been fortunate enough to be elected, and to make what marriages and diplomatic alliances and territorial acquisitions he could for the benefit of his family

The German Diet

If the person holding the imperial office did little for the good of Germany and of the empire as a whole, the general assembly or Diet or Reichstag of the princes and nobility did still less This body was poorly attended and seldom accomplished anything or even gave the emperor hearty support when he had proposals to make for the general welfare The free cities desired representation in this body, but were kept out by the feudal lords until the close of the fifteenth century. It should be added that most of the principalities into which the empire was divided had, if they were of any size, their own assemblies of the local nobility with whom the head of the state had to consult in all important legislation and financial matters

Ruling houses

Louis IV or Louis of Bavaria finally won out over the rival Hapsburg candidate for the imperial crown, Frederick of Austria The Hapsburgs, however, continued to hold Austria and adjacent territories, to which in 1363 they added the Tyrol or eastern Alps Louis was of the Wittelsbach family, which had originated with Liutpold, the most powerful magnate in Bavaria at the close of the ninth century, and which was to continue as the ruling house there until 1918. After him the Luxemburg house returned to power in the person of Charles IV (1347–1378), who published the Golden Bull, and his son, Wenzel, who was deposed in 1400. Wenzel was so addicted to intoxicants that any one wishing to make sure of finding him sufficiently sober to transact state business did well to interview him early in the day He was apt to be found under the table by the end of breakfast. It is one of the little ironies of history that one of the chief extant monuments associated with this emperor is the bronze font in which he was baptized at the church of Saint Sebaldus, Nurnberg, while the margins of his manuscript copy of a German translation of the Bible are adorned with washtubs and bathing girls Wenzel's reign was marked by wars between leagues of cities, leagues of knights, and the greater territorial princes There were associations of knights in Hesse, Westphalia, Franconia, southern Germany, and along the Rhine The two chief city leagues were those of Swabia and of the Rhine The Swabian League was formed in 1376 when fourteen towns banded together to resist new taxes levied by Charles IV In two years' time the membership increased to eighty-nine towns Wenzel was helpless before this situation, but the princes inflicted some defeats upon the towns, until in 1389 both sides agreed to dissolve their leagues

Sigismund, 1410–1437

After Rupert, who had previously been Count of the Palatinate, had disputed the imperial title for ten years with Wenzel, who refused to remain deposed, Sigismund, a younger son of Charles IV, was elected emperor in 1410 He finally prevailed upon his brother Wenzel to yield the throne to him, and outlived another claimant, named Jobst Sigismund was full of schemes, but for want of support was unable to carry most of them out He succeeded, however, in getting together the great church council at Constance which healed the triple schism in the papacy He found it so hard to get any money with which to pay his expenses while in the empire that he absented himself from it during much of his reign, especially since he had important possessions and problems outside of Germany Sigismund tacitly confessed his inability to maintain order and justice in the empire by joining the courts of the Vehm

Sigismund also established two German dynasties that endured until World War I The Wettin line, whom he made electors of Saxony, later became its kings The Hohenzollerns, whom his father had made princes of the empire, he further raised to electors of Brandenburg, which in modern times they developed into the powerful kingdom of Prussia and the great German Empire The Hohenzollerns got their name from the height of Zollern in the Swabian Alps where their original castle was located In 1191 Count Frederick III of Hohenzollern succeeded the Burgrave of Nurnberg, whose daughter he had married, and Frederick VI was still Burgrave of Nurnberg when Sigismund made him an elector. But the family had also acquired Ansbach, Bayreuth, Culmbach, and estates in Austria In 1427 the Hohenzollerns sold out their rights as burgraves to the city of Nurnberg

With the death of Sigismund in 1437 the House of Luxemburg became extinct in the male line, so his son-in-law, Albert II of Austria, was chosen as his successor. With Albert began a practically unbroken succession of the Hapsburg family to the imperial office until its abolition by Napoleon in 1806. Frederick III, who followed the brief rule of Albert II, had a long reign from 1440 to 1493 and was succeeded by his brilliant but erratic son, Maximilian.

Italy, papacy, west frontier

After the downfall of the Hohenstaufens no emperor visited Italy until Henry VII, who died there without having accomplished much. The efforts of the next emperor, Louis of Bavaria, to maintain an Italian policy involved him in a struggle with the papacy in which he was humiliated and all but lost his throne. His successor, Charles IV, was inactive in Italy and submissive to the papacy, and, although he went to Rome to be crowned, promised the pope not to stay there overnight. The pope himself at this time was still at Avignon, but was none the less jealous of any imperial activity in Italy. By Sigismund's time the pope had returned to Rome and quite a ceremony was made of that emperor's coronation, which did not occur until almost the close of his reign. Frederick III was the last emperor to be crowned at Rome. One might almost say that with him the medieval or Holy Roman Empire ended and the Hapsburg monarchy began. Through the later Middle Ages first the kings of France and then the dukes of Burgundy pushed their boundaries eastward at the expense of fiefs supposed to belong to the empire.

Grievances and reforms

During the reign of Sigismund some futile efforts had been made by the German diet to reform the imperial constitution and to secure a standing army supported by regular taxation. Nicholas of Cusa in 1433 suggested that a new method of electing the emperor be adopted, that the diet meet annually at Frankfort, that the empire be divided into twelve districts with a tribunal composed of a cleric, a nobleman, and a townsman for each district, that taxation be reformed and law and custom simplified, that a standing army be maintained at public expense. The so-called *Reformation of King Sigismund*, of which the authorship is disputed, attacked the electors as weakening the empire. It also opposed ecclesiastical landlords, serfdom and certain feudal customs. It would abolish gilds, allow no man to engage in more than one trade, and assure an equal income to members of the same calling. It advised setting up four imperial vicars to settle legal disputes, making access to citizenship in the towns easier, and having free communication throughout the empire, with only enough tolls charged to maintain bridges and roads. Like many writings of the time, it opposed depreciation of the coinage and the raising of prices by middlemen.

The leagues of the Rhine and Swabian cities to which we have already

Swiss Confederation

referred were not permanent federations But out of the ruins of the old Hohenstaufen duchy of Swabia developed from the thirteenth century on a union of cantons and towns which was the beginning of modern Switzerland The first stages of this development were made at the expense of the House of Hapsburg The oldest historical document concerning the Swiss Confederation which has come down to us dates from 1291 and records a defensive league formed between the three forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, located about the Lake of Lucerne There had, however, been an earlier union, but the story of William Tell is a later legend This defensive league was against the Hapsburg family, whose feudal claims in these territories the natives had disputed, asserting their right to self-government and to immediate relations with the imperial authority In short, they rebelled against their feudal lords and became rural communes like so many other places in western Europe Rudolf of Hapsburg had recognized only Uri as directly under imperial authority Adolf of Nassau added Schwyz, and Henry VII extended the privilege to Unterwalden Both these emperors were hostile to the Hapsburgs and glad to encourage their foes

Swiss expansion

Although supposedly a league for defense only, the three forest cantons speedily, attacked and plundered neighboring Hapsburg possessions In 1315 the Hapsburgs led an army against them but were defeated in the battle of Morgarten Other rural districts and towns which desired to escape from Hapsburg control joined the three forest cantons during the next half-century Some of them were temporarily recovered by the Hapsburgs, but at Sempach in 1386 and at Nafels in 1388 the Austrians were defeated They then recognized the independence of eight cantons, including the three original ones, Lucerne, Glarus, Zug, and the towns of Berne and Zurich. In 1403 the Bishop of Sion and the peasants of the Valais were brought under the protection of the league, in 1411 Appenzell, in 1412 the town of Saint Gall By aggression the Swiss also added to the territory under their control a region to the south of the Saint Gotthard pass, and to the northeast of the Lake of Lucerne the Aargau together with the original Hapsburg castle The confederates now reached from the Italian lakes to the Jura Mountains and the Lake of Constance Jealousy and dissension broke out, however between the rural and urban members of the confederation, and when Zurich was worsted in a local war with Schwyz it allied with Austria against the forest cantons. But they again proved unconquerable, and in 1450 Zurich returned to the league and Austria gave up its hopes of recovering the Aargau. Of the defeat of Charles the Bold by the Swiss we shall speak later.

Like Rudolf of Hapsburg, most of his successors in the empire had very slight authority in the north of Germany and paid little attention to that region Therefore the towns, deprived of imperial protection and free from imperial interference, formed leagues among themselves for mutual protection and trade In the first half of the thirteenth century Lubeck and Hamburg united in a treaty of defense and offense, maintaining a common armed force and fleet to police the highways and the rivers Elbe and Trave Gradually these smaller local unions became merged in one extensive Hanseatic League, so called from the word "hanse" meaning a gild or union for trade The traders of northern Germany had early pushed into foreign countries For instance, at Wisby off the Swedish coast on the island of Gotland merchants from as many as thirty German towns were represented and formed an association — some were from places as far west as Cologne and Utrecht It was through such co-operation in foreign trade that the Hanseatic League was formed, a loose union primarily for commercial purposes of some seventy cities Just when it came into existence would be hard to say, and its membership fluctuated a great deal The first official mention of it occurs late in 1358. The towns in it can scarcely be said to have formed a political federation, but they held assemblies, arranged with one another for the extradition of criminals, and sometimes waged war

The Hanseatic League

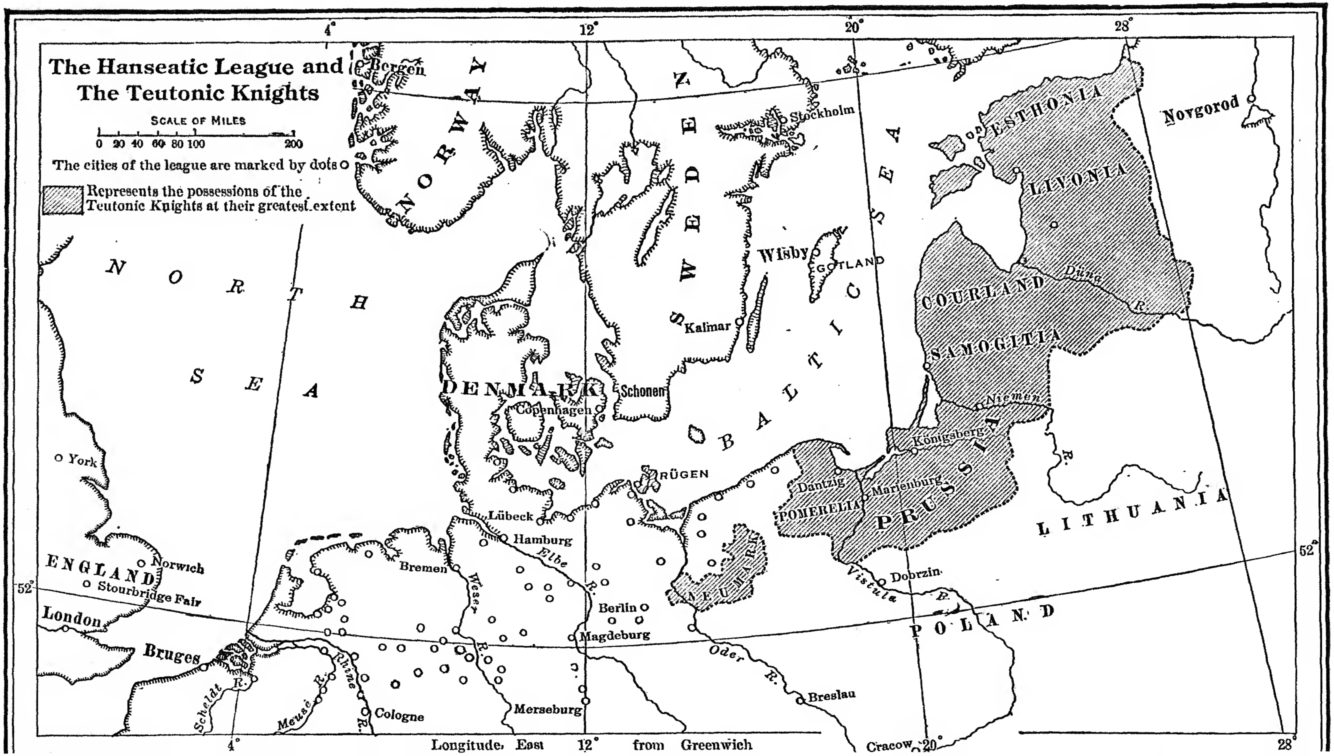
In November, 1365, Waldemar IV of Denmark, who had sacked Wisby in 1360, dictated a humiliating peace to the league, but two years later in November, 1367, seventy-seven towns from Amsterdam to Courland formed a league at Cologne with the support of Holstein, Sweden, and Mecklenburg They gained several naval victories over Denmark and Norway, took Copenhagen, and by the Peace of Stralsund in 1370 won free navigation, immunity from customs duties, and self-governing trading settlements on Danish soil. In 1375 the emperor, Charles IV, honored Lubeck by a personal visit. In the next century the carrying trade of this town employed eight hundred ships averaging twenty-five tons burden each

The league secured special trading privileges and planted settlements composed of its own members in various foreign ports. Its chief colonies of this sort were at Bergen on the Norwegian coast, Novgorod in Russia, Bruges in Flanders, and London in England. These posts were sometime strongly fortified, as in the case of the "Steelyard" in London, and the Hanse representatives were subjected to strict discipline, and were forbidden to marry during their residence abroad. As if these restrictions were not sufficient, newly arriving apprentices at Bergen were initiated into the Hanse by numerous floggings and duckings or by being hauled up by a rope through a smoky chimney and made to answer questions *en route* The cupboard-like bunks, about four feet long, in which they slept, seem torture enough to the modern observer At Bergen and Novgorod the Hanse merchants became all powerful, largely monopolizing the trade of Norway and shutting off the Russians from the Baltic Sea and from direct intercourse with western Europe And while Hanseatic merchants had many privileges in Bruges and London, they tried to keep the commerce of the Baltic entirely for themselves and to exclude traders of all other nations from their home towns The fisheries in the Baltic and North Seas were a source of great profit, since in the Middle Ages everyone abstained from meat on Friday and monks on most other days Fishing was improved by the invention of the herring cask in 1380 Wax for candles and amber for rosaries were other northern commodities then in great demand Still other products in which there was an extensive trade were timber, furs, certain metals, grain, and beer

The prosperity and greatness of the Hanseatic League continued through the fifteenth century. Then came its gradual decline owing to such events as the capture of Novgorod in 1478 by Ivan of Russia, changes in ocean currents and in the location of the herring fisheries, the rise of the Dutch and English peoples to maritime and commercial power, and the confusion in Germany caused by the Protestant Revolt and the religious wars which followed it Even before these last events the League had lost much of its carrying trade to the Dutch sailors of Holland and Zeeland

Teutonic Knights

The Teutonic Knights not only carried on a long crusade against the heathen Prussians and other non-German peoples of Poland, Lithuania, and western Russia, but established a territorial state along the east shore of the Baltic and encouraged German colonization in this area About 1202 the town of Riga had been founded by a German who became its first bishop and who employed the Brethren of the Sword in conquering Livonia from the Wends and Letts Ten years later a monk tried to play the same role as Bishop of Prussia, where he founded the Knights of Dobrzin This effort, however, was a failure So in 1228 the Teutonic Knights, hitherto active in the Holy Land, were invited in and began in the next year their conquest of what is now called East Prussia. The grand master of the order was made by Frederick II a prince of the Holy Roman Empire The two other military orders which have been mentioned soon amalgamated with the Teutonic Order, which became very popular and was loaded with gifts. Early in the fourteenth century the grand master



The Hanseatic League and The Teutonic Knights

SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100 200
The cities of the league are marked by dots ○
▨ Represents the possessions of the Teutonic Knights at their greatest extent
NORWAY
Bergen
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Wisby
GOTLAND
Kalmar
Schonen
DENMARK
Copenhagen
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
RÜGEN
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
Novgorod
COURLAND
Düna R.
SAMOGITIA
Niemen
Königsberg
PRUSSIA
Marienburg
Dantzig
POMERELIA
NEUMARK
LITHUANIA
R.
POLAND
Dobrzin
Vistula R.
Cracow
Oder R.
Breslau
Berlin
Magdeburg
Merseburg
Lübeck
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Bremen
Weser R.
Cologne
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Scheldt R.
Bruges
ENGLAND
York
Norwich
Stourbridge Fair
London
4°
12°
20°
28°
52°
Longitude East 12° from Greenwich

transferred his headquarters from Venice to Marienburg in Prussia, and the knights, whose activities had at first been eastward from the Vistula, acquired Pomerelia to the west of that river and thus shut off Poland from the Baltic In 1346 Denmark ceded Esthonia to the knights The numerous towns which sprang up along the east coast of the Baltic as a result of the knights' conquests usually joined the Hanseatic League The fourteenth century saw the knights at the height of their power and constantly campaigning against the Lithuanians Their territory extended along the Baltic coast from West Prussia to the Gulf of Finland But the conversion of the Lithuanians deprived them of the excuse for any further conquests, and the union after 1386 of Poland and Lithuania under one ruler produced a neighbor who was too strong for them In the fifteenth century they were defeated by Poland and their power was confined to East Prussia where it had started

Frederick III

The reign from 1440 to 1493 of the Hapsburg emperor, Frederick III (Figure 89), has been well epitomized as "the longest and dullest of all German history The most careful inspection can reveal only a few things that are worth remembering" (Stubbs) Except in his own family territories, where he increased his power, he was slow and ineffectual For the most part he merely watched the course of events, consoling himself with gardening and astrology, and mumbling his favorite maxim, "*Rerum irrecuperabilium summa felicitas oblivio*" (What can't be helped had best be forgot), and the acrostic of words beginning with the five vowels, "*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*," or, "*Alles Erdreich ist Osterreich unterthan*" (All earth is ours ultimately) But for the time being both the Bohemians and the Hungarians, when their boy king, Ladislas I, died in 1457, disregarded the claims of Frederick III and gave a passing exhibition of national feeling by electing the native kings, George of Podiebrad (1458–1471) and Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) Frederick's own demise was attributed to his having indiscreetly devoured eight melons at one sitting and washed them down with copious draughts of water, bringing on an attack of diarrhoea from which he died the next day

Maximilian

A more influential figure in European politics than the slow-moving Frederick was his brilliant, cultured, and knightly son, Maximilian (1493–1519) He had already taken the government largely into his own hands during his father's last years, and had been elected King of the Romans in 1486, which assured him the imperial office upon his father's death Of his important marriage with the Burgundian heiress we shall speak later In 1491, by the Treaty of Pressburg, he arranged with Ladislas II, who was then king of both

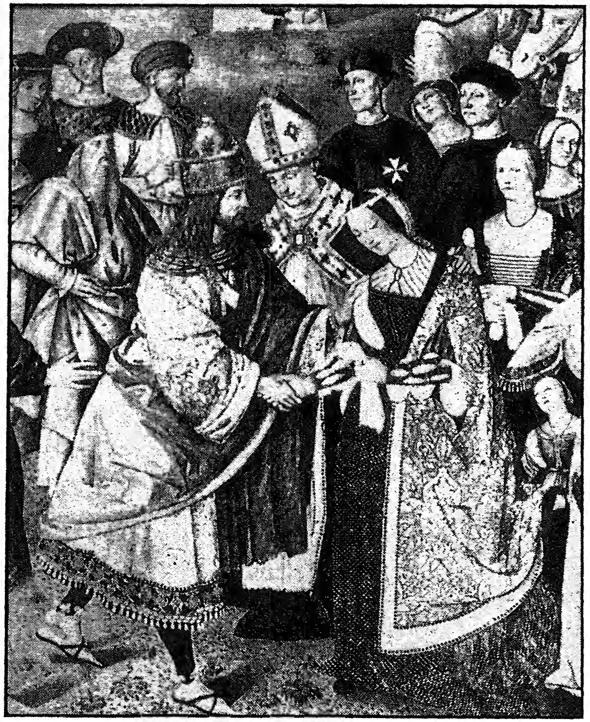


Figure 89

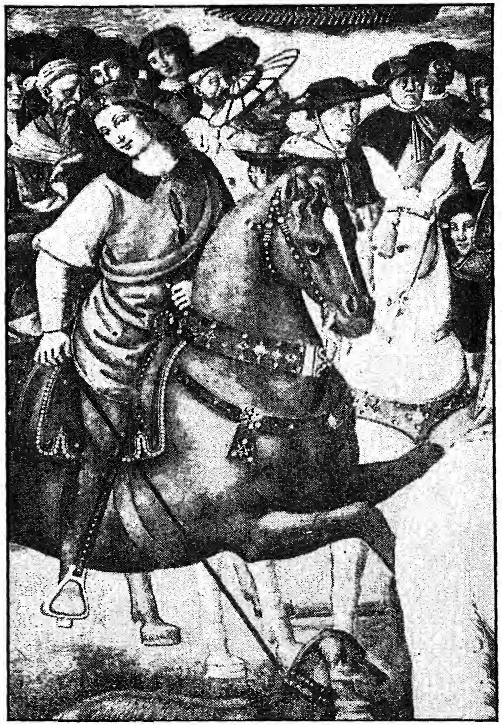


Figure 90

Left, marriage of Frederick III and Eleanor of Portugal; *right*, Aeneas Sylvius starting out for the Council of Basel: both from paintings by Pinturicchio in the Cathedral Library, Siena

Bohemia and Hungary, that in case the descendants of Ladislas died out, those countries should pass to the House of Hapsburg This actually happened in 1526, and from that date until 1918 Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary were ruled by the Hapsburgs

German government

Toward the close of the reign of Frederick III the free imperial cities began to send representatives to the diet There were frequent meetings of this assembly under Maximilian, who needed grants of money for his ambitious foreign projects He also established a central court of justice and tried to group the various states of the empire together in administrative "circles" But these belated symptoms of common action and of a national German feeling were accompanied by the completion in the chief local principalities of the transition from feudalism to centralized administration which had been going on since the twelfth century Such regions as Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg were now practically independent territorial states The study of Roman law, introduced into the German universities about the middle of the fifteenth century, is thought to have contributed considerably to the power of the princes at the head of such states It was opposed by the common people who were used to and attached to their local customs

Bibliographical Note

Cambridge Medieval History, VII, chapter 5 on Charles IV, chapter 7 on the Swiss Confederation, chapter 8 on the Hanseatic League, chapter 9 on the Teutonic Order, later chapters in Stubbs, *Germany in the Later Middle Ages*, Henderson, *Short History of Germany*, chapter 8 Zimmern, *Hansa Towns*, is interesting reading The first book of the *History of the Reformation in Germany* by Leopold von Ranke, the noted German historian of the nineteenth century, deals with the attempt to reform the constitution of the empire (1486–1517) and contains a good character sketch of Frederick III

XXXIV

Eastern Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Scandinavian kingdoms

We now turn to a survey of the countries of Europe from the Scandinavian peninsula and the Baltic Sea in the north to the Balkan peninsula and the Black Sea in the southeast In Denmark, Norway, and Sweden the kings were elected, as was the custom also in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary The clergy and nobility as a rule during this period increased in landed property and political power at the expense both of the crown and the mass of peasant proprietors, who tended to sink toward serfdom Trade was in the hands of the Hanseatic League and the chief towns passed under German influence For the rest, the course of events in these Northern lands bore a general resemblance to that in other European countries They felt the influence of the Hildebrandine reforms in the Church and of the Cistercian monks; they participated in the crusades and sent scholars to Paris and other universities, they had their troubles with papal legates and interdicts, with unpalatable royal taxation and depreciation of the coinage. A French architect began to build the cathedral at Upsala, Sweden, in 1287; that at Trondjhem, Norway, is in Early English style Except in their Norse and Icelandic literature, the Scandinavian countries were somewhat behind the development of civilization in western and southern Europe For instance, while Sweden was nominally converted at the beginning of the eleventh century, the faith was not really spread throughout the land nor the Church thoroughly organized until the middle of the twelfth century Similarly the first Scandinavian universities were founded at Upsala in 1476 and at Copenhagen in 1479

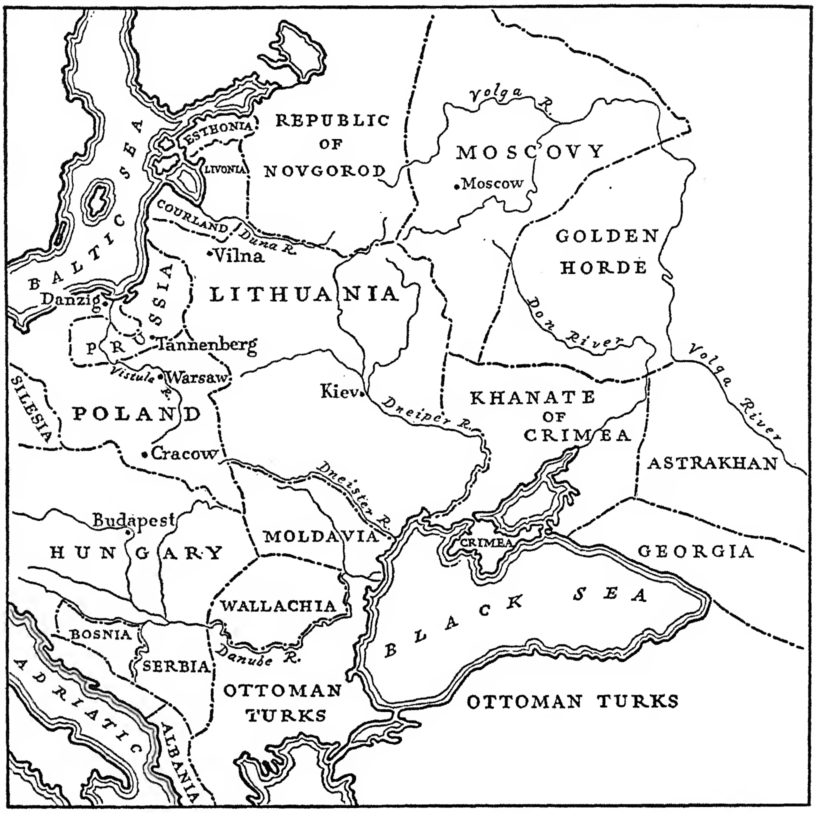
Denmark was a great power from 1182 to 1223, with sway over such cities as Hamburg and Lubeck and over the regions of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Pomerelia, Prussia, and Esthonia But then its empire underwent speedy dissolution, and later Denmark itself seemed prone to divide into several petty states In 1397 the three Scandinavian kingdoms came under one sovereign in the Union of Kalmar, which did not benefit nor please any one of the three countries and which was maintained with difficulty and occasional secessions during the fifteenth century

Poland

In Poland King Casimir the Great (1333–1370) collected and published the laws, favored the growth of cities, yet was known as "The Peasants' King" because of his care for their welfare, and laid the foundations of the later (1400) university at Cracow From 1370 to 1382 Poland was ruled by Louis, King of Hungary, of the Angevin line, but upon his death the nobility offered the crown to Jagello, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, upon the condition that he marry Louis's daughter, Hedwig, and that the Lithuanians accept Christianity The principality of Lithuania, with its capital at Vilna, had expanded to cover much of western Russia It even included Kiev and stretched to the Black Sea Thus the union with Lithuania in 1386 under the dynasty of the Jagellons greatly increased the extent of Poland It acquired more territory and access to the Baltic as well as to the Black Sea by its conquests during the fifteenth century at the expense of the Teutonic Knights, who were defeated in 1410 by the Poles and Lithuanians at the battle of Tannenberg and who finally lost all their other possessions and continued to hold East Prussia only as a fief from the Polish king Wars between Denmark and Sweden also enabled Poland to increase its influence in the Baltic It was a great grain-growing country and exported its surplus from the Baltic ports In the closing years of the fifteenth century the University of Cracow was prominent in mathematics, astronomy, and astrology Longinus completed *Twelve Books of Polish History* at Cracow in 1480

In Poland, as elsewhere in Europe, leagues were formed by the towns and by the nobles in the fourteenth century, often in opposition to the royal government In the later fifteenth century the Polish diet or parliament developed, when to the upper house or senate, comprising the bishops, local magnates, and royal ministers, was added a lower house of the deputies of the provincial courts or assemblies of the nobility and country Except for Cracow, the towns, whose population was largely foreign, usually were unrepresented Since the king had promised the provincial assemblies to impose no new tax without their consent, and since he had originally gone to each provincial assembly for such assent, the deputy for any one of them had the right to veto proposals made at the diet or general assembly

After the Jagellon dynasty gained the Polish crown, it rather neglected

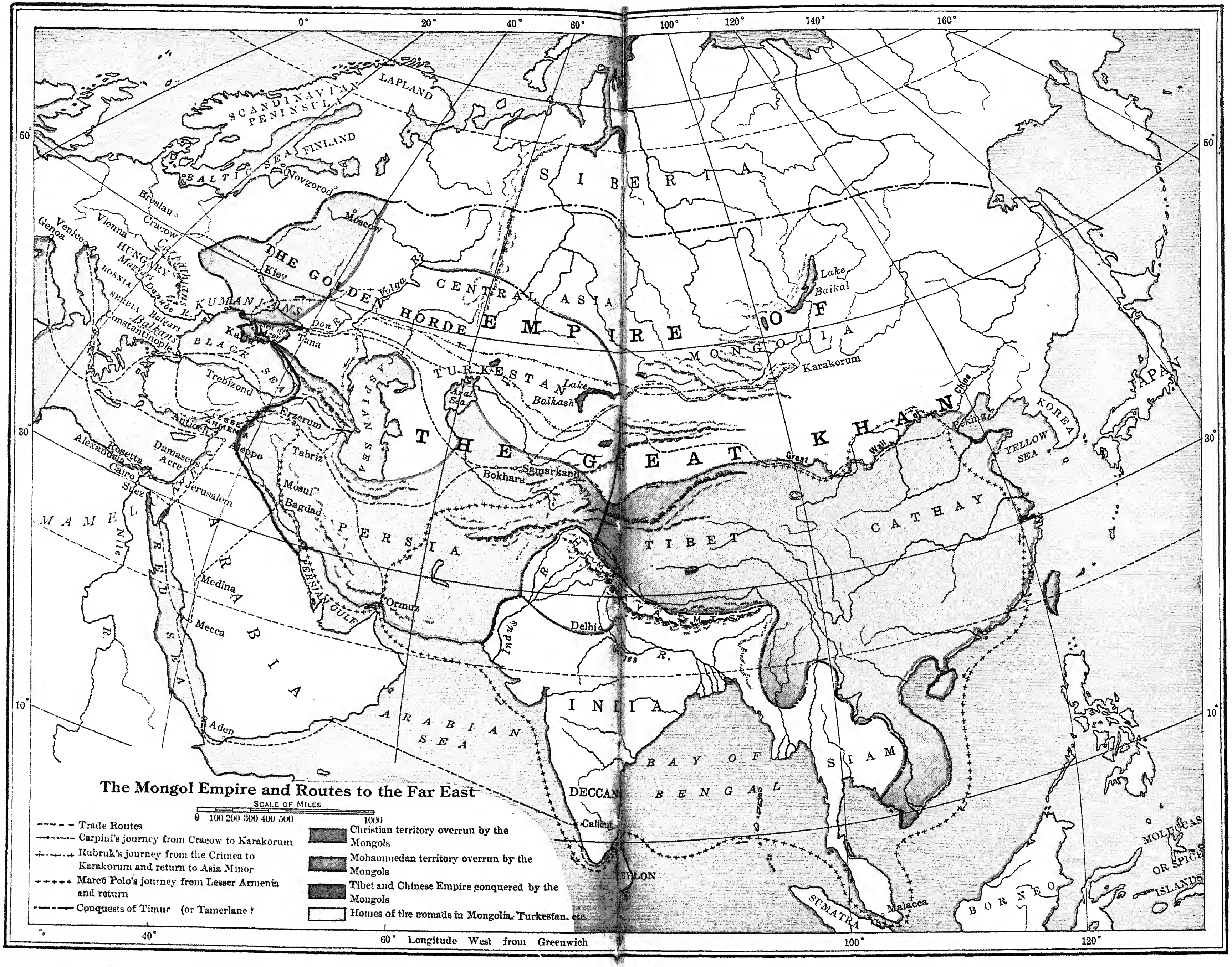

REPUBLIC OF NOVGOROD
ESTHONIA
LIVONIA
BALTIC SEA
COURLAND
Duna R.
Vilna
Volga R.
MOSCOVY
Moscow
GOLDEN HORDE
Don River
Volga River
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
Danzig
P R
Tannenberg
Vistula R.
Warsaw
SILESIA
POLAND
Cracow
Kiev
Dneiper R.
KHANATE OF CRIMEA
ASTRAKHAN
Dneister R.
Budapest
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
CRIMEA
GEORGIA
WALLACHIA
BLACK SEA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Danube R.
OTTOMAN TURKS
OTTOMAN TURKS
ADRIATIC
ALBANIA

EASTERN EUROPE ABOUT 1453

Development of Russia

the interests of its native Lithuania, which now had its own grand prince. But the Polish kings were more interested in extending their western frontier than in protecting their eastern boundaries. Ivan III of Moscow (1462–1505) took advantage of this attitude and of the gradual disintegration of the Tartar state of the Golden Horde. He ruined Novgorod and expelled the Hanseatic merchants. Later he extended his sphere of influence to the Crimea and the Volga, and entitled himself somewhat boastfully, "Lord of all the Russias." He had married a daughter of the last Greek despot in the Morea, and some Greek and Italian artisans and architects followed her to his court.

From 1310 to 1437 Bohemia was ruled by the House of Luxemburg,



The Mongol Empire and Routes to the Far East

Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Trade Routes
Carpini's journey from Cracow to Karakorum
Rubruk's journey from the Crimea to Karakorum and return to Asia Minor
Marco Polo's journey from Lesser Armenia and return
Conquests of Timur (or Tamerlane)
Christian territory overrun by the Mongols
Mohammedan territory overrun by the Mongols
Tibet and Chinese Empire conquered by the Mongols
Homes of the nomads in Mongolia, Turkestan, etc.
0°
20°
40°
60°
100°
120°
140°
160°
50°
30°
10°
40°
60° Longitude West from Greenwich
100°
120°
SCANDINAVIAN PENINSULA
LAPLAND
FINLAND
BALTIC SEA
Novgorod
Breslau
Cracow
Vienna
Venice
Genoa
HUNGARY
Magyars
Carpathians
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Danube R.
Bulgars
Balkans
Constantinople
KUMANIANS
Kiev
Moscow
THE GOLDEN HORDE
Volga R.
Don R.
Tana
Kaffa
Sea of Azov
BLACK SEA
Trebizond
LESSER ARMENIA
Antioch
Aleppo
Erzerum
Tabriz
CASPIAN SEA
Damascus
Acre
Jerusalem
Rosetta
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
MAMELUKES
Nile
RED SEA
Medina
Mecca
ARABIA
Aden
Mosul
Bagdad
PERSIA
PERSIAN GULF
Ormuz
ARABIAN SEA
CENTRAL ASIA
TURKESTAN
Aral Sea
Lake Balkash
Bokhara
Samarkand
SIBERIA
EMPIRE OF THE GREAT KHAN
MONGOLIA
Karakorum
Lake Baikal
TIBET
HIMALAYAS
Indus
Delhi
Ganges R.
INDIA
DECCAN
Calicut
CEYLON
BAY OF BENGAL
SIAM
SUMATRA
Malacca
BORNEO
MOLUCCAS OR SPICE ISLANDS
CATHAY
Great Wall
China
Peking
YELLOW SEA
KOREA
JAPAN

Bohemia

many members of which were emperors of Germany as well as kings of Bohemia Charles IV furthered the prosperity of the land and founded the University of Prague (1348), where the students formed four nations of Bohemians and Poles, Bavarians and Saxons During his reign the Bohemian local estates and national diet exercised control over taxation and legislation He encouraged the Czech language and the native merchants, although he continued, like Ottocar II and other previous princes, to call in German colonists, and although his chancery at Prague did much to fix a written form of Middle German which marks an important step in the development toward a common German tongue It was adopted by the Saxon chancery and other courts of German princes and was later used by Martin Luther Charles IV, indeed, probably hoped, like Ottocar, to make Bohemia the center from which his dynasty should rule Germany or at least large portions of it Thus, while his university was the first one started in the empire north of the Alps, and was meant for Germans as much as for Poles and Bohemians, he located it in the Bohemian capital In the fifteenth century Bohemia became a prey to religious discontent and the destructive Hussite wars, treated in Chapter XXXI During these wars the government was carried on by the diet of the estates, in which the towns now took part, sometimes a leading part But later, in 1485, the king ruled that the representatives of the towns could not vote except on matters which directly concerned them

House of Anjou in Hungary

A branch of the House of Anjou which the papacy had called into Naples and Sicily in the thirteenth century reigned in Hungary from 1309 to 1382 The two long reigns of able kings, Charles I, the grandson of Charles II of Naples and Mary of Hungary, and Louis the Great, restored prosperity after the anarchy which had followed the Mongol invasion Charles reorganized the administration, army and national economy, founded new towns, encouraged foreign immigration — Germans, Poles, Czechs, Russians, Rumanians, and Wallachians, adapted the mining law of Bohemia to the rich gold mines of Hungary, and instituted a permanent coinage which maintained the same standard for centuries. Louis, after vainly occupying Naples from 1347 to 1350, recovered the Dalmatian coast from Venice, forced Serbia to recognize his overlordship, annexed Bosnia, and in 1372 became king of Poland. He cultivated the forms and ideals of chivalry, and Gothic art flourished during the reigns of Charles and himself.

When King Louis died in 1382, Sigismund, who had married his older

Reign of Sigismund

daughter, became King of Hungary, although the Poles refused to have him and, as we have seen, instead took Louis's younger daughter and married her to Jagello of Lithuania and chose him as their king. The reign of Sigismund in Hungary was not overglorious, since it took him some time to establish his authority, and then in 1396 the Ottoman Turks defeated him at Nicopolis and overran a good deal of his kingdom Also the great landed nobles seized power, formed leagues, and fought with one another There developed, however, a more lawful parliament or diet based on the county courts of nobles In 1405 Sigismund invited the gilds to send representatives Sigismund, who became emperor in 1410, succeeded his brother Wenzel as King of Bohemia as well, where he reigned from 1419 to his death in 1437, so far as the Hussites, indignant at his betrayal of their leader, would let him On Sigismund's death, Bohemia and Hungary, like the imperial office which he had held, passed for a few years to the House of Hapsburg But then, through exercise of the old custom of election by the nobility, the two lands came under the rule of native kings and did not again come into the possession of the Austrian dynasty until well into the sixteenth century

The Balkans, Constantinople

From Hungary we pass on in our survey of eastern lands to the Balkan peninsula In 1261 the Genoese, who were jealous of Venetian preponderance in the Aegean and Black Seas, helped to overthrow the Latin Empire, which the Fourth Crusade had set up in 1204, and to restore the rule of a Greek dynasty at Constantinople. But this revived Byzantine Empire was small and weak; the "Frankish" principalities in central and southern Greece remained independent, and Venice kept her possessions on the coasts of Greece and in the islands of the Aegean The Catalan Company of mercenaries, after serving in Sicily and for Constantinople against the Turks, invaded central Greece and ruled over Athens and Thebes for the greater part of the fourteenth century. In 1291, however, the Latins had lost their last foothold on the coast of Syria to the Moslems Sometime after the Mongols had receded from the territory which is now Rumania, the two native principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were founded They "continued to exist in one form or another until their union under a single ruler in the nineteenth century." Under Stephen Dushan (1331–1355), Serbia became for a time the chief power in the Balkan peninsula Stephen extended his sway over Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Albania, Bosnia, and part of Bulgaria; and assumed the title of Czar or Emperor of the Romans.

The part of Greece south of the Gulf and Isthmus of Corinth, which

Revival in the Morea

in classical antiquity had been known as the Peloponnesus (Pelops' isle), in the Middle Ages came to be called the Morea (sea land) from *more*, a Slavic word for sea We have mentioned the marriage of Ivan III of Russia with the daughter of the last Greek ruler there The crusaders had established a principality of Achaia there, but it fell at the end of the thirteenth century, and Byzantine rule was resumed "Mistra, close to the site of ancient Sparta, became the seat of a new and flourishing province, which waxed as Constantinople waned and, but for the Turks, might have continued to prosper for centuries Here lived Gemistos Plethon the Platonist, here members of the imperial family made their residence, and the churches with their beautiful frescoes, all the work of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are the most conspicuous examples of the last revival of Byzantine art "[1]

Rise of Ottoman Turks

In connection with the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, a new detachment of nomads from Turkestan, known as the Ottoman Turks, had penetrated Asia Minor and had been stationed or had stationed themselves along the Byzantine frontier in its northwestern corner From the interior of Asia Minor the Greek language and culture had largely disappeared, and the number of Christians had greatly decreased The Ottomans had been Moslems in Turkestan The old place names in Asia Minor still are found in the twelfth-century geography of Edrisi But when Ibn Batuta visited the region in the 1330's, he found Turkish names everywhere Similarly by the fourteenth century Syriac had ceased to be a written and literary language, and most of the old writings in it perished The Ottomans now took the few remaining Byzantine cities which lay between them and Constantinople: Nicaea, Nicomedia, and Brusa They themselves preferred to continue to fight on horseback in nomad style as light cavalry, but they came to develop a permanent body of infantry known as Janizaries, which was larger in numbers than any other standing army of the time and was probably composed of prisoners of war rather than, as often supposed, of children levied from subject populations and trained in arms thereafter The Ottomans also had sultans of great ability

Presently a civil war broke out in Constantinople and the rival parties not only turned for aid to Serbia, Bulgaria, Venice, and Genoa, but also employed the Ottomans as mercenaries The result was that not only Serbia, Bulgaria, and Genoa took for themselves slices of Byzantine territory, but that in 1353–1354 the Turks seized some strongholds at Gallipoli on the European shore of the Hellespont Under Amurath or

---

[1] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 44; by permission of The Clarendon Press, Oxford

Murad I (1359–1389), they began to extend their power into the Balkan peninsula and to emigrate and settle there in considerable numbers. They took Adrianople in 1361 and made it their capital. In 1371 they defeated a Serbian prince at the head of a coalition of Rumanians, Magyars, and Bosnians. Another ten years and they had taken Sofia, the present capital of Bulgaria. Just before his death Murad I defeated the alliance of the Balkan states at the bloody battle of Kosovo ("the plain of the blackbirds").

Bajazet I

Under Murad's son, Bajazet (1389–1403), the conquest of Macedonia and Thessaly was completed, the independent kingdom and church of Bulgaria were blotted out, and many Bulgarians were transplanted to Asia Minor. Bajazet also forced the princes of Serbia and Wallachia to recognize his overlordship, and sent punitive expeditions into Bosnia. Bosnia in the later Middle Ages was a land weakened by incessant local warfare, and by religious strife between the Roman Catholics, the Greek Christians, and the heretical Cathari. It consequently offered slight resistance to the Turks. Hungary was now endangered and at Sigismund's request the pope preached a crusade in which French, English, Germans, and Poles as well as Hungarians participated, but they were crushed at Nicopolis in 1396. Bajazet next turned his attention to Constantinople, which already had been forced to pay tribute, and it would probably have fallen at this time had he not been called away from its siege to meet a new conqueror in Asia.

Tamerlane

Timur (1336–1405), or Tamerlane — which, however, means Timur the Lame and was really an insulting epithet applied to him — had renewed the terrible invasions of the Mongols. He had made himself master of central Asia, had conquered Persia, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, and had penetrated southward to Delhi in India. The Golden Horde also owned his sway and he made expeditions to the Volga. Indeed, he conducted all his conquests in person and with great cruelty, leaving a trail of blood and ruins behind him. He built towers of the skulls of those whom he had slain or embedded the bodies of the living in walls with stones and mortar. His oldest son, however, went him one worse when he began to tear down all the famous buildings that he could lay hands on in order "that men might say, 'Miran Mirza did nothing himself, but he commanded the destruction of the world's noblest works.'" This morbid craving for ill-fame his father discouraged by deposing him. Timur himself maintained a showy court at Samarkand, and, when he sacked other cities, transferred their treasures, artisans, and scholars thither to adorn his new capital. In 1400 he defeated the Mameluke Sultan of Syria and

Egypt, burned the city of Damascus which had surrendered without resistance, and massacred many of its inhabitants. The next year he took Bagdad and is said to have reared a trophy of ninety thousand human heads. In 1402 at Angora he crushed the army of the hitherto victorious Bajazet, who died in captivity the next year. After marching through Asia Minor Timur returned to Samarkand and prepared a great expedition to conquer China, but died on the way. His vast empire quickly dissolved. An interesting account has come down to us of thirty-two years of travel and adventure as a slave in all sorts of lands, including Siberia, by Hans Schiltberger, a German boy of sixteen who was captured by the Turks at Nicopolis. They spared his life because of his youth; then he was captured from Bajazet by Timur, and thereafter was tossed to and fro for years among the wandering Tartars.

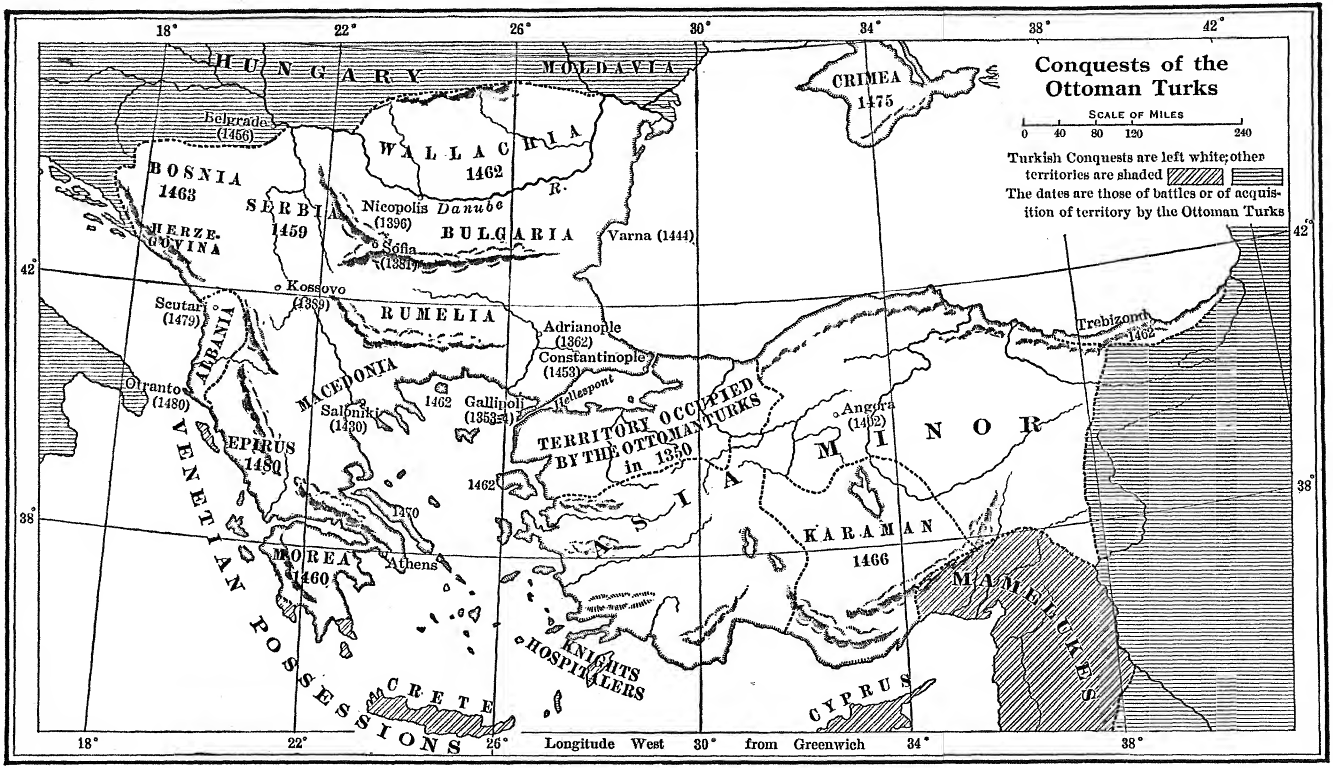
Renewed advance

For some years after their defeat at Angora, the Turks were too weak to renew their attacks upon Christendom, and Bajazet's sons were occupied in quarreling over his dominions. But under Murad II (1421–1451), Constantinople was again unsuccessfully besieged, and Saloniki was captured from Venice only after a siege of seven years. In 1439 the Turks overran Serbia, but failed to take Belgrade, and then had several successive defeats administered to them by the Hungarian general, John Hunyadi, so that they agreed in 1444 to evacuate Serbia and Herzegovina and to yield Wallachia to Hungary. But the King of Poland, who also claimed the throne of Hungary, broke this treaty of peace in the hope of driving the Turks from Europe entirely. Instead, he was defeated and killed at Varna and the Turks recovered all that they had surrendered.

Fall of Constantinople

In 1448 even Hunyadi was beaten, and Constantinople at last was taken in 1453 by Mohammed II (1451–1481). The Byzantine emperor had agreed in 1438 to unite with the Western Church, but he received little aid from the Western powers, while the loyalty of the clergy and populace of Constantinople was lessened by this submission, as they regarded it, to the papacy. Mohammed II left the Christians their own language, religion, and customs, and they speedily restored the Greek Church. But the Byzantine Empire was forever at an end, after 1453 Constantinople was the capital of Turkey, and Justinian's great church of Saint Sophia served as a Mohammedan mosque, until recently when it was restored to its original appearance to serve as a national museum.

In 1456, however, the Turks again failed to take Belgrade, which was relieved by an army of crusaders under John Hunyadi and a papal legate. Hunyadi died soon after his victory, but his son, Matthias



Conquests of the Ottoman Turks

Turkish Conquests are left white; other territories are shaded ▨ ▤

The dates are those of battles or of acquisition of territory by the Ottoman Turks

SCALE OF MILES
0
40
80
120
240
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
CRIMEA 1475
WALLACHIA 1462
Danube R.
Belgrade (1456)
BOSNIA 1463
SERBIA 1459
Nicopolis (1396)
BULGARIA
Varna (1444)
Sofia (1381)
HERZEGOVINA
Kossovo (1389)
RUMELIA
Scutari (1479)
ALBANIA
Otranto (1480)
Adrianople (1362)
Constantinople (1453)
Hellespont
MACEDONIA
Saloniki (1430)
1462
Gallipoli (1353-4)
TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THE OTTOMAN TURKS in 1350
EPIRUS 1480
1462
1470
MOREA 1460
Athens
VENETIAN POSSESSIONS
CRETE
KNIGHTS HOSPITALERS
ASIA MINOR
Angora (1402)
KARAMAN 1466
CYPRUS
MAMELUKES
Trebizond 1462
18°
22°
26°
30°
34°
38°
42°
Longitude West from Greenwich

Further conquests

Corvinus, was elected King of Hungary, and the Bohemians at the same time chose a native ruler, George of Podiebrad But instead of uniting against the Turks these two national kings became embroiled in strife with each other Meanwhile Trebizond had been conquered by the Turks, central and southern Greece had been occupied by them, and the Parthenon at Athens was converted into a mosque Wallachia, Serbia, and Bosnia were also all in the hands of the Turks Albania had held out since 1443 under its able leader Scanderbeg and then under his son, but with the fall of Scutari in 1479 its resistance was over Thus the Turks held practically the entire Balkan peninsula Venice, to save its trading privileges in the East, made peace with them in 1479. The next year the Moslems made a vain attempt to capture Rhodes from the Hospitalers, and also landed in southern Italy at Otranto But then the death of Mohammed II caused their withdrawal and they attempted no further conquests in Europe during the rest of the century

Matthias Corvinus

Matthias Corvinus had a distinguished reign in Hungary from 1457 to 1490. He maintained a permanent army of mercenaries and imposed new taxes without asking the consent of the Hungarian diet or national assembly He abolished wager of battle and the compositions or *Wergeld* of early law. He attracted Italian humanists and artists to his court By the Peace of Olmutz he gained Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia Later he occupied Vienna and Styria But the Hungarian nobles regarded him as a tyrant, and when he died they passed over his natural son and voted, the higher nobility for one son of King Casimir of Poland, the lesser nobles for another son of the same king. Eventually of these two claimants Ladislas II, who was already King of Bohemia, won out in 1492

From nomad to navigator

All through the Middle Ages the mounted Asiatic nomads had been from time to time invading Europe and the Near East Constantinople had held out against them for more than a thousand years but now had passed into their power The eastern half of the ancient Roman Empire which, as our story opened, was much the more thickly populated and highly civilized, had now come entirely under the domination of the Turks and of Islam, and had greatly declined both in population and in culture The Turks blocked the passage from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea and in early modern times were to be a constant menace to central Europe As we have seen in the case of Constantinople, however, they did not entirely eradicate urban or agricultural life but gradually settled down as the ruling military class and even intermarried with European stock But the future lay with western Europe, to which we turn in the next chapter The Mediterranean was to cease to be the chief waterway of trade, Venice and Florence and Lombardy were no longer to supply the capital for northwestern Europe; the mounted nomads of central Asia were to be left to stew in their own juice For navigators, first of Portugal and Spain, then of England, France, and Holland, were to take to the ocean wave, to roam farther than any mounted nomads ever had, to circumvent them and sail around them, to abandon inland empire for sea power, to find new trade routes to the Far East and its islands, coasts, and ports, to develop and exploit new continents and hemispheres, western and southern

Bibliographical Note

Cambridge Medieval History, vol. VIII, chapter 3 on Bohemia, chapter 17 on Scandinavia, chapter 18 on Poland and Lithuania, chapter 19 on Hungary, vol VII, chapter 21, on Russia to 1462, vol IV, chapters 13 to 16 on Constantinople, the Balkans, and the Turkish conquest Separate books on individual countries are E J Harrison, *Lithuania*; Lutzow, *Bohemia*, Yolland, *Hungary*, chapters 7 to 10, and F Eckhard, *Short History of the Hungarian People* On the Ottoman Turks and fall of Constantinople Langer and Blake, "The Rise of the Ottoman Turks," *American Historical Review*, 37 (1932), 468–505, Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, chapter IX, pp 264–444, H A Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Lybyer, *Government of the Ottoman Empire*; William Miller, *Trebizond. the Last Greek Empire*, C Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* On the Greek peninsula, K M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, 1311–1388.

XXXV

Western Europe after 1453

In this chapter on western Europe during the second half of the fifteenth century, we continue the story of France and England after the close of the Hundred Years War; we treat of the Burgundian possessions and the Swiss Confederation which intervened between France and Germany; and we follow the fortunes of Spain and Portugal, their maritime activity and voyages of trade and exploration, the circumnavigation of Africa and the discovery of America

Burgundian possessions

The origin of the House of Burgundy in the fourteenth century and its acquisition of both the duchy and free county of Burgundy, of Flanders and Artois, of Nevers and Rethel, and of other lands along the northeastern frontier of the kingdom of France during the Hundred Years War, have been mentioned. In the first half of the fifteenth century it also acquired the duchy of Luxemburg and numerous principalities in the Netherlands, such as the duchies of Brabant and Limburg, and the counties of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland By the time of Charles the Bold (1467–1477), therefore, his possessions included most of modern Belgium and the Netherlands, a considerable slice of eastern France, and a little of western Germany In other words, he threatened to create an important third state between the French monarchy and Germany with a territory extending from the North Sea to the Alps.

The chief strength and value of the Burgundian possessions lay not in the Burgundies proper, which were thinly populated and poor economically, but in the rich and populous cities of the Low Countries Before the cities developed, the peasants of the Low Countries had been freer than in most places in the early Middle Ages, because the land was so difficult to reclaim from swamp and sea that great estates of lords were not established there, but the land was cultivated largely by hardy and thrifty individual freemen Many of them became sailors, however, and in time trade developed As the land thus grew more prosperous, feudal jurisdictions and lordships also sprang up But the feudal states and lords, except for the great county of Flanders, were petty before the

Burgundian period. And as towns came into existence they bought communal privileges from their lords and then fought to keep them.

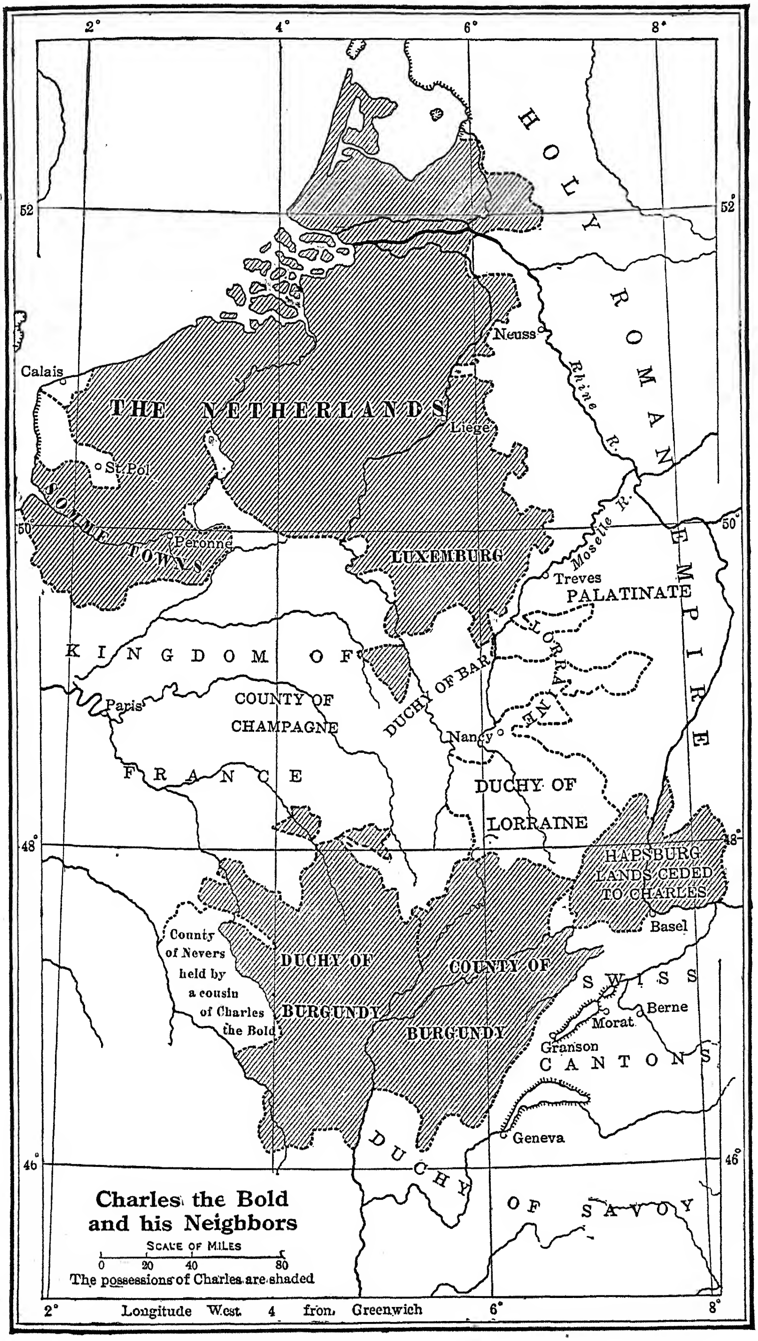
Charles the Bold

But now the dukes of Burgundy endeavored to build up a strong centralized monarchy with unified financial and judicial systems. This led them to disregard and ride roughshod over the particular privileges and the diversities of custom cherished by each town and locality. They also demanded large grants of money from the cities in order to carry out their dynastic and foreign ambitions. Although Charles the Bold was more economical and less given to pleasure and festivities than his father, his court was the most splendid in Europe and rich both in treasure and culture. He presided at council in person, he always dined in state in the presence of the entire court, sixteen equerries were in constant attendance upon him during the day and saw him safe to bed at night. Precious jewels and costly plate were abundant, and the Order of the Golden Fleece was an appropriate name for the *élite* of the Burgundian knighthood. But all this show had the purpose behind it of impressing the world with the wealth and power of the Burgundian house.

Beneath the pomp Charles was a hard-working executive and methodical man of business. Born in 1433, he was elected a knight of the Golden Fleece when only twenty days old, two years before he was able to ride horseback on a wooden steed constructed for him by a saddler of Brussels. He was betrothed at six, and often as a mere child, when his father happened to be busy elsewhere, had been dispatched to this or that Flemish town to ask for a money grant. In the last two or three years of the life of Philip the Good, Charles was already the real head of the Burgundian state. He was frank, just, and impartial, but stern and severe to wrongdoers or to any of his subjects who resisted his commands and power. His epithet, the "Bold" or "Rash," indicates his impetuosity and military daring. He was somewhat lacking in tact and knowledge of human nature, and was too inclined to speak out his mind.

Attempted consolidation

Charles made an effort to consolidate his scattered possessions into a compact and independent kingdom, but met with many obstacles. In the Low Countries revolts in the cities of Ghent, Dinant, and Liége distracted him for a time. Liége, a large industrial city where since 1384 the government had been controlled by the thirty-two craft gilds, was an especially hard nut to crack. The town lay in an ecclesiastical principality and in bygone days had made its bishop no end of trouble. Now that the dukes of Burgundy controlled the appointment of its bishop, it resisted them. Charles, however, crushed its revolt and burned the town. He also succeeded in adding



Charles the Bold and his Neighbors

The possessions of Charles are shaded

2°
4°
6°
8°
52
52°
50°
48°
46°
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Neuss
Rhine R.
Calais
THE NETHERLANDS
Liege
St. Pol
SOMME TOWNS
Peronne
Moselle R.
LUXEMBURG
Treves
PALATINATE
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
LORRAINE
DUCHY OF BAR
Paris
COUNTY OF CHAMPAGNE
Nancy
DUCHY OF LORRAINE
HAPSBURG LANDS CEDED TO CHARLES
Basel
County of Nevers held by a cousin of Charles the Bold
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
SWISS CANTONS
Berne
Morat
Granson
Geneva
DUCHY OF SAVOY
SCALE OF MILES
0
20
40
80
Longitude West 4 from Greenwich

another province in the Netherlands, Guelders, to his possessions Charles protected himself from the side of England by marrying Margaret of York, the sister of Edward IV Louis XI of France, who was Charles's chief enemy, therefore had to content himself with an alliance with the losing Lancastrian side in England

Charles and Louis from the beginnings of their reigns were either openly at war or secretly plotting against each other Their personalities were almost diametrically opposed, and Louis had made the mistake of affronting Charles before the latter came into power The chief manifest bone of contention between them was some towns along their frontier, the river Somme, but in general each stood in the way of the other's territorial expansion At this time the three great provinces of Lorraine, Savoy, and Provence were all in weak hands and only waiting for some strong monarch to come and take them At this time, too, Charles and Louis were the two strongest princes on the Continent Could Charles have annexed these three districts, his territories would have extended from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and have shut off France from any further eastward expansion Louis had the advantage of being the older of the two men, and before he became king had as dauphin spent ten years in Dauphiné, laying the foundations of his future treaties with the Swiss and Milan and of his future acquisition of Savoy and Provence These provinces might, however, have been willed to Charles rather than to Louis had the Burgundian not died too soon, leaving his adversary to reap the harvest

The territory which it was most essential for Charles to secure, however, was Lorraine, since it intervened between the two Burgundies and his possessions in Luxemburg and the Low Countries When in 1473 the Duke of Lorraine died childless, Charles arranged by treaty that the new incumbent should be practically his vassal, and proceeded to fill up Lorraine with his own garrisons. In the same year he conferred at Treves for eight weeks with Frederick III — since many of the Burgundian possessions were nominally fiefs of the empire — over the question of Frederick's making Charles a king and marrying his son Maximilian to Charles's daughter Mary Once before, it will be remembered, there had been a kingdom of Burgundy which in 1032 had lost its independence and become incorporated in the Holy Roman Empire But Frederick sneaked off down the Moselle River early one morning without having agreed to raise Burgundy to the status of a kingdom. Charles then wasted a year in a war on the Rhine in alliance with the Archbishop of Cologne, when he should have been crushing more dangerous enemies of his own

Sigismund of Hapsburg, Archduke of Austria and Count of the Tyrol, had mortgaged his somewhat uncertain feudal rights in Alsace and the Black Forest to Charles, an action which aroused the fears of the Rhine cities and of the Swiss The Swiss had previously been at war with Sigismund, who was their ancestral enemy, but now both of them combined with Louis XI in a triple alliance against Charles The Swiss helped Sigismund to recover his mortgaged possessions, and then, encouraged by Louis XI, they declared war on Charles He, however, induced his ally Edward IV to invade France in 1475 and distract Louis's attention Meanwhile Charles conquered Lorraine, whose young duke had rebelled against his interference, became himself its duke, and planned to make it the center of his dominions But in 1476 he was defeated by the Swiss at Granson and Morat and lost Lorraine; the next year came his final defeat and death at Nancy He left no son to try to carry out his plans, but his daughter Mary married Maximilian within a year, thereby still holding most of the Burgundian possessions together and greatly increasing the family possessions of the House of Hapsburg Bones of the Burgundian dead were still to be seen on the battlefield of Morat when Lord Byron visited it in 1816, although it was the custom of every Burgundian who passed that way to remove a bone to his native land, while the Swiss postillions sold them for knife handles Byron himself carried away enough to make "a quarter of a hero," and wrote his lines on "the patriotic field," . .

Defeat by the Swiss

Won by the unambitious heart and hand
Of a proud, brotherly, and civic band

The Swiss at this period form an exception to the general rule of the increase of absolute monarchy in Europe, but illustrate the rise of nationalism and bourgeoisie. After they had further raised their military reputation by defeating Charles the Bold so decisively, and had healed internal discord between the towns and the rural cantons by the Convention of Stanz in 1481, when also Fribourg and Soleure were added to the existing eight members, they became more independent than ever Whereas earlier their argument against Hapsburg rule had been that they were amenable to the emperor alone, now they began to refuse to be bound by anything that the imperial government did or wished them to do They would neither pay taxes to the Holy Roman Empire nor abide by the decisions of an imperial court The result was a brief war in 1499, after which the Swiss were confirmed in their ancient rights and conquests, and remained

Swiss Confederation

henceforth practically an independent state quite severed from the empire, although their formal separation and national independence did not come until 1648 Also in 1499 their territory had not yet attained the extent of modern Switzerland; there were further additions to be made especially upon the French and Italian sides In 1501 Basel and Schaffhausen, in 1513 Appenzell, were admitted to the confederation, which then remained closed until 1798

Bourgeoisie in France

In France as a result of the Hundred Years War the nobles and clergy lost a great deal of their wealth, especially of their land In the fifteenth century we find a considerable middle class in the country made up of the owners of small estates and of tenant farmers who leased land for periods of a dozen or fifteen years In order to restore to tillage lands which had been devastated and laid waste during the war, large landowners offered low rents to attract peasants In 1484 peasants even participated in the local elections of representatives of the third estate in the Estates General of that year All was not well with the towns as such or with the masses of their populations But individual townsmen became richer and more influential than ever before

Jacques Cœur, the silversmith of Bourges, where may still be seen his fine Gothic residence incorporating two Roman towers in its back wall, possessed more real power than any noble of the court of Charles VII, and was as important to the French monarchy as the Bank of England or the Morgans to a modern government He owned mines and ships; engaged in both export and import trade with the Near East; and invested in the silk and paper industries He became, indeed, such a power behind the throne that he made enemies at court who procured his condemnation, but the death sentence was commuted to banishment at the intercession of the pope, and Jacques set out on a crusade against the Turks

Power of Charles VII

Royal power increased at the expense of nobles and clergy. Although Charles VII at first had been such an unpromising king and the victim of corrupt favorites, as his reign progressed he procured better advisers and was successful not only in expelling the English, but also in augmenting permanently the power of the Crown. The Estates General met only once during his reign and then agreed to a perpetual annual direct tax, or *taille*, of 1,200,000 livres for the support of a standing army. Nobles, clergy, most of the royal officials and soldiers, and the citizens of self-governing towns were exempted from the *taille*, which thus fell chiefly upon the peasants With this permanent grant the king was able to have at his beck a permanent army, regularly paid and hence well disciplined and loyal. He needed no longer appeal to individual captains to raise bands of mercenaries, and then have difficulty in paying them or in disbanding them when the war was over. Indeed, henceforth no one but the king and his royal officials could raise and maintain troops. The new army consisted of fifteen companies of knights or heavy-armed cavalry with accompanying men-at-arms and pages, of free archers, one to be supplied by each of the sixteen thousand parishes in France; and of the artillery. The native bowmen did not prove a great success, however, and Louis XI relied in their place for infantry largely upon hired Swiss or Scotch soldiers. During the reign of Louis the *taille* increased to 4,400,000 livres.

Louis XI

Back in 1440, as dauphin, Louis had participated in a conspiracy of the feudal nobility against his father, Charles VII. Later he went off to his appanage of Dauphiné, where he ruled for some ten years without regard to his father, against whose wishes, too, he married the daughter of the Duke of Savoy. Finally he fled to the Burgundian court of Philip the Good and came very near being disinherited by his angry parent. He was already thirty-eight years old when he became King of France, full of political experience, of knowledge and mistrust of men, trained both in plausible talk and in cunning scheming, confident in his own cleverness and ability to outwit others. Able as he was intellectually, he was very superstitious in his religion, and became well known for his wooden beads, for the leaden image of the Virgin on his disreputable hat, and for the fact that he could be depended upon to keep his word only when he had sworn by one particular saint. His face and figure were as unattractive as were his cheap clothes, and there was something cruel and malicious and stealthy about him. His great merit as king was that he attended to everything himself. He traveled about his realm and dined with burghers to learn public opinion; he was always seeking information, he even put his person in peril in crises for the sake of a personal interview with some adversary; and in his spider's webs at Plessis and Loches he made periodical visits to the remotest dungeons to make sure that the prisoners were still there — and to leer at them (Figure 91).

Louis had no regard for Gallican liberties and himself controlled all ecclesiastical benefices and appointments. A contemporary accused him of enslaving the French clergy. He suspended the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in the first year of his reign, restored it again when at odds with the pope; then again withdrew it, but, as a means of intimidating the pope, kept threatening to re-establish it.

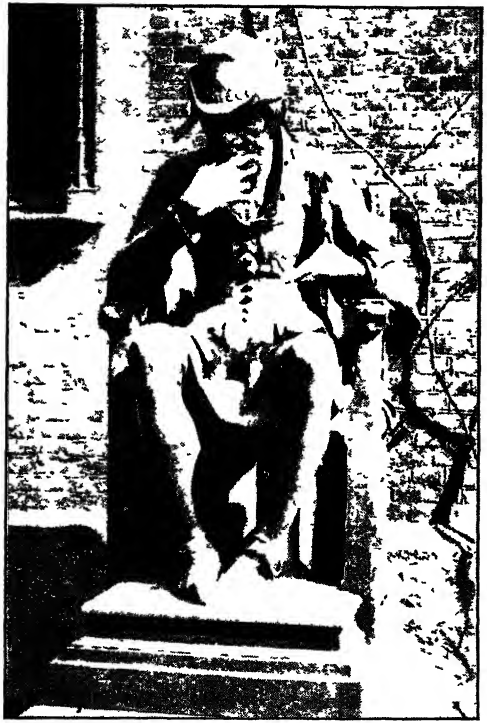


Figure 91

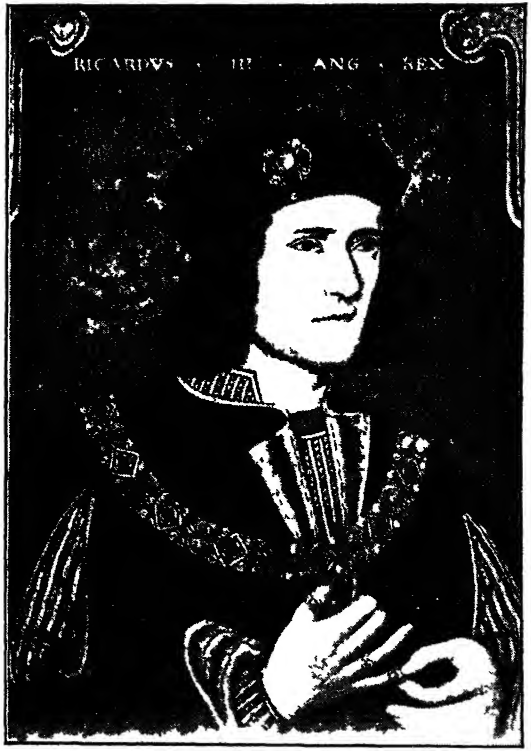

RICARDVS · III · ANG · REX

Figure 92

Left, modern statue of Louis XI of France at Bourges, *right*, painting of Richard III of England from the National Portrait Gallery, London

League of Public Welfare

Since Louis had opposed the Crown for twenty years before he became king, the great lords with whom he had conspired in the past, and especially the Duke of Burgundy with whom he had found a refuge, looked for a restoration of their influence and power at his accession The holders of great fiefs in France at this time were for the most part descended from younger sons of the royal family, to whom since the thirteenth century the kings had been granting appanages, thereby nullifying many of the territorial gains of the monarchy and creating a new feudal nobility These dukes and counts soon discovered that the rule of Louis was even less to their liking than that of Charles VII, and in 1465 they formed the League of the Public Welfare against him Leading spirits in this were his own brother Charles who had so nearly supplanted him on the throne, Charles the Bold who was already the real ruler in Burgundy in place of his senile father, the Duke of Brittany, the houses of Orléans, Anjou, Alençon, and Bourbon, who were all offshoots of the royal family, the dukes of Lorraine and Nemours, and the counts of Armagnac and Saint-Pol The league was victorious over the king chiefly because of a victory won by Charles the Bold at Montlhéry, and Louis had to cede away territories and rights of the Crown to the individual members For the public welfare they accomplished little except to appoint thirty-six reformers to remedy abuses in Church and State and to protect the people from oppression

Royal triumph, expansion

Louis, however, soon regained complete control of the central government, and before his reign was over he had encompassed the death or imprisonment of nearly every member of the League of Public Welfare, and had not only recovered the lands alienated in 1465, but had acquired much additional territory. In 1466 he took advantage of a quarrel between his brother and the Duke of Brittany to win Normandy back from both of them When Louis told a meeting of the Estates General in 1468 that he intended to keep Normandy as a part of the royal domain, they agreed with him that the custom of granting appanages was a bad one Indeed, the people seem to have felt little sympathy with the struggles of the nobles against Louis. But Charles the Bold, when he had Louis in his power at Péronne, forced the king to recompense his brother for the loss of Normandy by a grant of Champagne and Brie Louis had come to Péronne hoping to get the better of Charles the Bold in a personal interview, and little thinking that Charles had learned of certain treacherous intrigues of his against him The result was that Charles kept Louis a virtual prisoner until he had agreed to his demands. But Louis never let any one go whom he once had in his power, not even when he had given him a safe-conduct. He soon hoodwinked his brother into accepting Guienne in place of Champagne and thus separated him by the breadth of France from his Burgundian ally. This brother had previously exchanged the duchy of Berri for Normandy, so that it is evident that he had no particular attachment to any one locality, nor had any locality much love for him. In 1472 he died so opportunely for the schemes of Louis that the king was suspected of having poisoned him. The next year Louis caught and imprisoned Armagnac; the year following, Alençon. In 1475 Saint-Pol, who had played fast and loose with both Burgundy and France, was captured by Charles the Bold, who annexed his lands, but gave Louis the pleasure of executing him. In 1477 Nemours was beheaded and Louis's numerous schemes against Charles the Bold at last bore fruit in the latter's defeat and death at the hands of the Swiss. Louis then attempted to annex various Burgundian provinces, but Maximilian had married Charles's daughter and fought for her heritage. In 1482 it was arranged that Maximilian's daughter, Margaret of Burgundy, should later marry Louis's son and heir to the throne, with Artois and the county of Burgundy as her dowry. Louis also spirited Savoy away from the heirs of his feeble-minded father-in-law. René of Anjou (1409–1480), titular king of Naples and Sicily and duke of Anjou and Maine, after many misfortunes and the loss of his other possessions, had retired in 1473 to his county of Provence and devoted the remainder of his life to art and literature (Figure 88). When he died in 1480, and his nephew, Charles of Maine, died in 1481, Maine and Anjou reverted to the Crown, while Provence for the first time in its history was incorporated in the kingdom of France. Except for Brittany, Artois, and the county of Burgundy, France had now very nearly reached its modern boundaries. In 1491 the son of Louis, Charles VIII, instead of marrying Margaret of Burgundy, added Brittany by forcing its heiress, Anne, to marry him, although she had just wed Maximilian by proxy. Thus both Margaret and Maximilian were left unwed. Artois and the county of Burgundy, however, were returned with Margaret to Maximilian in 1493. Savoy also regained its independence.

Local government, law

These very great acquisitions of territory under Charles VII from England and under Louis XI from the princely nobility and the dynasties on the frontiers could not, however, be at once absorbed into a homogeneous whole with the pre-existing royal domain, especially since the royal domain itself was not yet really homogeneous, but marked by the existence of local privileges and discrepancies. Like his predecessors, Louis XI followed the policy of "divide and rule." He was no more inclined than his father to call the Estates General except in time of need, preferring to deal with the numerous provincial assemblies. Those of Périgord, for example, met twice between 1378 and 1400, twenty-two times in the fifteenth century. Like his father, too, he created or sanctioned local *parlements* in his newly acquired territories — high courts of justice practically independent of the Parlement of Paris. In short, the king was still the chief bond of political union and France still lacked a national law. A royal order of April, 1454, for a redaction of customary law throughout the realm had not been carried out. It was renewed in 1481, but few localities complied. How slow the process was likely to be is shown by the case of the Touraine, or region about Tours. Here the local customary law was first written down in 1460. But Louis XI was not satisfied with it and ordered a new redaction. This was incomplete, and the third and final version was made only in 1494. In the Estates General of 1484, summoned after the death of Louis XI to decide the membership of the council of regency, voting was not by estates, but by six regions, "France," Normandy, Burgundy, Aquitaine, Languedoc, and Provence.

England

In contrast to the increasing power of the Crown in France under Charles VII, in England during the last years of the Hundred Years War the central government had been growing weaker and weaker. Henry VI was a feeble, though well-meaning, monarch; there was much disorder through the land, and Parliament, which had acquired so much authority under the Lancastrians, proved unable to cope with the situation alone without the aid of a strong executive. Great lords kept armed bands of retainers, seized property which did not belong to them, attacked their enemies, and intimidated sheriffs and juries, if an attempt was made to bring them to justice. They controlled the elections of members to Parliament. With the close of the war in France a disorderly element of adventurers, mercenaries, and brigands had returned to England, and discontent with the outcome of the war had weakened the hold of the king on his people. As in France, the greatest nobles were connected with the royal family. Edward III had married his younger sons to English heiresses and thus some estates of great size had been brought together. The two leading houses in the realm were the Lancastrians, who had held the throne thus far in the fifteenth century, and the Yorkists, who now had a better hereditary claim to the throne because they were descended from the second as well as the fifth son of Edward III, whereas the Lancastrians were descendants of his fourth son, John of Gaunt.

The Wars of the Roses

Henry VI was as little able to control his Lancastrian kinsmen, the Somersets and the Beauforts, as he was to restrain the Yorkist Party In 1455 there broke out a series of battles, raids, border fights, feuds, and murders between these two parties and also between lesser rival nobles in various parts of the land These are collectively known as the "Wars of the Roses" (1455–1485), but while the white rose was the emblem of the Yorkists, the red rose was not worn until the very last battle at Bosworth Field in 1485 by Henry Tudor The chief central thread of interest was the struggle for the throne Henry VI lost it in 1461 to Edward IV, previously the Duke of York He in turn was forced to flee to Bruges in 1470 by a hostile combination of the nobility under the lead of the Earl of Warwick, known as the "king-maker," who restored Henry VI to the throne Edward, however, returned in 1471 and slew most of his enemies, including poor old Henry and his youthful son Edward IV had offended most of his own family by marrying a nobody and elevating her relatives to the peerage. When he died, his brother Richard (Figure 92) executed several of the queen's kinsmen, seized the throne for himself, and later murdered Edward's two innocent boys But Richard III in his turn had to face hostile combinations of what was left of the nobility, and after two years on the throne lost his life and crown to Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who could connect his descent in a very indirect way with the House of Lancaster, and who now became Henry VII To make sure of his position Henry married the daughter of Edward IV.

The New Monarchy

Some authorities date the New Monarchy in England from Edward IV's reign and others from that of Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty. Edward IV, who felt that he had conquered his throne, was self-willed and made little use of Parliament except to put through bills of attainder against his enemies He instituted a new custom called "benevolences," in which he got money by bringing personal pressure to bear upon wealthy individuals and corporations such as those of the municipalities This was really taxation without the consent of Parliament Benevolences, however, were an irregular and precarious kind of revenue which could not be depended upon as could the permanent annual *taille* of France. Nor did the English kings establish a standing army. Henry VII was a sort of English Louis XI, however, equally shrewd and calculating and stingy and averse to war, but not quite so superstitious and cruel and despicable He continued the practice of benevolences and did not call Parliament often He instituted the Court of Star Chamber, made up of members of his own council, to punish the disorders of the great nobles and to deal with cases where the common-law courts and juries had proved ineffectual This court restored order in the land, but it was likely to be an instrument of tyranny, since it was not bound by the rules of the common law, could employ torture, and was under close royal influence Royal influence, indeed, was to reign supreme in England for the next hundred years, since the king gave order and protection, which the Lancastrian Parliaments had failed to do

The middle class

Battles and executions during the period of the Wars of the Roses had considerably depleted the ranks of the nobility In England, as in France, the fifteenth century was the time of the rise of the middle class The English towns now reached the height of their prosperity and independence Secure behind their walls, they took little part in the Wars of the Roses, and during that period, as well as in the preceding weak reign of Henry VI, profited by freedom from the interference of the central government. In the country much of the manorial organization had given way to tenants who rented large plots of land on fifty-year leases The *Paston Letters,* written by various members of the Paston family, show how in the fifteenth century persons of plebeian origin could gradually amass considerable landed property and hold important political and judicial offices Both Edward IV and Henry VII legislated in the interest of the commercial classes and of the economic welfare of the country Native English merchants were now getting the foreign trade into their hands The Tudors themselves were really an upstart Welsh family of middle-class origin, and they understood how to deal with that class, how to bully it and how to please it They replenished the nobility with other upstarts like themselves, whom for a time they were able to control When Parliament did meet in the Tudor period, it was generally of one mind with the king When young Henry VIII succeeded his father in 1509, he found the treasury full and his people devoted to him.

Landless peasantry

All was not well with the peasantry, however, many of whom had become landless agricultural laborers. The above-mentioned fifty-year leases of large plots of land meant that large landowners were ridding themselves of their customary tenants and turning over the soil to farmers on a large scale who cultivated it by hired labor. Or they fenced in what had before been open fields or even common lands and raised sheep there instead of tilling the soil The yeomen or landed peasants were still prosperous, but there was an increasing number of displaced and landless agricultural proletariat

Spain

The Christian kingdoms of the Spanish peninsula, during the later Middle Ages as before, had many disputed successions and family quarrels, and intermarried and fought with one another continually. France and England had interfered in their affairs a good deal during the Hundred Years War, and the kings of Aragon were much occupied with Sicily. But no great changes in the constitutional institutions of these kingdoms or in their relative size and importance occurred until the second half of the fifteenth century. Meanwhile the Mohammedans continued to hold Granada for over two centuries after they had lost the rest of the peninsula.

Ferdinand and Isabella

But the marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand, who was King of Aragon from 1479 to 1516, with Isabella, Queen of Castile and Leon from 1474 to 1504, and their conquest of Granada from the Moors, which was completed in 1492, ended the separate existence of those kingdoms which merged henceforth in one nation and state, since called Spain. Spanish Navarre was annexed to Castile by Ferdinand after Isabella's death. Ferdinand and Isabella accomplished more than mere territorial union. They were both able organizers and greatly developed the central government and royal power. They made much use of central councils of state and finance, and selected lawyers rather than the nobles and higher clergy as their chief administrative officials. Private war was forbidden, castles could not be built without the monarch's consent, and examination was made into the validity of the nobles' titles to their lands and considerable property was thus reclaimed for the Crown. Isabella revived an old institution by which armed brotherhoods in the Castilian towns had kept the peace in the localities, but she brought it under royal control and used it for the ends of the central government. Ferdinand extended this institution of the Holy Hermandad to Aragon. The two monarchs also revived the Holy Inquisition of the thirteenth century and had it transferred from papal to royal control in their territories. In fact the Spanish Church as a whole was brought under the control of the Crown, and, as we have seen, reformed. Isabella also had Ferdinand made grand master of the three great military orders as vacancies occurred, and thus brought those powerful organizations with their trained soldiery under direct royal control. The long struggle with the Moors for Granada during this reign also produced an efficient fighting force. The medieval army was modernized and the Spanish infantry were soon to eclipse the military reputation even of the Swiss. An attempt was made to unify the laws of Castile, which were published in eight books.

Ferdinand and Isabella were not favorably inclined toward representa-

Popular liberties, welfare

tive assemblies and parliamentary government, and once sixteen years went by without a meeting of the Cortes of Castile The monarchs treated the towns in their dominions with consideration, however, as they wished their support, and both industry and agriculture were in a flourishing condition They also looked after the social and economic welfare of their people and gave the peasants and lower classes better protection than was afforded by any other government of the time Queen Isabella is sometimes said to have established the first field hospital when in 1484 she provided six large tents fully furnished and free medical and surgical attendance Three years later it took four hundred "ambulancias" to carry the Queen's Hospital Yet Isabella and Ferdinand drove thousands of Jews from their realm and through the Spanish Inquisition burned at the stake many heretics and Moorish or Jewish converts to Christianity who had relapsed to their original faith Spain was not a land of great economic resources and this persecution of some of its most prosperous inhabitants and those most skillful in business and industries further operated to prevent the growth of a middle class The discovery of America still more increased the power of the Crown, which ruled the Spanish colonies absolutely and derived a great income in gold and silver bullion from them This did not in the long run stimulate the economic development of Spain itself, however, but rather had the contrary effect Castile was more amenable to the great increase of royal power under Ferdinand and Isabella than Aragon, which clung tenaciously to its old customs and local liberties But inasmuch as Castile was three times as large as Aragon it was likely in the end to swing the smaller kingdom with it

Portugal had with some difficulty maintained its independence of Castile during the later Middle Ages.

Decline of overland trade

With the break-up of the Mongol Empire and of the Golden Horde, overland communication and trade with the Far East became more difficult than in the days of Marco Polo Tamerlane had done great additional damage in Persia and adjacent lands The Ottoman Turks, although so frequently at war, were not unfavorable to commerce and industry, but trade with India and the Far East became largely limited to the southern sea routes from the Indian Ocean by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea These routes were controlled by Mohammedan traders and during the overland passage from the heads of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, the wares were subject to several expensive reloadings and duties Even in the case of what might seem the short carry from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, the goods were first landed at a port in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, then transported by land to Cairo, then transferred to boats and taken down the Nile to Rosetta, then loaded on camels again and carried to Alexandria At each stopping-place such heavy duties were levied that by the time the goods reached the Mediterranean the price had quadrupled Evidently an immense saving and profit would be effected by anyone who discovered an all-sea route from European ports to Malacca and Calicut, the two chief emporiums of the Indian Ocean Giovanni da Fontana, writing about 1450, said that the Indian Ocean was bounded on the east and south by unknown land, which, however, was in part accessible and through which there was perhaps a water passage

Portuguese exploration

Meanwhile, the work of maritime exploration and discovery, which during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had been chiefly carried on by Italians and Catalans, was continued by the Portuguese, especially after their conquest from the Mohammedans in 1415 of the important African port, Ceuta. Under the direction of one of the king's younger sons, Prince Henry (1394–1460), the island groups in the Atlantic were revisited and settled, and expeditions were dispatched farther and farther south down the west coast of the African continent As governor of the Portuguese military Order of Christ, Prince Henry was aiming to do in the Atlantic what the Teutonic Knights had accomplished in the Baltic, namely, to convert heathen natives to Christianity and to secure new territory for the order and for Portugal in the Atlantic islands and on the Guinea coast The economic accompaniment of these pious and political motives was a profitable trade in gold, ivory, and Negro slaves, in capturing whom the Portuguese became very proficient. It is doubtful if Prince Henry was aiming especially at the circumnavigation of Africa or a sea route to the Indies. Nor did he personally participate in these voyages, but remained in his astronomical observatory on a sea-girt promontory conning works of history and mathematics It has nevertheless become customary to speak of him as "Prince Henry the Navigator" Before his death the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered and the African coast explored almost to Sierra Leone

After Prince Henry's death the voyages went on just the same The equator was crossed in 1472–1473, the mouth of the Congo was reached in 1484. Leonardus Qualea, writing between 1470 and 1482, said that Africa was entirely surrounded by water except at Suez He made it much too wide but was not far wrong as to its length, stating that it extended 30 degrees north of the equator and 27 south, whereas the true figures are 35 and 33. In conformity with his excessive breadth for Africa, he made the land in the temperate zone extend 270 degrees from the Fortunate Islands to the coast and islands of the Oriental ocean. Hence only 90 degrees were left between Europe and Asia, if one sailed west. In 1486–1487 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope and sailed far enough beyond it to make sure that the southernmost extremity of the continent had at last been reached. At the same time that Diaz was rounding the Cape, King John II of Portugal sent forth three other expeditions: one to Abyssinia by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, one to endeavor to cross Africa overland from the Senegal, and one to try to sail northeast around Europe to China and India. Pero de Covilhão in 1487 explored the east coast of Africa and chief ports of India, and sent a message home from Cairo, explaining the possibility of circumnavigating Africa, later he went to Mecca, Medina, and Abyssinia, where he was kept a prisoner from 1490 until his death in 1525. During the second half of the fifteenth century, too, as records in Portuguese archives show, various individuals were granted rights to islands in the western ocean which they had discovered or hoped to find. English seamen from Bristol also had been sailing westward into the Atlantic, while a Danish voyage to Newfoundland has been claimed in 1472.

Christopher Columbus

But the scheme which was destined to prove most fruitful was that in which a Genoese sailor, Christopher Columbus, finally succeeded in enlisting the support of the Spanish court after unsuccessful overtures to other governments. In 1474 Columbus had gone to the Madeira Islands, had married there, and then embarked on a voyage to the north which took him beyond Iceland. During his residence and voyages in these distant outposts of European civilization he familiarized himself with western waters and deep-sea sailing, and probably heard many tales of distant lands and seas. In a Genoese legal record of August 25, 1479, Christopher Columbus, aged twenty-seven and a citizen of Genoa, but about to leave for Lisbon, testified that last year in Lisbon he was commissioned by Paolo di Negro to go to the Madeiras and purchase sugar there. We have already noted that medieval men knew that the world was round and had speculated as to the distance between the western shores of Spain and the easternmost coasts of Asia. In the same year that Columbus went to the Madeiras, Toscanelli, a Florentine scholar, in response to inquiries from Lisbon, had written to the Portuguese king that it was possible to reach China by sailing west and had sent a chart to illustrate his argument. The Portuguese king failed to follow Toscanelli's advice, and the letter and map were lost [1] Just what Columbus at first had in mind is disputed and was kept secret by him. But after his first voyage he was convinced that he had reached the islands of the Indian Ocean, and in letters which he wrote upon his return announcing his discoveries he referred to the natives as Indians, a name applied to them since

Discovery of America

Sailing from Palos with three caravels provisioned for a year, Columbus put into the Canaries to refit and then sailed west for five weeks without reaching land The crew began to grumble and then to plot against him, but he held to his purpose and on October 12, 1492, came to one of the small islands of the West Indies which he named San Salvador He cruised about the archipelago for three months and then returned in triumph to Spain Columbus made three subsequent voyages to the West Indies and northeast coast of South America, but died in the belief that he had reached Asiatic waters Before his death other mariners had followed in his trail Amerigo Vespucci, who accompanied some of these expeditions, was impressed by the fact that the South American coast did not correspond at all to the latitudes assigned to Cathay and India in the maps and geographies, and so wrote friends a letter in which he proclaimed it at least as a "New World" This letter was published and his name became associated with the new continents, which both in the south and the north were finally named "America"

Africa circumnavigated

Now that Spain had apparently found a westward route to the East, it became imperative for the Portuguese to complete their circumnavigation of Africa if they wished to be the first to establish trade with India and the Spice Islands In July, 1497, Vasco da Gama left Lisbon with four ships, a well-paid and well-trained crew, provisions for three years, and the best scientific instruments then obtainable At the Cape Verde Islands he left the coast to avoid calms and adverse winds and currents and sailed for three full months out of sight of land This was not, however, so bold a feat as the first voyage of Columbus, since Vasco knew just where he should strike land again He rounded the Cape in November and by March, 1498, reached Mozambique, where Arabic was spoken, and then Mombasa, where he secured a pilot who conducted him across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, which he reached in May In August he started back and arrived at Lisbon in September, 1499, with only half of his ships and one third of his men, but with a precious cargo of gems and spices This meant that the commercial greatness of Portugal was assured for the next century and that the day of Venice as the first sea power of Europe was over The Portuguese proved more than a match for the rival Mohammedan traders in the Indian Ocean, and they kept secret their routes to the East and received from the pope the exclusive right to make conquests and to convert the heathen there

---

[1] In *l'Universo*, vol 22 (1941), S. Crini claims to have discovered the original of the Toscanelli letter

Stimulus to civilization

The Spanish discovery of a new world and the Portuguese renewal of contact in a closer way with the old world of the Orient both broadened human knowledge and quickened the imagination Geography and astronomy acquired vast stores of new data and were able to correct previous misinformation Science learned of new plants and new animals, which were sometimes introduced into Europe, affecting the daily life of the average man New races and unsuspected stages of human civilization were encountered, although not at first scientifically scrutinized and appreciated New fields were opened to economic, maritime, and colonial enterprise Literature profited by new subject-matter and a new inspiration Even more, perhaps, than the crusades, the voyages of discovery aroused the spirit of adventure and represented energy and enterprise The Atlantic was now destined to replace the Mediterranean as the chief waterway of Europe, and the states bordering on it rose successively to national greatness and took the lead as maritime powers, first Portugal and Spain, then the Dutch and English These changes came about gradually and were largely in the future, but they give us further reason for closing our survey of the Middle Ages about the year 1500 Vasco da Gama's voyage marked the beginning of that European political and economic exploitation of the Far East and of Africa which is a prominent feature of modern history The voyage of Columbus is not only one of the boundary stones between the Middle Ages and modern times, it also reminds us that American history opens as medieval history closes

Bibliographical Note

There are books on Charles the Bold by Ruth Putnam and J F Kirk On the French army in the reign of Charles VII, Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, pp 547–574, on Louis XI, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII, chapter 8 On conditions in England C L Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England*, H. S Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England*, J Gairdner, *The Paston Letters.* On Spain M Hume, *Spain, 1479–1788*, pp 1–11, foreign affairs, pp 11–30, domestic government, Cheyney, *European Background*, pp 79–103 On Portugal and Prince Henry the Navigator Beazley, *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, Oliveira Martins, *Golden Age of Prince Henry the*

Navigator, S E Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century*, Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, E Sanceau, *The Land of Prester John* On the age of discovery W H Babcock, *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic*, N. M Crouse, *In Quest of the Western Ocean*, Charles Duff, *The Truth About Columbus*, J E. Gillespie, *A History of Geographical Discovery, 1400–1800*, A P Newton, *The Great Age of Discovery*, Salvador de Madariaga, *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire*, 1947

XXXVI

Economic and Social Change

IN THIS CHAPTER we have to note: (1) the emergence in the source-material of a purely economic point of view, (2) the increasing prominence of individual capitalists and of monopolies, although such a previous capitalistic industry as Flemish clothmaking declined, (3) yet, with this, the continued development of gilds, (4) life in the towns, (5) the lot of the peasant and a series of peasant revolts.

With the fourteenth century we begin to have books written by merchants for merchants, records of Florentine and other commercial companies, and the account books of various individuals. About 1340 Francesco Balducci Pegolotti composed in Italian his *Mercantile Practice* in which, largely upon the basis of personal experience, he described the chief roads and markets, imports and exports, moneys, weights, measures, and business methods of different regions. Francesco Datini of Prato, who lived from 1335 to 1410, prospered at Avignon, then returned to Italy and founded business establishments at Florence, Pisa, and Prato, with branches at Genoa and, in the Spanish peninsula, at Valencia, Barcelona, and Palma. When he died without direct heirs, he left all his fortune to a local charity on the condition that all five hundred registers of his business be preserved by it. These volumes constitute the richest economic archives of the Middle Ages and enable us to trace the introduction of double-entry bookkeeping, which was in use at Florence and Pisa from the year 1386, at Barcelona from 1393, at Palma and Valencia from 1396, and at Prato and Avignon from 1398.

Mercantile writings

The Libell of English Policy, a poem written in 1436, gives frank expression to economic nationalism. England was urged to control the Channel by holding Calais as well as Dover. Flanders was represented as dependent on English wool and on trade with Spain, Scotland, and the Hanseatic League. England could force Scotland to peace by controlling the Channel and shutting off Flanders. The poet enumerated in detail the commodities produced and exported by various countries. The galleys of Genoa and Florence, in his opinion,

Libell of English Policy

brought luxuries and trifles to England and took away English gold and thrift He also attacked the Lombards or Italian bankers The sailors of Brittany he cursed out as "the greatest rovers and thieves that have been on the sea for many years " He favored the annexation of all Ireland It ought to be one with England, since they had a natural community of interest It was a fertile land, had fine harbors, and a London jeweler informed him that there was silver and gold of rare quality there "amonge the wylde Yrishe," a phrase that he more than once repeats The Earl of Ormond had assured him that the cost of one year of war in France, if properly utilized, would bring all Ireland under English control within a year, and that the initial expense would be soon repaid by the gain in commerce

Individual capitalists

Whereas in the case of the First Crusade we heard of the Pisans and Genoese as groups supplying the crusading armies in Syria with provisions, now we hear of individuals like Jacques Cœur who amassed large fortunes by contracting for royal courts and armies or managing coinage and tax collecting and then making loans with their acquired capital No town government would have tolerated such exploitation of its resources by a single individual "However various their origins," says Pirenne, "the capitalists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were all obliged to enter into relations with princes, and a complete solidarity of interests was established between the two " A fall in the rate of interest in the fifteenth century indicates more abundant capital and easier credit In the German cities trade flourished and companies with large capital were formed But these tended to establish monopolies and to make things hard for the small merchant and the consumer The silver and copper mines of Germany, Bohemia, the Tyrol, and Hungary passed from the hands of the actual miners, who had been working shareholders, into the control of capitalists

Papal alum concession

Monopolies, which were to be bitterly complained of in the German Diets of the early sixteenth century and the English Parliaments later in that century, already existed Even the Church permitted and profited by them, as the following example will show. Alum was much used in the cloth and leather industries After the fall of Constantinople, the Turkish Sultan made the Genoese who leased the mines pay a much higher rent, and in consequence the price of alum soared But in 1461 alum was discovered at Tolfa in the Papal States and was marketed by a company which received a papal concession and employed thousands of laborers. The papal share in this undertaking was about one hundred thousand ducats annually. Importation of Turkish alum was thereupon prohibited, and the European market was further secured by a price-fixing convention made with the leading rival Christian producer, the King of Naples

Clothmaking industries

A Florentine merchant in a letter to a Venetian in the later fifteenth century said that Florence boasted of two industries greater than any four in Venice namely, woolens which went to Rome, Naples, Sicily, the Morea, Constantinople, Saloniki, Gallipoli, and Rhodes; and silk and gold brocades, of which "we produce more than Venice, Genoa, and Lucca combined, and you know that we have houses, shops, and warehouses at Lyons, Bruges, London, Antwerp, Avignon, Geneva, Marseilles, and in Provence" He added that there were eighty-three silk factories in Florence But we have seen that about this same time Florentine capitalists were putting their money into real estate rather than industry

The Flemish cloth industry began to decline in the course of the fourteenth century, partly because the supply of wool from England was cut off from time to time, but perhaps more because of internal difficulties and discontent The capitalistic character of the industry did not disappear when the patrician class ceased to control the town governments The three chief towns — Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres — now united against the count, and now divided against each other The large towns resorted to every conceivable hook and crook to keep the smaller ones from producing stuffs like theirs; the towns in general suppressed all attempts by villagers to engage in clothmaking Within a given town there was strife not only among the three groups of patricians, wool workers, and members of minor crafts, but also between the weavers and fullers as to their respective wages There is not the slightest trace of innovation and improvement in the technique of clothmaking during the fourteenth century, and by 1350 the industry began to decline in prosperity A "new drapery" then began to develop in the rural districts, using Spanish instead of English wool, and manufacturing light and low-priced cloths in place of the "fine cloth" of the older urban cloth industry

Some economic historians hold that the organization of gilds did not reach its height until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We may give one or two instances how they then gained a large share in or complete control of town governments

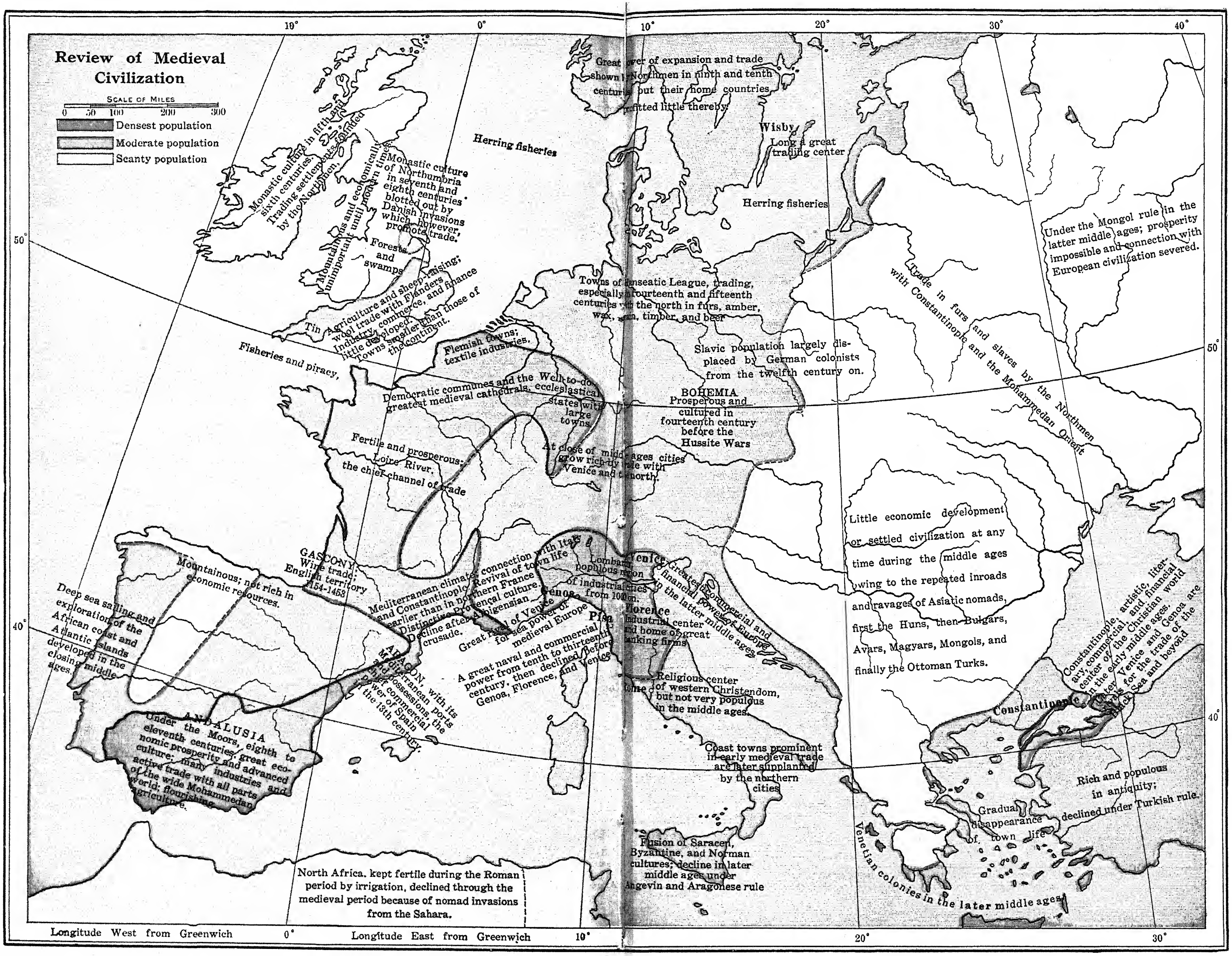
The gilds in Brussels

In Brussels through the thirteenth century seven wealthy families constituted a privileged caste and controlled the municipal government These capitalists bought wool in large quantities and put it out to be worked up by hired laborers They would not permit the fullers, weavers, dyers, and other artisans to form gilds or to hold municipal office But with the fourteenth century came gradual changes from oligarchic to more nearly democratic conditions. In 1322 gilds of weavers and fullers were formed In 1333 a law that no one could be an alderman more than once in six years prevented the seven families from co-opting their own members over and over again and opened the office, not to the common people, but to the other patricians In 1356 the board of aldermen lost the power of naming the heads of the gilds In 1359 the artisans acquired the right to audit the municipal accounts. In 1365 many new gilds came into existence In 1368 some artisans were added to the board of arbitration in disputes, and the next year the representatives of the gilds co-operated with the aldermen in drawing up certain ordinances. In 1375 the custom of the aldermen electing their own successors was abolished In the early fifteenth century dissension among the patricians gave the artisans the balance of power, and in 1421 the municipal government was altered thus To the old board of seven aldermen and the two receivers taken from the patricians were added ten new officials: namely, two burgomasters, two receivers, and six sworn councilors Only one of the new ten might be a patrician, while the other nine were from nine corporative groups called Nations It will be noted, however, that the patricians kept a majority of ten in nineteen and furthermore that the new ten were chosen by the seven aldermen

In Cologne and Liége

Cologne was another city where the gilds came into political power In 1370 their council of fifty replaced the previous government, but the next year there was a return to aristocracy, although not to the previous constitution In 1396 the gilds came into power again, with seventeen groups against five bodies of non-artisans including the old aristocrats These twenty-two corporations served as town-guards in rotation. But in 1450 a plutocracy replaced the rule of the gilds. At Liége after 1384 the thirty-two craft gilds completely controlled the town government In 1407 representatives of the gilds were admitted to the town councils of Rostock and Wismar.

In other towns, on the contrary, such as Marseilles and Aix-en-Provence in southern France, the development was in the opposite direction, and popular government disappeared in the fourteenth century. At Marseilles in 1348 the upper and lower town were united under an oligarchic government. In Aix in the course of the century, the general town assemblies gave way to a council of thirty which elected its own members. Aix continued to grow in size, however, from 1350 to 1646. In north Germany a revolt in Brunswick against the patrician oligarchy was repressed in 1374, and Lubeck was upset by civil strife from 1408 to 1418


Review of Medieval Civilization
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
Densest population
Moderate population
Scanty population
10°
0°
10°
20°
30°
40°
50°
50°
40°
40°
Longitude West from Greenwich
0°
Longitude East from Greenwich
10°
20°
30°
Monastic culture in fifth and sixth centuries. Trading settlements founded by the Northmen,
Mountainous and economically unimportant until modern times
Monastic culture of Northumbria in seventh and eighth centuries blotted out by Danish invasions which, however, promote trade.
Forests and swamps
Herring fisheries
Tin
Agriculture and sheep-raising; wool trade with Flanders Industry, commerce, and finance little developed. Towns smaller than those of the continent.
Fisheries and piracy,
Flemish towns; textile industries.
Democratic communes and the greatest medieval cathedrals.
Well-to-do ecclesiastical states with large towns
Fertile and prosperous: Loire River, the chief channel of trade
At close of middle ages cities grow rich by trade with Venice and the north.
GASCONY; Wine trade; English territory 1154-1453
Mountainous; not rich in economic resources.
Deep sea sailing and exploration of the African coast and Atlantic islands developed in the closing middle ages.
Mediterranean climate; connection with Italy and Constantinople. Revival of town life earlier than in northern France Distinctive Provençal culture. Decline after Albigensian crusade.
ARAGON, with its Mediterranean ports and possessions, the chief commercial power of Spain in the 13th century.
ANDALUSIA Under the Moors, eighth to eleventh centuries, great economic prosperity and advanced culture; many industries and active trade with all parts of the wide Mohammedan world; flourishing agriculture.
North Africa. kept fertile during the Roman period by irrigation, declined through the medieval period because of nomad invasions from the Sahara.
Great rival of Venice for sea power of medieval Europe
Genoa
Pisa
A great naval and commercial power from tenth to thirteenth century, then declined before Genoa, Florence, and Venice
Lombardy populous region of industrial cities from 1000 on.
Venice
Greatest commercial and financial power of Europe in the latter middle ages
Florence
Industrial center and home of great banking firms
Rome
Religious center of western Christendom, but not very populous in the middle ages.
Coast towns prominent in early medieval trade are later supplanted by the northern cities
Fusion of Saracen, Byzantine, and Norman cultures; decline in later middle ages under Angevin and Aragonese rule
Great power of expansion and trade shown by Northmen in ninth and tenth centuries but their home countries profitted little thereby.
Wisby
Long a great trading center
Herring fisheries
Towns of Hanseatic League, trading, especially in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the north in furs, amber, wax, grain, timber, and beer
Slavic population largely displaced by German colonists from the twelfth century on.
BOHEMIA Prosperous and cultured in fourteenth century before the Hussite Wars
Trade in furs and slaves by the Northmen with Constantinople and the Mohammedan Orient
Under the Mongol rule in the latter middle ages; prosperity impossible and connection with European civilization severed.
Little economic development or settled civilization at any time during the middle ages owing to the repeated inroads and ravages of Asiatic nomads, first the Huns, then Bulgars, Avars, Magyars, Mongols, and finally the Ottoman Turks.
Constantinople
Constantinople, artistic, literary, commercial, and financial center of the Christian world in the early middle ages. Later Venice and Genoa are rivals for the trade of the Black Sea and beyond
Rich and populous in antiquity; declined under Turkish rule.
Gradual disappearance of town life
Venetian colonies in the later middle ages

Gild and town exclusive

While the gild movement spread to new areas, in the existing gilds it was becoming increasingly difficult for the apprentice and journeyman to rise to the position of a master-workman The existing masters tried to hand on their positions to their sons or sons-in-law, the fees had been raised; and with the general decline in population most gilds ceased to expand. Many artisans were thus kept in the status of day laborers with little prospect of improving their position, and hence formed protective associations of their own. It also was becoming difficult for newcomers to acquire citizenship in towns.

French gilds

In France the number of gilds multiplied after the Hundred Years War, but the king's main thought seems to have been to exploit them He tried to organize them in companies with banners as a national guard, and he initiated the abuse of selling letters of mastership which admitted the purchaser to full membership in a gild without requiring him to perform a masterpiece or even to pass through the period of apprenticeship

Belgian and German towns

Even such depopulation as the Black Death brought with it did not prevent the growth of certain towns Between 1357 and 1379 Brussels enlarged the circuit of its walls so as to triple the town area Louvain and Tirlemont surrounded their suburbs with walls at about the same time The number of public schools in Brussels was increased in 1382 from ten to thirteen, and there were grammar schools in even minor towns of that region While the Hanseatic towns and the commercial cities of south Germany prospered through the fifteenth century, as a rule the old towns of west Germany had ceased to increase in size and population in the course of the fourteenth century, and were not to boom again until the nineteenth century. In the south, Nurnberg in 1450 had a population of 20,165, Basel, about 8000 A few years before Frankfort had 8719 inhabitants; Fribourg in Switzerland, 5200; while Strasburg in 1475 numbered 26,198 It is indeed almost impossible to generalize as to conditions in the towns, each of which had its own characteristics and history. The best course will be to note a few more concrete examples

Bologna in 1496 had a population of about 46,000, judging from statistics preserved for the quarter of S. Procolo, where were listed 11,105 persons living in 1685 houses Of barbers there were forty with 203 mouths to feed There were 16 scholars in one house and 37 porters in another. The quarter contained 21 priests, 413 monks in seven monasteries, and 349 friars in eight convents. There were ten German households comprising 58 persons in all. After barbers and porters the most numerous occupations were shoemakers, masons, bakers, painters, goldsmiths, and innkeepers There were four physicians and three schoolmasters

Life at Metz

At Metz a law of 1304 decreed that the town should keep the pavements in repair but at the expense of the owners of each house, that the streets should be twenty-four feet wide, and that their levels and inclines should be maintained exactly In 1324 Metz had seventeen gates, sixty-eight towers, and — it is claimed — artillery already on its walls. The next year the municipality, in making peace with the bishop, promised him that it would not henceforth force priests to give the sacraments to usurers Passing on to the next century, we may note that in 1406, in order to enlarge a public square, the booths of sixty money-changers were torn down In 1425, since the owners of twelve mills on the river Moselle failed to keep a wooden dyke in repair, the town acquired the mills, forbade the construction of others, and paved the dyke in stone In July, 1437, there was given a passion play which had fifty-three acts and lasted four days On June 21, 1451, a ream of fine paper sold for nine sous in Metz, a ream of coarse paper for four sous, six deniers. In 1476 it was decreed that hotel proprietors must keep a list of their guests for the police Known as Metz the Rich in previous centuries, the town began to decline economically in the second half of the fifteenth century and suffered further from the depredations of robber knights in the early sixteenth century Seditious movements stirred up by the gilds had occurred in the thirteenth and still more frequently in the fourteenth century, but the last was in 1452

Lyons

Lyons, on what was then the frontier of the kingdom of France at the junction of the Rhone and Sâone rivers, had been granted a commune by the king in 1320 The municipal government included a popular assembly, twelve consuls usually chosen from the richer citizens and burdened with onerous duties, and fifty representatives of the trades, two for each group, named by the outgoing consuls. There were no gilds but, instead of these, twenty-five groups of free and open occupations The town reached its high point during the Burgundian war of 1417–1435, when the population numbered about 40,000 After that Lyons began to decline The archbishop was the chief personage in town, and the thirty-two canons of the cathedral of Saint John wore mitres as if bishops, while their rich dress inspired that of the Roman cardinals There was much external religious activity in the form of ceremonial, almsgiving, and funerals But the life of the townsmen was coarse, characterized by violent language and brutal actions. Families were large but included illegitimate as well as legitimate children. There was much money-changing, as was to be expected in a town on the border and on the main trade route from Italy. Judging from the lawsuits of the time, bad faith was prevalent and it was a cardinal principle never to pay up if you could help it Art flourished, but the schools were not far advanced

Nantes

A local historian of Nantes in Brittany, named Guépin, who wrote over a century ago in 1839, deplored the fact that "each day sees disappear some of the wooden houses of the fifteenth century, which were the most beautiful ornament of our town, rivaling in their sculpture and stained glass the luxury of châteaux and of churches" He thought that the best houses in Nantes were not older than the fifteenth century, but that it marked the apogee of medieval art there, and that the much-vaunted Renaissance was the signal of decadence and bad taste These houses were at most two or three stories high, each story projecting farther over the street than the one below it In some dark staircases ascended forty feet without light The windows varied greatly Often they were so numerous as to make almost a cage of glass to catch all the light that could be got from the narrow street In other houses even the largest windows were narrow enough In all cases they were formed of small panes of glass, often stained and held by leads and rings of iron There was only a single flue to a chimney and no evidence of sanitary arrangements or of a water supply within the house People lived in closer quarters in the fifteenth century, forty or fifty to a building where twenty-four would be accommodated in Guépin's day The paintings, carvings, tapestries, and ornaments had for the most part been destroyed in the French Revolution

First Urban Sanitary Act in England

In England it was probably a decay of local and municipal efficiency after the Black Death which led Parliament in 1388 to pass what is said to be the first Urban Sanitary Act This ordered proclamation to be made in towns that filth and garbage were not to be thrown into "ditches, rivers, waters, and other places," under penalty of paying a fine to the king, because thereby "the air there is greatly corrupt and infect, and many maladies and other intolerable diseases do daily happen," not only to the inhabitants of the towns but also "to others repairing and traveling thither" When this same Parliament had met at Cambridge a short time before, the chancellor of the university was commanded by royal writ "to remove from the streets and lanes of the town all swine and all dirt, dung, filth, and branches of trees, and to cause the streets and lanes to be kept clean for the future" (Coulton)

The fifteenth century was on the whole a hard age and sorry time,

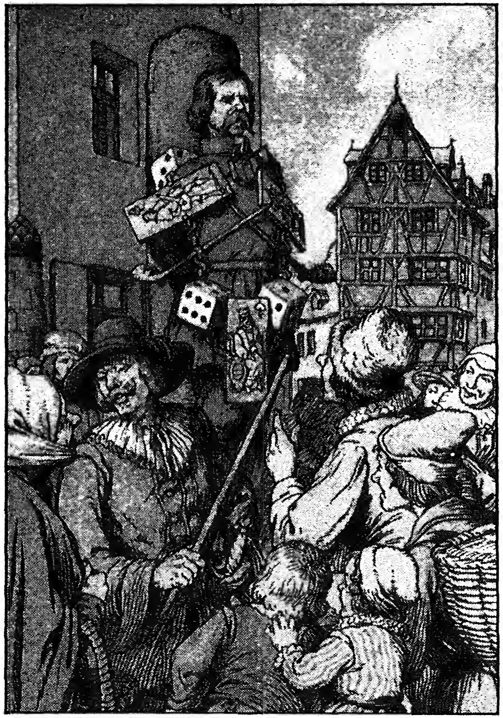


Figure 93

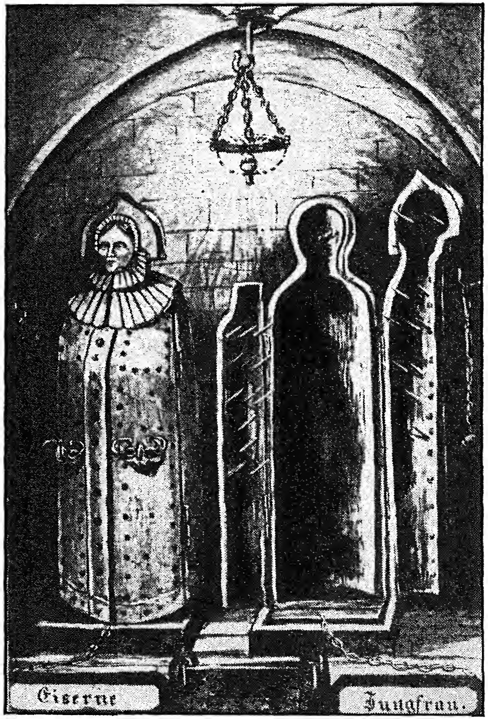

Eiserne
Jungfrau.

Figure 94

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Left, penalty for cheating at dice and cards; *right*, the iron virgin of Nürnberg

A hard age

unfavorable to peace, to local self-government, to popular prosperity or political aspiration. The historian Stubbs found it even more futile, bloody, and immoral than the fourteenth. Liberties were being lost instead of won; charity waned instead of waxing, old towns were sacked rather than new ones founded, if more wealth accumulated in a few hands, the general prosperity was less. "Nothing pleases me," wrote Meschinot (1430–1509), the gloomy squire of fifteenth-century French poetry. Nor was his attitude merely one of personal spleen but was due in some measure at least to the fact that, in an age when ridiculous eulogy of princes was almost universal, he dared give voice to the sad state of the people. It has been noticed that the faces in the paintings of the reign of Louis XI, under a great variety of physiognomy all show the same worried, perplexed, disquiet look, as of restive consciences, perforce or through interest submissive to the caprice and tyranny of the king. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was an increase in the number of personal slaves in western Europe. They did not come merely from Portuguese Africa, for Antonino, Archbishop of Florence, tells how one might sell oneself into slavery. There was some good cheer, however. When Tafur visited Basel in the first half of the fifteenth century, he noted that even the common people sang part songs as skillfully as trained artists.

A terrible feature of the later fifteenth century was the sacking of towns. In 1466 at Dinant only an altar of Saint Lawrence was left, and the aged Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, came from Namur to see the massacre. At Liége in 1467–1468 no age nor sex and not even priests were spared by the joint onslaught of Charles the Bold and Louis XI, and the town was left in flames and burned for seven weeks. At Volterra in 1472 rape, slaughter, and fire were the fate of a city which had not been taken by storm but had surrendered in due form to Frederick of Urbino, owner of a fine library and general for Florence under the enlightened rule of Lorenzo de' Medici — all this because of a dispute over an alum mine! Such atrocities were to culminate in the sack of Rome in 1527.

Tyranny of Louis XI

The affair of Arras provides an apt illustration of the extremes to which might be carried the unbridled, arbitrary royal power and despotism which were becoming the order of the day. For having resisted his authority, after he had annexed them against their will, Louis XI expelled the entire population and established a new town with a new name, Franchise, whether applied with conscious or unconscious irony, and new inhabitants. For this purpose he forced other loyal towns of his realm, sorely against their will, to provide each some fifty families of trained artisans, who were torn from their native hearths and made to live under alien conditions, while their native towns not only lost their services and taxes, but had to pay for the maintenance of the new scheme, which was doomed to failure from the outset. Montaigne, in the next century, recalled that when Louis XI took Arras, many of its inhabitants let themselves be hanged rather than say, "God save the king!"

As a young man Louis had ravaged Alsace-Lorraine terribly with his "scorchers." Later he similarly devastated Franche-Comté and added the destruction of Dôle to that of the towns already named. Louis has often been represented as the foe of the great nobility, the friend of the towns and the burghers. But he had no more mind for municipal than for feudal independence and rights. If the townsmen suffered less at his hands than the nobles, it was mainly because they had less courage to resist him. Woe unto a town, if it did! Bourges as his birthplace had been rather a favorite with him, and he had founded a new university there despite strenuous opposition from the universities of Paris and Orléans, from René of Anjou, the Duchess of Orléans, and the Parlement of Paris. But when in 1474 there was an uprising in Bourges against his tax collectors, he suppressed it ferociously, ordering his commissioners to disregard all immunities, rights of sanctuary, and like privileges, to treat the least suspects as guilty, not to allow any rich backers of the revolt to escape — which last instruction, however, they ventured to ignore. He deprived the town of its four popularly elected syndics and put in a mayor and sheriffs appointed by himself. And he imprisoned all those who had counseled leniency to the offenders at a town meeting held concerning the disorder before he had intervened.

A more amusing and petty specimen of his tyranny is afforded by the annals of the loyal town of Tours, on which among other burdens Louis had laid the load of keeping a number of his prisoners. In 1480 Simon de Quingay, captured at the siege of Verdun, arrived in an iron cage with a ball and chain on his leg and a bell which rang whenever he stirred. Cage and all, he was placed in the mayor's house for safe-keeping. He could not move far, however, and complained so vigorously of his restricted quarters and the wound on his leg produced by his fetters, that Louis sent a steward to remove the ball and chain and to enlarge the cage so that Simon could stand erect in it. His health thereupon improved, but one day Louis was seized by a desire to see him in person and ordered that he be forwarded, still in the cage, which it required fifteen horses to draw, to Plessis where the king was. Before this could be done, masons had to break down a portion of the wall of the mayor's house, since the enlarged cage would no longer go through the door Louis, however, soon tired of Simon's company and sent him back after three days, when it was again necessary to make a breach in the mayoralty mansion to readmit him

Charles VIII restored to Bourges its popularly elected syndics But while some of Louis's arbitrary acts were thus rescinded by his immediate successors, they on the other hand often failed to keep the promises by which he had lured the regions along his borders, such as Provence, to come under the control of the French crown.

Louis XI has been credited with increasing the economic prosperity of France, but it may be questioned if he did not do so largely by favoring foreigners at the expense of local interests When he established seventeen silk weavers from Nîmes at Tours, it was at the latter town's expense and despite the protests of both the clergy and the burghers

In the rural districts just south of Paris, which offered an advantageous market for their products, population increased rapidly after the Hundred Years War but never regained the size it once had Forced labor had become very rare, while hired laborers often owned considerable property and were able to marry off their daughters well and make bequests A score of priories were in decay, but brotherhoods were many, and there was still a hospital at the gate of almost every village There were no physicians but plenty of barber-surgeons, and the archdeacon fined any parish that was without a midwife Guardians of orphans must send them to the village school and pay their fees for from two to four years In 1468 the inhabitants of Gentilly complained bitterly to the archdeacon that they had no school Only the well-to-do had houses of more than one story Wages jumped under Charles VIII but dropped in the sixteenth century, yet even then were rather more, except in the case of domestic servants, than on the eve of World War I. Fish and cereals cost more than at this later date, but meat was cheaper, horses and cows much more so Butter, lard, and beans advanced in price in the sixteenth century but were still lower than in 1914. Furniture was mostly of oak, and clothing lasted a lifetime Linen was abundant. There were various games and amusements, such as the mysteries on saints' days, tennis and croquet, dances and banquets. But elsewhere rural life was less idyllic

German peasant revolts

The lot of the peasant grew worse all over Germany in the fifteenth century. The peasants complained that their lords were requiring increased rents and services of them, and were encroaching upon the common lands Serfdom increased in the once free east, where the Junkers of Prussia were coming into existence The small states, into which the Holy Roman Empire had subdivided, adopted as oppressive a policy towards the peasant as the Italian cities had Those peasants who had built up large holdings were well off, but the number of small holdings had grown, and also the class of landless agricultural laborers Lords with power of jurisdiction over rural districts as well as lords of the soil kept increasing their powers Capitalistic estates grew in size, and farmer-knights sought to restrict the free movement of the peasants and to bring them back to a state of serfdom

The result was revolt after revolt in which the towns, or at least the lower classes in the towns, sometimes supported the peasants In 1391 there was an uprising at Gotha directed primarily against Jewish usurers A long struggle of the peasants against the abbot of Kempten started in 1423 In 1432 there were revolts in the Rhineland, Saxony, Silesia, and Brandenburg. Revolts of the proletariat in German towns occurred at Rothenburg in 1450, Vienna in 1452, Cologne in 1482 and 1513, Augsburg in 1491, Constance in 1509, Speyer in 1512, and at Ulm and Worms in 1513 Towards the close of the fifteenth century and in the early years of the sixteenth came a series of Bundschuh revolts, so called from the peasant shoe, tied with string, which was adopted as an emblem These culminated in the great but unsuccessful Peasants' Revolt of 1525

Other peasant revolts

Elsewhere the uprisings of the peasantry met with varying fortune Those in France and England in the fourteenth century and the lot of the peasant in those two countries in the fifteenth century have been discussed previously. In Catalonia, where a burdensome serfdom had long prevailed, the peasants of Upper Catalonia rose in rebellion in 1375 It took two more uprisings before they finally won their freedom with the aid of the Crown in 1471 In Majorca, on the contrary, where capitalists of the towns had aroused discontent by buying up rural property, four successive revolts against them between 1351 and 1477 were unsuccessful In Denmark the net result of three great rebellions in the century from 1340 to 1441 was only to strengthen the power of the aristocracy of German landholders over the peasants But the free peasants of Sweden were successful in a struggle to maintain their freedom from 1437 to 1440

A specific instance of a peasant revolt may be taken from the duchy of Carinthia. In Carinthia the penny of Aquileia was worth four *Heller*, the imperial penny, only two *Heller*. The thrifty peasants prospered by asking five *Heller* per penny for their produce at market and paying their landlords only three *Heller* per penny, with the result, we are told, that they wore costlier clothes and drank better wine than their lords. When in February, 1478, an imperial official penalized this practice, they formed a *Bund* One purpose of it was to fight the Turks, against whom the nobles had failed to defend them; another was to avoid paying emperor or landlord higher taxes or dues than had been customary. Priests were henceforth to be appointed and, if necessary, deposed by the community; they were to receive no offerings unless they joined the *Bund,* and they were not to charge more than seven pence for a low mass and twelve for a high mass In wine-growing districts new landlords were sought in place of the Dominicans and Franciscans. The *Bund* might raise funds of its own, and there were to be four peasant representatives on every court The peasants would do no business with clergy, nobles, towns, and markets which did not join the *Bund* Peasants who did not join were not merely to enjoy none of its benefits, but no one was to give them fire, if theirs went out, their children were not to receive baptism, or their dying, extreme unction

Peasantry in eastern Europe

In Hungary in the fourteenth century those peasants who had been serfs and those who had been free were merged into one villein class Legally they were no longer bound to the soil and might go where they pleased They paid less in kind than the serfs had paid but more than the free peasant had paid But money payments were required of them which before only the free peasants had made, and they were further subject to ever increasing royal taxation, although they had no political rights Various services were also still required of them. After 1400 they kept complaining that the clergy were illegally demanding payment of the tithes in money instead of in kind, and that the landowners were demanding more labor and more payment in kind than had been customary. There was a peasant revolt in 1437, local uprisings in the early years of the sixteenth century, and then a general rebellion in 1514. The result was that they lost their right of free migration and were reduced to practical serfdom until their enfranchisement in 1848

In both Poland and Bohemia the peasants lost the right of free migration before the end of the fifteenth century In both countries the declining value of money made the dues or rent paid by the peasant in cash less acceptable to the landlords In Poland the peasantry had been prosperous in the fourteenth century, but by the middle of the fifteenth century the gentry, who were in a position to give more attention to their landed estates, now that the feudal military service had been replaced by mercenaries, began to demand higher rents and more labor, and to get control of the village communities by buying up the office of headman. Finally in 1493 and 1496 the peasants were forbidden to leave their village without the consent of the landlord, and their right of appeal to the royal courts was reduced

In Bohemia also, where the defeat of the Taborites had been a blow to the lower classes, the landlords, whose income had fallen in purchasing value, began to reside permanently on their estates and to increase their productiveness by requiring more service from the villeins and by taking away land from them for fishponds, while at the same time they incensed the towns by introducing in the rural district industry and commerce such as the brewing and sale of beer In 1497 the king forbade villeins to migrate to the towns or to the land of another without the permission of their lords

Bibliographical Note

Extracts from Pegolotti are translated in Yule, *Cathay*, III (1914), 137–173 The full text was edited by Allan Evans in 1936 *The Libell of English Policy* is published in Volume 14 of the Master of the Rolls Series (*Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*) Eileen Power, *The Goodman of Paris* (1928), is a translation of *Le ménagier de Paris* Gabriel Biel, *Treatise on the Power and Utility of Money*, translated by R B Burke San Bernardino, *Lenten Sermons of 1427*, translated by Ada Harrison (1926) Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures (1435–1439)*, translated by Malcolm Letts (1926)

Some secondary works are M Beer, *Early British Economics* (1938), N S B. Gras, "Economic Rationalism in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 304–312, H Pirenne, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (1936), chapter VII, "Economic Changes of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", G Slater, *English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields* (1907), Eileen Power and M M Postan, *English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, and see works already listed at the close of Chapters XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIV, and XXXV

XXXVII

Learning, Literature, and Art of the Closing Middle Ages

The universities

THE FOUNDING of new universities continued in the later Middle Ages, and it was only from 1348 on that they came into existence in Germany and eastern Europe, Scandinavia and Scotland. First of these was the University of Prague, founded by Charles IV in 1348. Vienna in 1365 and Heidelberg in 1385 were offshoots of Paris, whose prominent schoolmen, Henry of Hesse and Marsilius d'Inghen, were respectively associated with these new foundations. But this meant that the students of those regions went less to Paris and other western universities than before. New universities were sometimes founded to keep the local boys from spending their money elsewhere, or to boom a declining town. Or they were needlessly multiplied because the English set up would-be rivals of Paris in the territory which they occupied in the Hundred Years War. Or there might be a duplication as a result of the papal schism. Some of these new growths were short-lived. Of six founded in eastern Europe and Scandinavia, three died almost immediately. In other universities "reformations" were necessary from time to time. An increasing tendency at Paris and later at Oxford to transfer instruction to the colleges indicates that the number of students had decreased, as also the number of masters who boasted a house or lecture room of their own. But at Paris the colleges themselves began to decline. Only three new ones were founded in the second half of the fifteenth century, while the incomes of most of the old ones were no longer sufficient to support their masters and bursars (i.e., holders of scholarships and free boarders). At Oxford in 1462 there were still sixty halls where students lived, in addition to the colleges, but most of them had disappeared by the close of the century. The founding of new universities also ceased in most parts of Europe in the later fifteenth century. Whereas eight had been added in Italy between 1301 and 1450, none was founded between 1450 and 1500. In France there had been a dozen or more new universities between 1301 and 1464, there was none between 1464 and 1500 except for a momentary attempt of Besançon to replace Dôle in 1485 In Germany, Bohemia, and the Low Countries sixteen universities were established in the years 1348 to 1476, but none was founded from 1477 to 1500 In eastern Europe and Scandinavia no new university was established between 1478 and 1500

The explanation of this falling off seems to have been the loss of ground by scholasticism and the spread of humanism A common explanation of loss of ground by scholasticism has been that William of Ockham and his followers excluded theological problems from rational consideration and accepted Christian dogma merely on the basis of faith in revelation. But it may be questioned whether scholasticism declined or whether it did not become too advanced for the ordinary reader and intellectual Cardinal Ehrle noted that the fourteenth-century commentaries on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard altered the arrangement, treated the text with more freedom, introduced new questions and a complicated terminology, and "seemed to address their teaching no longer to beginners but to masters accustomed to finesse and subtleties " The ideal developed that it was better to spend a long time in expounding a short stretch of text in complete detail than to go over the whole rapidly and superficially. The reaction in the direction of humanism may have occurred less because scholasticism was degenerate and failing to get anywhere than because it had become too complicated, intricate, and difficult for most minds to follow. The humanist Aeneas Sylvius tells with glee of Thomas Haselbach spending twenty-two years explaining the first chapter of Isaiah This is an exaggeration, but manuscripts of Haselbach's lectures show that he covered only four chapters in the four years from 1428 to 1431, and only ten chapters from 1428 to 1460. Similarly Henry of Hesse at the University of Vienna took thirteen years to get over the first four chapters of Genesis The pity of it is that even these elaborate commentaries have not relieved or prevented men from repeatedly commenting on both Genesis and Isaiah ever since

Later scholasticism

With the fifteenth century, however, we note a decline in quality, if not in quantity. In England the repression of Wyclif's followers stifled thought, as did on the Continent the execution of Hus and the defeat of the Taborites. In general there were fewer leading names, and some who were celebrated in their day, like Blasius of Parma and Paul of Venice, were really second-rate minds and mere imitators of their predecessors. De Wulf has noted the weakness of theological reasoning as to the papal and ecclesiastical authority, and the ignorance of church history, shown in connection with the conciliar

Fifteenth-century decline

movement and the question of union with the Greek Church. There were fewer new questions raised and fewer developments made by scholastic thought in the fifteenth than in the fourteenth century. Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson were respectable representatives of the University of Paris as well as churchmen of affairs, but they do not begin to measure up intellectually to William of Ockham or Jean Buridan. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) possessed intellectual curiosity and a fertile brain, but his chief work bears the discouraging title, *De docta ignorantia* (Of learned ignorance).

Ancients and Moderns

By the fifteenth century scholastic philosophers were distinguished as "ancients" or "moderns" (*antiqui et moderni*). The ancients were the adherents of the thirteenth-century thinkers such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus. The moderns were the more recent followers of William of Ockham. The ancients were realists; the moderns, nominalists. Some universities permitted the teaching of only one of these schools of thought and forbade the other. Other universities offered courses in both persuasions, the old way (*via antiqua*) and new way (*via moderna*), leading to a degree. But if a student in the middle of his course wished to change from one way to the other, he would receive only partial credit for what he had already covered.

Academic freedom

Academic freedom underwent varied vicissitudes in the course of the fifteenth century. The city of Padua, which in the fourteenth century had left undisturbed the scholars from other cities with which it was at war, in 1439 passed a statute relieving its professors from taxation and military service. In 1406, on the other hand, when the University of Toulouse refused to subtract its obedience from Benedict XIII, the Avignon pope in the schism, at the royal command, the king brought charges of lèse-majesté against it before the Parlement of Paris. Like the University of Paris, however, it sent representatives to the church councils of Constance, Basel, and Ferrara, and was consulted by Charles VII on the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. But then we find Louis XI presuming to interfere in the university curriculum at Paris by an edict of March 1, 1474, against the *moderni* and nominalism, in which he said:

> It has seemed to us that the doctrine of Aristotle and his commentator Averroes, of Albertus Magnus, of Saint Thomas Aquinas, Egidius Romanus, Alexander of Hales, Scotus, Bonaventura, and other realists ought to be taught in the faculties of arts and theology as more useful than that of the new doctors: Ockham, Gregory of Rimini, Buridan, Pierre d'Ailly, Marsilius, Adam Dorp, Albert of Saxony, and other nominalists.

The king therefore commanded that henceforth only realism be taught, and that all must take an oath to observe the edict or receive no degree and suffer exile The edict was soon mitigated, however In 1476 seven books of Ockham's *Dialogues* were printed, in 1481 the teaching of nominalism was again permitted, in 1482 books that had been confiscated were returned But royal interference with the University of Paris recurred before the close of the century Jean Standonc, who as principal of the Collège de Montaigu had reformed both studies and discipline there and made a name for himself, was exiled in 1499 by Louis XII for resisting his divorce of Jeanne de France and his attack upon the university's privileges

Scientific activity

Of religious thought and writing in the later Middle Ages we have treated in Chapter XXXI In the scientific realm may be noted a weather record for the years 1399–1406 which is fuller than any previous one yet known From August 31, 1399, to June 25, 1401, the record is a daily one with observations made in the morning, afternoon, and evening, and even carried on through the night Also the movement of the wind in the upper air is distinguished from that near the ground Jacobus Angelus of Ulm observed the comet of 1402 with considerable care Blasius of Parma, as we have already said, was not a scientist of great originality, but disseminated in Italy some of the works and doctrines of English, French, and German scholars of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, developing somewhat further and more fully, for example, the treatise on weights of Jordanus Nemorarius Paul of Venice, on the other hand, had the effrontery to copy in Latin the thirteenth-century Italian book of Ristoro d'Arezzo on the composition of the universe Gerson was primarily a theologian, but d'Ailly was interested in meteorology and calendar reform as well as astrology, while his little geographical tract, *Imago mundi*, was to be much thumbed by Columbus

A more original and impressive display of mechanical ingenuity, observation, and experimental activity was given in and about Venice by Giovanni da Fontana, Leonard of Bertipaglia, Sante Ardoino of Pesaro, and Benedetto Rinio The last named, after varied travels, settled down at Venice in 1415 and composed his Herbal or *Book of Simples*, which was sumptuously illustrated by the painter, Andrea Amadio It was kept in the street of the spice dealers at a shop having the head of a Negro as its sign. There Collenuccio consulted it near the end of the century in composing his reply to the attack made by Leoniceno upon the text of Pliny. The original manuscript is still in existence in the library of Saint Mark's In personal botanical observation, however, it is inferior to the thirteenth-century work of Rufinus. Sante Ardoino wrote on such topics as resins and poisons. Leonard of Bertipaglia lectured at the University of Padua and was a surgeon of great ingenuity and manual dexterity. Giovanni da Fontana wrote on military and hydraulic engineering, on measurement of depths, altitudes, and latitudes, on aqueducts and burning glasses, astronomy, and the earth's surface. Two of his works are in cipher. He was the first, so far as we know, to employ the word *formula* in a mathematical connotation. These men impress us as being experienced practitioners as well as fertile intellects. On the other hand, Nicholas of Cusa's *Static Experiments* in large measure repeated previous writers and were not tested by himself. Nor was he an expert in mathematics and astronomy, although he occasionally tried to solve a problem or had bright ideas. More professional in these fields were two Italians, Toscanelli who plotted the courses of several comets and Giovanni Bianchini who was famed for his astronomical tables, and two Germans, John of Gmunden who taught at Vienna early in the century and Regiomontanus (Johann Muller of Konigsberg). Regiomontanus added a knowledge of Greek to mathematical skill, spent a good part of his career in Italy, made an epitome of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, criticized certain medieval astronomical works adversely, and had set up a printing press at Nurnberg to issue critical editions of ancient Greek and medieval Latin texts in astronomy and mathematics, when he was called to Rome to advise as to calendar reform and died there at the age of only forty. Most Italian humanists did not share his interest in mathematics. Leonardo Bruni, for example, said that subtleties of arithmetic and geometry were unworthy to absorb a cultivated mind. However, the majority of the scientists whom we have mentioned were Italians. Much more astrology than astronomy was written, read, and printed. The alchemical writing of the late fourteenth and the fifteenth century fell off in intellectual and scientific character from that of the earlier fourteenth century. A large number of spurious treatises under the name of Raymond Lull made up a considerable part of the recent alchemical literature.

Medieval medicine, on the contrary, continued its course unabated, and the humanistic reaction against Avicenna and Arabic medicine hardly became noticeable until the sixteenth century. Often physicians were also philosophers. Hugh of Siena at the Council of Ferrara invited the Greeks who were attending it to a banquet and offered to debate with them those points on which Aristotle and Plato held opposing views. He is said to have allowed them to choose either side they pleased and to have vanquished them single-handed.

In Chapter XXX we saw Petrarch (1304–1374) spending several years in the study of law at Montpellier and Bologna But his heart was not in the law, it was in literature and belles-lettres and a life of cultured leisure In his younger years he wrote love poetry in Italian, inspired by a mysterious Laura, as Dante had been by Beatrice, and was crowned poet laureate at Rome in 1341 by King Robert of Naples But while the masterpiece of Dante's maturity, although dealing with a solemn religious theme, had still employed the Italian tongue, Petrarch in later life became so enamoured of classical antiquity that he disdained to write in any other language than Latin. Vergil had guided Dante through the Inferno Petrarch wrote letters to Cicero and other ancient authors whom he passionately admired and with whom he longed for personal communion When he wrote letters to his living friends he still tried to express himself as if he were writing to Cicero or as if Cicero were writing to him It was an event in his life when a rare or previously unknown work by Cicero or some other classical author came to his notice With eager haste and yet with painstaking accuracy he would make a copy of the precious manuscript for his own library Besides many letters, Petrarch composed a number of other works in Latin prose and verse But as they dealt, aside from trite religious themes and moral platitudes, chiefly with classical subjects — as, for instance, his epic *Africa* on Scipio Africanus, of whom he knew nothing except what he could read in classical literature itself — they have not interested posterity nearly so much as the early love poems in which he expressed his own feelings in his own language in a comparatively new verse-form, the sonnet Among his contemporaries, however, he aroused great enthusiasm for classical studies His letters were passed around and read before admiring circles He had made a wide acquaintance by his residence at or near Avignon and his travels about Italy and Europe He was interested in public affairs, went on embassies for Milan to Venice, Prague, and Paris; addressed a political treatise to his patron, Francesco Carrara, the despot of Padua, and corresponded with popes and emperors

Petrarch

Petrarch was one of the first Italian humanists, and his activities and interests are characteristic of the rest This humanism was the cultivation of classical literature primarily for its literary and human interest The humanists were impressed not only by the subject-matter of the ancients, but by the elegance of their Latin style. They developed a liking for Latin poetry, orations, letters, and other works whose interest was personal, emotional, and rhetorical rather than objective, logical, and scholastic. They took an interest in

Italian humanism

the personalities of the ancients and in their manner of life and their attitude to the world The twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of course, had seen a great revival of Roman law and Greek science, and the interest in Latin literature and in the stories of classical mythology had never entirely died out at any time during the Middle Ages Moreover, the classical manuscripts which were "discovered" by the Italian humanists did not date back to classical times They were simply medieval copies of those works Therefore all the Latin literature known to the humanists had been known somewhere and at some time during the Middle Ages since Charlemagne's time The humanists, however, brought it all together into public circulation, multiplied and edited and corrected the medieval copies, which had sometimes been carelessly or ignorantly made, and then subjected this very considerable body of literature to an intensive and sympathetic study As a result they in the end gained a much better comprehension of the Latin language and of ancient civilization

Philology and criticism

New grammars, dictionaries, and other linguistic treatises were issued, and the foundations were thus laid for the sciences of philology and literary criticism Learned societies were organized and literary controversies were frequent and led sometimes to abusive personalities Scholars who began a learned argument over some detail of style or fine point of syntax would end by insulting each other's parents Despots, republics, and popes alike employed humanists as their secretaries and orators Gian Galeazzo, the despot at Milan, said that he feared a dispatch of the humanist secretary of the Florentine Republic more than a regiment of its citizen soldiers The humanists prided themselves upon knowing the essentials of classical Latin style, and were careful not to commit any medieval barbarisms Sometimes they seem singularly content with a scanty body of fact or thought, so long as they have beauties of diction in which to revel They were in fact a little prone to follow the debased flowery rhetoric of the late Roman Empire rather than the chaste severity of earlier classical models The later humanists, of whom Politian was probably the most proficient, improved considerably in correctness of diction over Petrarch, but their Latin works are as little read today as his Of science and philosophy they took little heed, and even history they were apt to treat as a literary exercise — a branch of literature

Lorenzo Valla

Lorenzo Valla (c 1406–1457) was the most original and influential of all the Italian humanists, but a destructive critic rather than a constructive thinker Born at Rome, he started to teach eloquence in the University of Pavia in 1431, in which year he composed *De voluptate*, a bold defense of sensual pleasure The next year his open letter criticizing Bartolus incensed the law faculty against him and forced his withdrawal from the university. But the attitude he expressed in his letter foreshadowed that of the humanistic jurists such as Alciati and Cujas in the next century. After visiting Milan, Genoa, and Rome, Valla became secretary to King Alfonso of Naples and in 1439 produced two more forward-looking works: *De libero arbitrio*, a defense of free will like that of Erasmus against Luther, and *Dialecticae disputationes*, an attack on the Aristotelian logic which was to be imitated by Ramus in the next century. In 1440 he demonstrated with crushing effect that the *Donation of Constantine* was an apocryphal document. In 1442 his *De professione religiosorum* valued spontaneous virtue above monastic vows and completed the growing breach between humanism and monasticism. In a controversy with a friar he assailed the legend that the Apostles' Creed had been composed independently by each of the apostles. His *Annotations* on the Latin text of the New Testament led on to Erasmus's edition of the Greek text. To his contemporaries, however, his chief work was that on the niceties of the Latin language (*De elegantia linguae latinae*). This book, spiced by criticism of the style of his fellow humanists, was printed no less than sixty times between 1471 and 1536, whereas *De professione religiosorum* was not printed until 1869, while his treatise "On new things entirely unknown to the ancients," which would be of great interest to the present historian, is lost, apparently because his classically-obsessed contemporaries took so little interest in medieval inventions.

Knowledge of Greek

It is clear that anyone wishing to comprehend classical civilization must read not only the Latin authors, but the Greek originals to which they owed so much. We have seen that the Dominicans studied Greek and Oriental languages for missionary purposes in the thirteenth century; that these languages were taught in certain universities after 1311, if not before; that Greek was still a spoken language in southern Italy in the early fourteenth century, that the library of Boniface VIII contained thirty-three Greek manuscripts, and that by 1345 most extant Greek works in science and medicine, and many in theology and philosophy, had been translated into Latin. The statement still found in the 1936 revision of Rashdall's *Universities*, anent lectures by Pilatus in 1360, that "Florence was the first university in Europe to provide a professorship of Greek," is therefore quite misleading, while Bruni's assertion in connection with the teaching of Chrysoloras at Florence in 1396 that "for seven hundred years there had been no teacher of Greek in all Italy" is a patent falsehood. What remained to be done was to extend the place of Greek in the curriculum, and to obtain manuscripts of and to translate those Greek works of primarily literary and historic interest which had not appealed much either to the Arabic-speaking world or to the Latin Middle Ages

This was mainly the work of the Italian humanists themselves, who were eager to extend their knowledge of classical antiquity, and not of Greek refugees from the Byzantine Empire In 1393 Chrysoloras and Demetrius Cydonius arrived at Venice as Byzantine envoys When they returned to Constantinople, two young Italians accompanied them in order to learn the Greek language One of them, Jacopo Angelo, the future translator of Ptolemy's *Geography,* learned his Greek from Cydonius The other, Guarino of Verona, later famed as a humanist educator, picked up his Greek by serving in the household of Chrysoloras Angelo had been urged by Salutati, secretary of the republic of Florence, to search for manuscripts of Greek lexicons and of Greek historians and poets, and especially for manuscripts of Homer, Plato, and Plutarch Guarino returned in 1408 with more than fifty manuscripts In 1417 Aurispa brought back the works of the three great Greek tragedians; in 1422–1423 he added 238 manuscripts devoted almost entirely to Greek literature In 1427 Filelfo, after spending seven years as secretary of the Venetian legation at Constantinople, brought back the works of some forty authors Thus it was not the fall of Constantinople in 1453 which produced the revival of interest in Greek in the West, but it was Italian humanism, which had been gathering force in the fourteenth century, that led in the early fifteenth to the acquisition of Greek manuscripts of human and linguistic interest and their translation into Latin.

Humanist translations

These fifteenth-century translations have been severely judged both by scholars of the next century and more modern critics They were less literal and often less exact than the earlier medieval translations Some translators took astonishing liberties with the Greek texts, upon which they sought to impose their own notion of what constituted surging eloquence Often they had to work from late and inferior manuscripts, and so made use of the earlier medieval translation, if there was one Many contented themselves with making a single translation

The translation of the *Cosmographia* of Ptolemy by Jacopo Angelo in 1406 was a step backward, since it revived a work which Arabic geographers and Latin travelers to the Far East had outgrown and which they had supplemented with more correct information on many points But so great was the humanist attachment to classical authors that this out-of-date volume was too often followed even by the navigators of the coming age of discovery, and still more by sixteenth-century geographers.

Humanism and universities

Despite occasional lectureships, such as that of Chrysoloras, and the considerable enthusiasm thereby aroused, up to 1500 Greek had not attained a commanding or even a regular position in the academic curriculum. One reason for this was that the Italian humanists before 1500 seldom reached the same point of proficiency in the Greek as in the Latin language, and that recent Byzantine Greek was even farther removed from classical Greek than medieval from classical Latin. A more fundamental reason was that humanism was hardly a university movement. The universities regarded the study of Latin as a matter to be completed in grammar school. A humanist was more likely to find a career outside than within a university. Petrarch in 1351 had refused the rectorship in the revived University of Florence, whether because he preferred a life of cultured ease or because he suspected that the university would fail again, as it did, to be refounded once more in 1357. Poggio boasted that he had learned nothing from teachers except Ovid, Vergil, and rhetoric (it might be asked, What else did he know?) and named a half-dozen other humanists who had no masters. It is remarkable that Florence, which is thought of as the center of Italian literature and humanism, was unable to sustain a successful university. Despite several foundations and revivals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the university became a permanent success only when restored to Pisa by Lorenzo de' Medici. It was for such reasons that we attributed the wide-spread cessation of the founding of new universities in the later fifteenth century in part to the fact that this was the time when humanism reached its height. Instead of attaching themselves to universities, the humanists held meetings or formed literary societies which came to be known as academies.

Neo-Platonism

Gemistos Plethon had stimulated interest in Neo-Platonism when he attended the Council of Florence in 1439. Other Greeks in Italy debated the relative merits of Plato and Aristotle. Cosimo de' Medici in 1459 founded a Platonic Academy for Marsilio Ficino (1431–1491) who translated or edited Plato's *Dialogues* and other more mystical and magical Greek works. Neither he nor his younger contemporary, the noble Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), were philosophers of positive importance, although both displayed a hazy interest in the spiritual and the occult.

Other aspects of humanism

In political and economic thought the humanists before 1500 compared unfavorably with scholastic theologians and canonists, or with Bartolus and Oresme and Wyclif. They lacked both fundamental guiding principles and the logical ability to erect a consistent structure upon these. They were apt to approach economic and political subjects from a literary and antiquarian angle, to recall their reading in the classics rather than to consider present conditions, and to be more interested in the question whether the assassination of Julius Caesar was justifiable than whether it was permissible to slay a modern tyrant Indeed, the humanists were rather inhibited from such discussion by the fact that so many of them had despots as patrons The despots for their part found the humanists better press agents than the university faculties, and less independent Lippo Brandolini of Florence, who was for a time at the court of Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, composed an interesting comparison of those two states, but such works as *The Prince* of Machiavelli and More's *Utopia* come after 1500

The humanists not only read widely in both Latin and Greek literature, but also examined ancient ruins, works of art, coins, and other such remains. Besides Latin grammars and Greek dictionaries, they composed works on classical history, antiquities, geography, and mythology Thus they came to understand the surroundings and daily life of the ancients, the history of Greece and Rome, and the classical attitude and viewpoint as medieval men had not done They no longer thought of Caesar's and Alexander's soldiers as knights nor of Nimrod as the founder of chivalry In short, historical knowledge and sympathy with the past made marked progress. Unfortunately at the same time the humanists lost sympathy with and knowledge of the past medieval period which was now vanishing behind them

The views of life found in classical literature so attracted some of the humanists that they abandoned or slighted many Christian ideals and became almost pagan or irreligious in their conduct Especially they had scant sympathy for monasticism In Italy, however, they seldom attacked the Church or the papacy, since they were often enabled to devote themselves to humanistic pursuits by holding ecclesiastical benefices which paid well and required little religious work Pope Nicholas V even gave a position at his court to Lorenzo Valla Other humanists remained sincerely devout and devoted their attention to Christian rather than pagan antiquity That is to say, the writings of the early church fathers, Greek and Latin, were studied, and the Greek versions of the Scriptures were compared with the *Vulgate*. Such study led in time to questioning of some of the customs and doctrines of the Church, and so to the Protestant revolt

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Italian humanism spread to Spain, Hungary, France, and England German humanism had begun somewhat sooner, about 1475, and developed more rapidly. Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) was probably an abler Greek and Hebrew scholar than Italy could boast until Jerome Aleander (1479–1542)

Vernacular literature

In the realm of vernacular literature, besides Petrarch's sonnets, we have mentioned in Chapter XXX the *Decameron* of Boccaccio and *The Vision of Piers the Ploughman* There is nothing in English in the fifteenth century to equal *The Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer in the later fourteenth Chaucer often followed French and Italian models, while John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in the seventeenth century is often a mere translation of an old French poem, *The Pilgrimage of Human Life* by Guillaume de Guillemart, which Lydgate had started to translate in the fifteenth century The Latin of Wyclif is said to be that of a person thinking in English, and in the fifteenth century the vagabond clerk, Villon, wrote in French, although for a university audience The great majority of the French prose romances of chivalry were written in the second half of the fifteenth century The humanists themselves, by setting too high and artificial standards of diction in Latin, needed time to think their phrases out, were unable to use such Latin naturally and freely, and thus hastened the decline of Latin as a living and spoken language, in its place they resuscitated the ghost of a dead language and so contributed to the final triumph of vernacular literature Petrarch and Boccaccio preferred their Latin to their vernacular writings, and for a time the humanists generally scorned to write in Italian. Lorenzo de' Medici, however, helped restore the vernacular to favor by inciting the writers under his patronage to literary composition in Italian and by setting the example himself Among the favorite literary forms of the time were the sonnet and idyll and the *novella* or short story. The romantic epic of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had continued to find favor among the Italians; and in the later fifteenth century Pulci (1431–1487) at Florence and Boiardo (1434–1494) at Ferrara were preparing the way for the greater poetry of Ariosto and Tasso in the sixteenth century Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* recounted partly in a serious and partly in a burlesque tone the adventures of the famous Roland and a giant named Morgante whom he conquers and converts. Boiardo, who was also a lyric and dramatic poet, told of Roland in love in his *Orlando innamorato* Some attempt was made to develop the drama in Italian, following classical models, but without the success attained later in other lands

Invention of printing

The invention of printing with separate types for each letter is one of the bright spots in the fifteenth century No book printed in western Europe can at present be dated before 1447, but there is evidence for the existence of printing shops before that year Credit for the invention in the West has been disputed between Gutenberg at Mainz on the Rhine and Coster at Haarlem in the Netherlands.

The printing press greatly increased the number and reduced the cost of books, so that much larger libraries were made possible Although some old manuscripts are as legible as printed books, and more beautiful, the average printed page would be much easier to read and copies would not differ in details as different manuscripts do Proofreading provides an opportunity to avoid the errors or corrections inevitable in a manuscript For some time, however, printed books continued to look a great deal like the manuscripts, and the many abbreviations and signs for familiar words or for repeatedly occurring endings which copiers by hand had employed to shorten their labors were perpetuated on the printed page as well Moreover, the early printers and editors were seldom careful scholars and in publishing for the first time an old work would often carelessly copy the first manuscript version that came to hand, however inferior it might be Thus modern critical editions, based upon a careful collation of the best known manuscripts, have been required for almost everything which was published then

More persons would now become readers, and reading matter could be got to them more rapidly At first, learned works in Latin were printed more extensively than was vernacular literature, except that of a religious character, and scholastic works as well as humanistic continued to be multiplied But the pamphlet, the broadside, the periodical, and all the other species of ephemeral literature followed in due course The day of the orator and the troubadour was over: men could read now instead of listen, the day of the radio having not yet dawned In education the textbook would take the place of lectures, reading would replace personal tuition, and a more universal popular education was made possible In scholarship the chief requisite now became bibliography rather than rote memory In due time authors would be able to appeal to publishers and reading public instead of having to rely upon rich or noble patrons Many of these changes, however, have come very slowly And just as there were good — some say, better — letter-writers in the days before cheap postage and typewriters, so there were great authors who wasted neither precious words nor paper in the period before the invention of printing When both readers and writers had to go to a great deal of trouble, there naturally was much less written and read, but both reading and writing were probably done more thoroughly on the average Also a cleavage developed between readers and writers, who in the manuscript age had been largely identical, the transition being easy from copying another's work to compiling from several works to composing a volume of your own Henceforth printer, editor, publisher, and "the trade" came to intervene between author and reader

Late Gothic architecture

In the thirteenth century, Gothic architecture had flourished most in France, but during the troubled period of the Hundred Years War building fell off greatly The medieval Louvre progressed during the reign of Charles V, when a winding staircase projecting from the main building was made a central feature, as in the later châteaux of the Loire In outlying regions, however, which were then not as yet parts of France, there was more artistic production. The fourteenth century was a brilliant period in Brittany, giving rise to many churches and castles Papal Avignon has more important remains from that period than any town of France The papal residence was on the style of an Italian palace (Figure 85) Its elegant interior is in contrast to its castle-like exterior, while its present irregularity is due to additions made by several popes The Burgundian possessions offered a refuge to feudal art, but the artists were largely Flemish Duke Philip the Bold, who died in 1404, was a great patron of art, but his reign was surpassed by the Burgundian art of the following reigns, and the fifteenth-century town halls of Belgium outdid those of the fourteenth In monastic architecture there was little change from the thirteenth century

On the Rhine work on cathedrals continued in the fourteenth century In Bohemia the Prague cathedral was built between 1344 and 1386 In Italy the cathedral of Milan (Figure 95) was begun in Gothic style in 1386; the huge church of San Petronio at Bologna, of which only the nave was ever finished, in 1390 Under Henry III of England only four bays of the nave of Westminster Abbey had been rebuilt in Gothic style In 1388 the old Norman part was torn down except for the west towers, and the thirteenth-century design was largely copied in the rebuilding that followed There was much building in England in the fifteenth century, but the ornament became formal and mechanical In the perpendicular style the columns of the piers were carried straight up to the clearstory without the intervening arches of the triforium, while ribs were needlessly multiplied in the fretted vault In Spain Gothic architecture proceeded steadily through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with no suggestion of decline A bridge at Zaragoza, dating from 1447, has seven arches of which one has a span of 128 feet. Then a great outburst of building under Ferdinand and Isabella was marked by romantic magnificence and picturesque charm, rich and realistic ornamentation, increased technical dexterity, a broadening mental horizon, and great originality Similarly in France in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there was a vast amount of Gothic architecture in the flamboyant style.

Meanwhile in figure sculpture there had been a rather general decline.

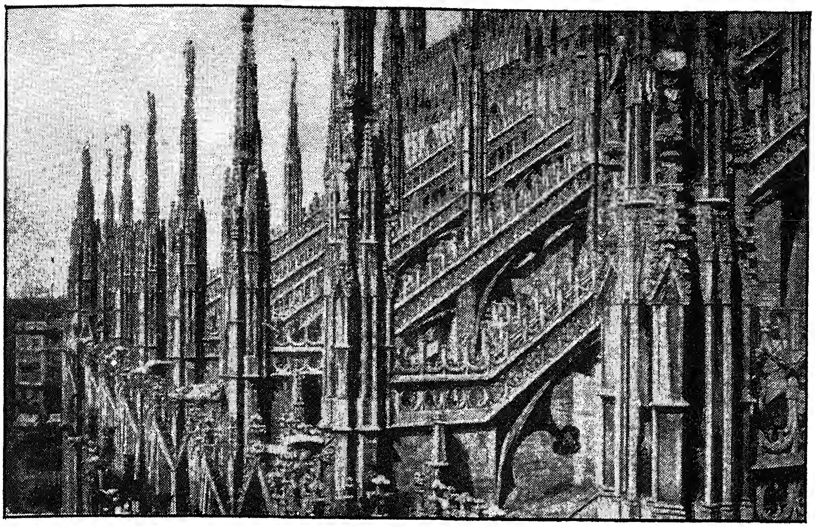


Figure 95

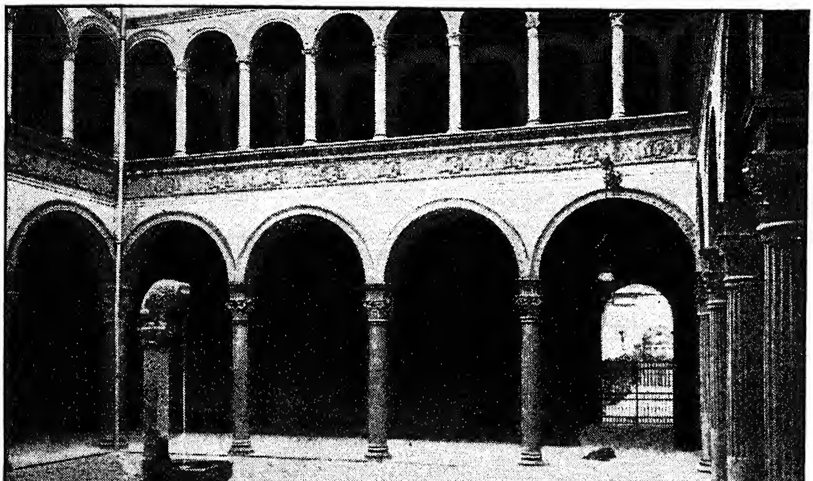


Figure 96

ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE

Above, flying buttresses, Milan cathedral; *below*, courtyard of Palazzo Bevilacqua, Bologna, built 1481–1484

Decline in sculpture

In later English Gothic truly great treatment of human figures is seldom found. After 1300 the shops of masons supplied fonts, choir screens, and funeral monuments wholesale, and the sculpture became mechanical and ceased to be expressive, whether aesthetically or intellectually. The frivolous queen of France in the closing fourteenth century, Isabel of Bavaria, is given the discredit of introducing bizarre fashions in costume which made the sculpture and painting of the following century insufferably vulgar. On the other hand, she was a lover of beautiful manuscripts and tapestries. In sculpture the tendency towards portraiture continued, and gesture became more individual and spontaneous. On the other hand, the pathetic and the painful now made their entrance, and the death mask and decaying cadaver appeared in funeral monuments. Brasses declined both in design and in execution. But ivory carving reached its height in the fourteenth century, and wood carving as displayed in choir stalls and roofs flourished throughout the later Middle Ages. Italian sculpture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was much indebted to the French Gothic sculpture of the thirteenth century. Ghiberti (1378–1455), for example, copied it in the borders to his famed doors for the baptistery at Florence, and in the quatrefoils containing his reliefs.

Masaccio

We pass on to the Italian artists of the Quattrocento or fifteenth century. Leonardo da Vinci, probably the greatest all-round genius that the period produced, tells us that "after Giotto the art of painting declined again because everyone imitated the pictures that were already done. Thus it went until Tommaso of Florence, nicknamed Masaccio, showed by his perfect works how those who take for their standard anything but nature, the mistress of all masters, weary themselves in vain." The new features introduced by Masaccio were composition to emphasize a central idea, without crowding in details as the miniaturists and Flemish painters had done; aerial perspective giving a sense of space and freedom; foreshortening and a revival of relief, which had fallen off since Giotto; and a feeling for life and animated movement. He aimed at a grand and impressive simplicity by a bold design and emphasis on the relation of the human figure to its environment. He would paint half of one side of the outline of a figure with a single sweep of his brush. He was thus something like the humanists reacting against the intricacies of scholasticism. He expressed sacred story in a homely native style with verisimilitude, yet avoided vulgarity by a stately and austere idealism. He swept the entire Tuscan school in his train, and his frescoes, which have now darkened with time and no longer do him justice, were the inspiration of the greatest masters for the rest of the century.

He further illustrates the precocious genius of many Italian artists, since his brief life was bounded by the years 1401–1428

Renaissance architecture

Brunelleschi (1377–1446), who was born long before and died after Masaccio, seems to have taken the first steps in the direction of Renaissance architecture, beginning from about 1420 A citizen of Florence, trained as a goldsmith and sculptor, he studied the remains of antiquity at Rome In his palaces, such as the Pitti, he is still medieval; and his great pointed dome for the cathedral at Florence, 145 feet in height by 135 feet in diameter (Figure 97), is really Gothic and is not his own invention but carried out the design adopted in 1367 by a Commission of Eight. In other churches, such as San Lorenzo, San Spirito, Cappella dei Pazzi, and the Hospital of the Innocents, he introduced classical details "of great severity and purity" and so brought antique forms into fashion Leon Battista Alberti encouraged this tendency by his ten books on architecture which ran through many editions On the other hand, a didactic romance on city planning by Filarete, composed before 1465 in Italian, was not printed until 1896 Ghiberti late in life wrote *Commentaries* in Italian dealing with the history of Greek and Italian art and with the theory of sculpture and of art generally But the bible of the Renaissance architects was the second-rate work of the classical Roman writer, Vitruvius

The outer walls of municipal buildings and private palaces now lost their rough fortress-like appearance, or retained a slight relic of it in rusticated stonework or in iron bars before the windows of the ground floor (Figure 98) Rustication, however, soon disappeared and the facing of the walls became smooth and elegant with the component stones carefully cut and with attention given to the arrangement of the incisions or grooves between them Along the edge of the roof elaborately ornamented cornices took the place of medieval battlements Medallions and friezes, sculptured in low relief, decorated the otherwise rather bare walls, and inside the building the ceilings were coffered and the walls paneled The three classical orders in column and capital were also now restored to favor and exclusively employed The horizontal lines of the Greek temple, or the round arches and solid piers of Roman buildings like the Colosseum, were imitated There are some finer inner courtyards (Figure 96) The shape of rooms and windows, as well as the general outline of buildings, tended to become rectangular, in which respect they were more like modern and less like medieval edifices, which had intricate arcades, vaulted halls, and lofty towers A common detail of Renaissance architecture, which may still be seen in modern houses, was the placing over the windows of ornamental gables, either triangular like

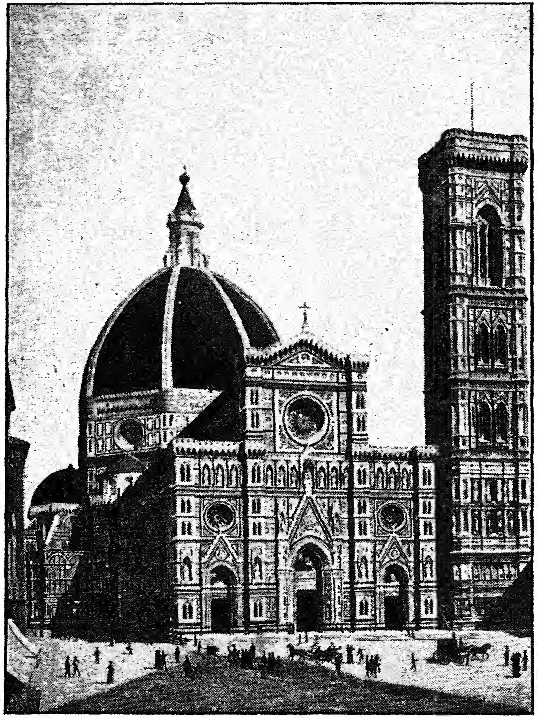


Figure 97

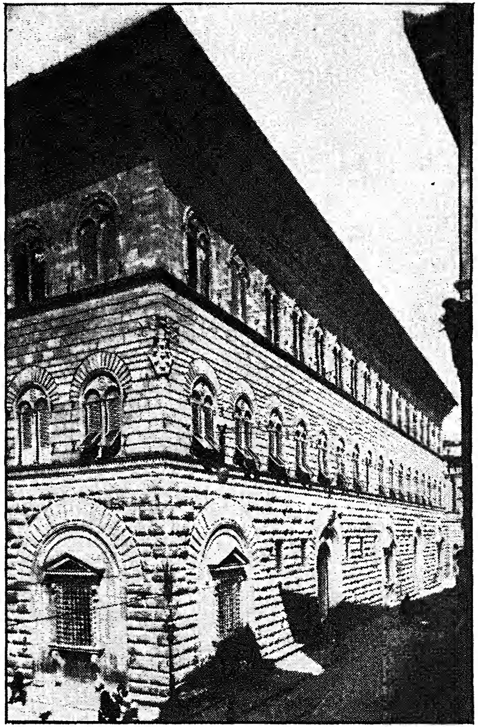


Figure 98

Left, cathedral at Florence with dome and campanile; *right*, Palazzo Riccardi, Florence, built for Cosimo de' Medici about 1435 the pediment of a Greek temple or curved like a Roman arch. From this period, too, dates the delusion that the windows of a mansion should be arranged in regular rows and exactly above one another. Regularity and uniformity, indeed, now triumphed too much in architecture over the picturesque and exquisite. In ecclesiastical architecture a new and disagreeable detail was the employment of huge flat scrolls at either side of the façade of the church to conceal the meeting of nave and aisle. In general, as Renaissance architecture outgrew and broke away from Romanesque, Byzantine, and Gothic, it developed increasing defects.

Italian sculpture

Of three great Florentine sculptors in the first half of the fifteenth century we have already mentioned Ghiberti. Luca della Robbia is especially famed for his terra cottas. Of the work and personality of the third, Donatello, we may speak in more detail. Donatello had begun his artistic career by 1406. For a score or more of years he worked in Florence on the sculptures of the cathedral and campanile and in competition with Brunelleschi and Ghiberti. From 1413 to 1428 Ghiberti and he labored at statues for Or San Michele. He also visited Siena, Venice, Mantua, Modena, Ferrara, and Prato, and worked for several years in Padua. In 1433 he was at Rome aiding in the preparations for the imperial coronation of Sigismund. Later he helped Cosimo de' Medici adorn his palace for humanists with appropriate sculptures. Many stories are told of Donatello's simple and unassuming character. He is said to have kept his money in a basket hung from the roof with a cord attached by which it might be lowered by any friend who wished to help himself. His patrons, the Medici, presented him on one occasion with a sumptuous costume and in his old age with a small estate on which to retire, but he returned the one as too fine for him to wear and the other as too much bother for him to maintain. He had, however, as further anecdotes in Vasari illustrate, little patience with business men who ventured to criticize his art or who tried to beat him down on his prices. Donatello was interested in the collection of classical antiquities, and his sculpture is described by Vasari as having "the closest resemblance to the Greeks and Romans"; but he was even more of a realist and follower of nature. Vasari was a Florentine artist of the sixteenth century who wrote biographies of his predecessors.

Donatello's chief statues

Both the style of Donatello and the themes of his sculpture were varied, and a list of some of his works will give us a notion of the scope of Quattrocento art. His Marzocco, or seated lion, is an excellent and dignified example of animal sculpture. His frieze of boys running and laughing made Vasari regard him as the "greatest master of bas-relief." His David, depicted as a shepherd boy, was the

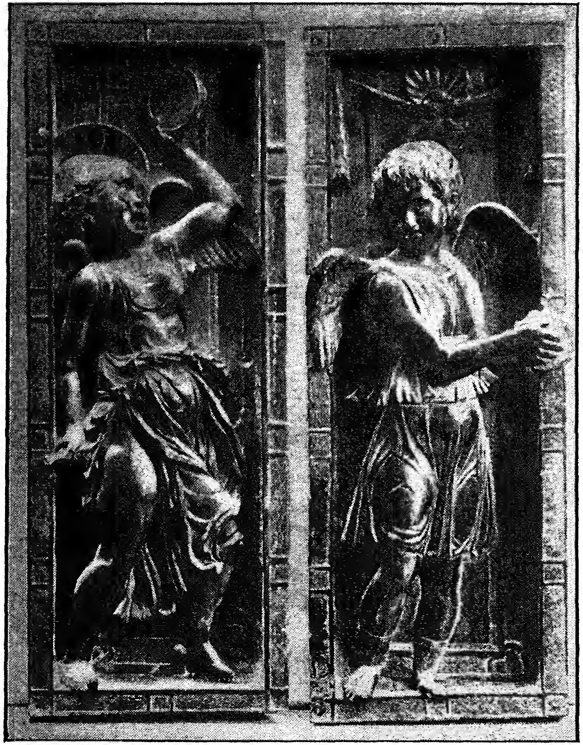


Figure 99

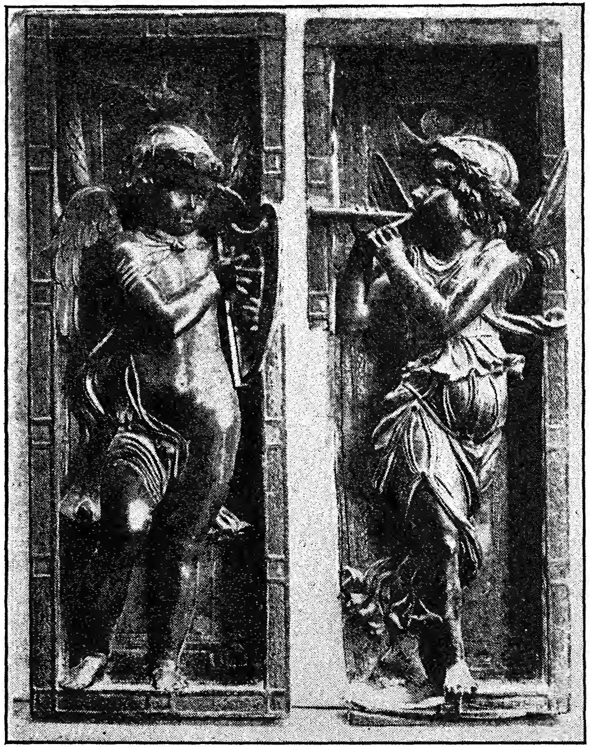


Figure 100

Angelic Musicians, by Donatello, in the Basilica of S. Antonio, Padua

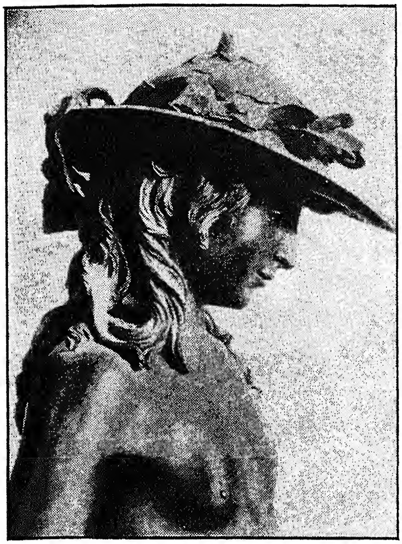
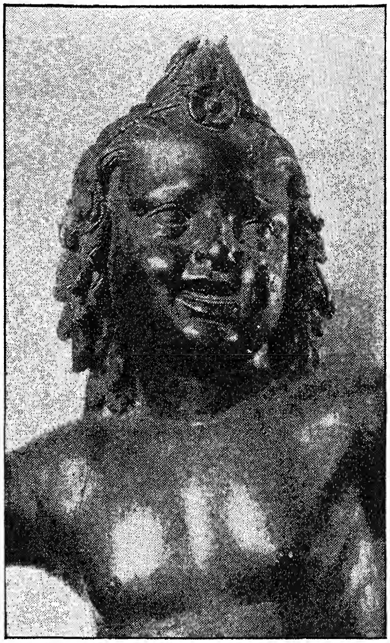


Figure 101

Figure 102



Heads and busts of statues by Donatello: *left,* David; *right,* Amorino; both in the National Museum, Florence

first nude bronze statue cast since Roman times (Figure 101). His funeral monument for Pope John XXIII in the baptistery at Florence became the model for many similar works with their combination of classical sculpture and architecture. His portrait bust of Niccolò da Uzzano is a wonderful example of delineation of character. His bronze statue of Gattamelata, a Venetian mercenary general, on horseback, executed at Padua in 1453, is, after the Colleoni monument in Venice (Figure 86), the finest equestrian statue of the period. (See Figures 99, 100, 102 for other work by Donatello.) Perhaps the greatest of all his works was his Saint George. It is unlike most classical statues, for the young saint is represented clad in medieval armor and his fiery gaze is fixed directly on the beholder, not downcast in passive beauty. Moreover, the effect striven for is not so much physical beauty and grace as vigor and energy, intellectual character and moral purpose. Vasari has well described it:

For the gild of armorers Donatello executed a most animated figure of Saint George in his armor. The brightness of youthful beauty, generosity, and bravery shine forth in his face. His attitude gives evidence of a proud and terrible im-

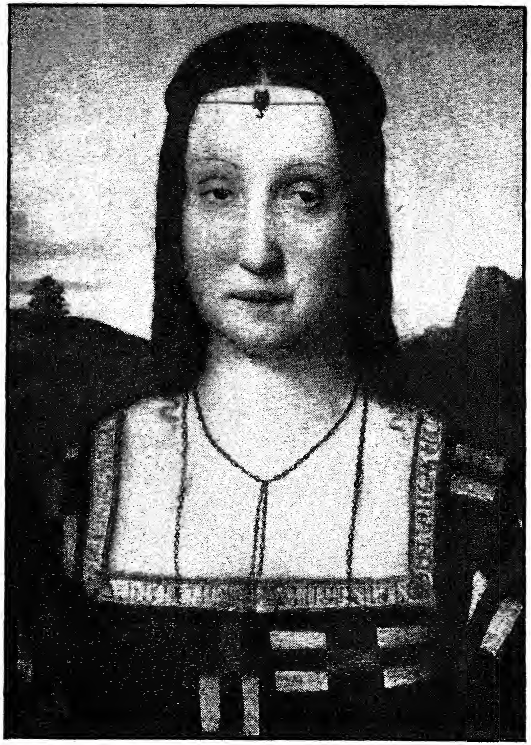


Figure 103

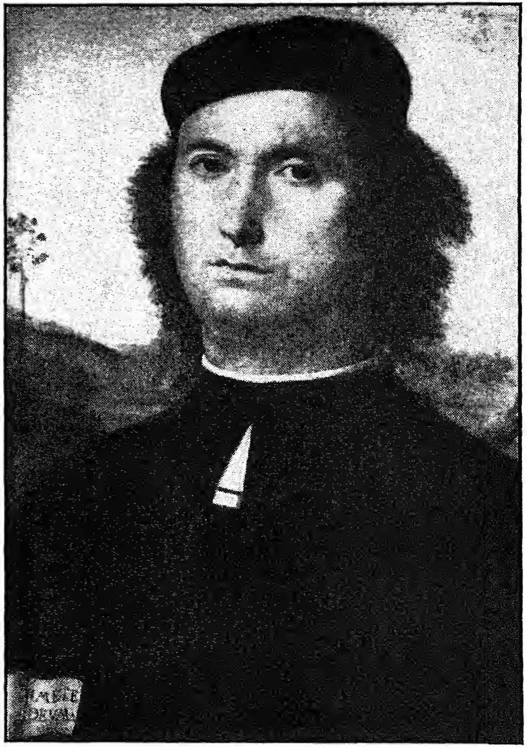


Figure 104

Left, portrait of Elisabeth Gonzaga, by Mantegna; *right*, self-portrait by Perugino; both at the Uffizi, Florence petuosity The character of the saint is indeed expressed most wonderfully and life seems to move within that stone

Progress in painting

During the second half of the fifteenth century there was no sculptor equal to Donatello, but the decorative side of the art was developed and further improvement was made in technique Meanwhile the painters had been learning many lessons Those who had served, as many did, an apprenticeship in the workshops of sculptors or goldsmiths learned lessons in anatomy and how to represent the human figure in a natural and correct way Progress was also made in designing; some artists experimented with colors, and others worked out the laws of foreshortening and perspective Oil painting had been improved at the beginning of the century, when the Flemish painter, Van Eyck, employed it on large canvases For the cities of Flanders in the fifteenth century had painters second only to the Italians The themes of paintings continued to be for the most part Scriptural — Madonnas and Holy Families, or scenes drawn from church history and legend This was partly because the Church was still the chief employer of artists, partly because the ideal interests of most people were still prevailingly religious Classical subjects, however, were also depicted and bits of classical detail were introduced in other paintings Many portraits of contemporaries were painted, and contemporary costumes and models and Italian scenery were employed in depicting biblical scenes in ancient Palestine The faces of the models were, indeed, sometimes too closely followed Landscape and architecture were shown in the backgrounds, and animal and floral life were often brought in Even in a portrait or group picture an exquisite landscape may be visible through an open window But landscapes and still life were not painted separately as yet.

There were now many schools of painting scattered over central and northern Italy — Tuscan, Florentine, Umbrian, Lombard, Sienese, and so on Among the many great masters it is embarrassing to attempt a selection Fra Angelico (1387–1455), back in the first half of the century, lacks many of the merits of the later masters, but is celebrated for the gleaming colors of his paintings and for the spiritual rapture which shines from their angelic faces The north Italian Mantegna (1431–1506) worked chiefly for the Gonzaga despots of Mantua (Figure 103) Toward the century's close come five great artists· Ghirlandajo (1449–1494), noted for his portraits and realism (Figure 105); Botticelli (1440–1510), admired for the dreamy beauty of his graceful figures and lovely "decorative composition" (Figure 106); Signorelli (1442–1524), who excelled in forcefulness and in representing muscular movement; Perugino (Figure 104) (1446–1524), who expressed religious contemplation and ecstasy with

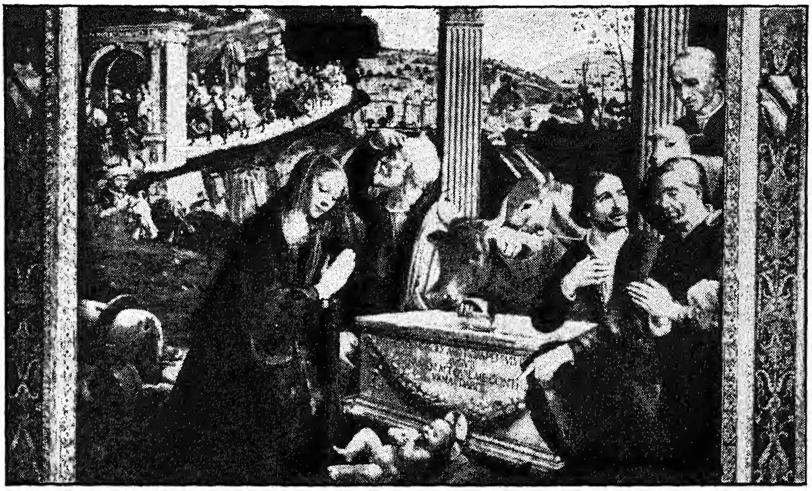


Figure 105

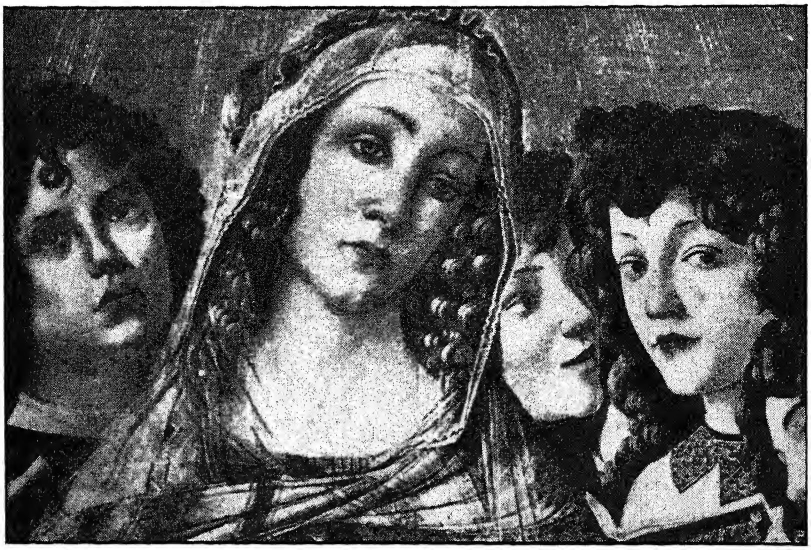


Figure 106

Above, Adoration of the Shepherds, by Ghirlandajo; *below,* faces from Botticelli's painting of the Virgin

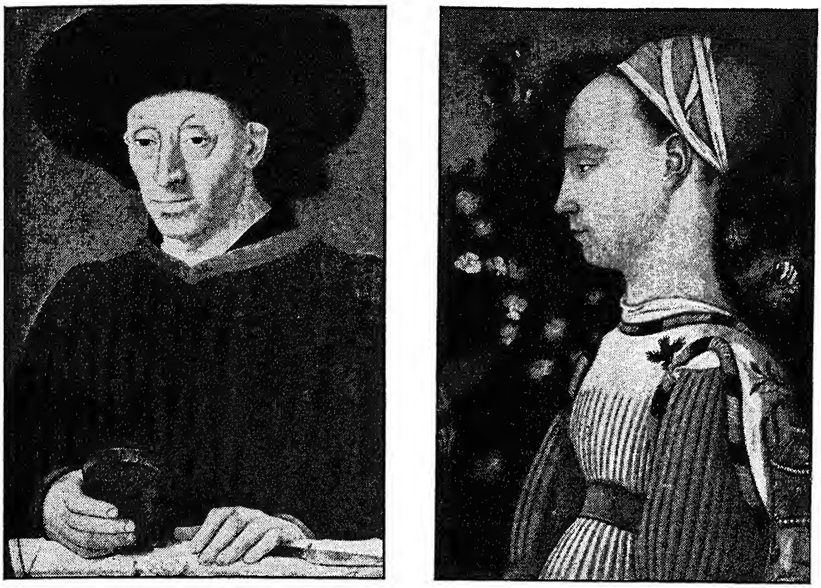


Figure 107 *Figure 108*

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PAINTINGS

Left, "Man with a Glass of Wine," French school, 1456; *right,* a princess of the House of Este, by Pisanello (c. 1380–1451); both in the Louvre, Paris

consummate skill. The famous Sistine Chapel at the Vatican was erected for Pope Sixtus IV in 1473–1481 and adorned with frescoes by Tuscan and Umbrian painters in 1481–1482. Michelangelo added the ceiling paintings in 1508–1512, and the Last Judgment behind the altar in 1531–1541.

The artists

The artists impress us favorably compared with the despots and humanists. They were devoted to their art where the despots were intent on power and where the humanists were solicitous for their own fame. While so many despots disregarded moral considerations, few of the artists were afflicted with what is sometimes called the artistic temperament. Many were affable, generous, and kindly, or frugal, honest, and industrious. Even Vasari does not always do them justice. Fra Lippo Lippi, whom he depicts as a jovial spendthrift and libertine, seems not to have fallen in love until he was fifty, and to have made great sacrifices of his own comfort in order to provide for his nieces. It is also doubtful if Andrea del Sarto was an embezzler. Andrea del Castagno has been shown to have died several years before the man whom he was said to have assassinated. Perugino, instead of being a miser and atheist, "figures in the original documents as a generous giver, bestowing his time and labor upon religious confraternities for little or no pay." The artists were natural where the humanists seem sentimental and affected. While the humanists imitated the writings of classical antiquity, the artists experimented and worked out new methods. The humanists were scholars or writers of limited scope; the artists were original and often versatile geniuses.

Bibliographical Note

Some of the works listed at the close of Chapters 24, 25, 26, and 27 apply as well to this later period.

In the field of science and medicine, Nicholas of Cusa, *Static Experiments* are translated in *Annals of Medical History*, III (1931), 110–114, and *Advice from a Physician to his Sons, Ibid.*, 17–20. For "A Weather Record for 1399–1406 A.D.," see *Isis*, 32 (1940), 1–20, for the first printed arithmetic, D. E. Smith, *A Source Book in Mathematics*, pp. 1–12. Guy de Chauliac on Wounds and Fractures was translated by W. A. Brennan, his entire work edited by E. Nicaise, that of John Arderne, by D'Arcy Power. Secondary accounts are Allbutt, "A Chair of Medicine in the Fifteenth Century," at the close of his *Greek Medicine in Rome*, Cholmeley, *John of Gaddesden and the Rosa medicinae*, Clagett, *Giovanni Marliani and Late Medieval Physics*, Henslow, *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century*, John Mundy, "John of Gemunden," *Isis*, 34 (1943), 196–205, H. O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century*, vol. II, chapters 30, 31, on Nicholas of Cusa and Leonardo da Vinci, Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. IV on the fifteenth century, and *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century.*

Petrarch's *Sonnets, Triumphs and Other Poems* may be read in English translation, for his letters see Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, revised edition. On humanism and education: *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. VII, chapter 24, vol. VIII, chapters 23, 25, Whitcomb, *A Literary Source Book of the Italian Renaissance*, Munro and Sellery, *Medieval Civilization*, pp. 277–284, 285–309, 474–490, and 524–546, the last especially good.

On political thought: E. Emerton, *Humanism and Tyranny*, J. N. Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*, *Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII, chapter 20, *Political Science Quarterly*, 41 (1926), 413–435, 46 (1931), 277–280, 589–592, J. W. Gough, *The Social Contract*, Chapter 4 on the later middle ages.

The opposing arguments for derivation of the invention of printing from China and for its independent development in Europe are set forth by T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward*, and C. Mortet, *Les* *origines et les débuts de l'imprimerie d'après les recherches les plus récentes* Other books are Pierce Butler, *The Origin of Printing in Europe*, D B. Updike, *Printing Types*, 2 vols , and G P Winship, *Printing in the Fifteenth Century*

On the fine arts *Cambridge Medieval History*, VIII, chapter 24, Symonds, *Short History of the Renaissance*, chapter 12, W J Anderson, *Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, Berenson's books on central Italian, Florentine, north Italian, and Venetian painters, "Sculpture in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in Crumb and Jacob, *Legacy*, pp 110–121, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in North Italy*, 3 vols; E G Salter, *Nature in Italian Art, a Study of Landscape Backgrounds from Giotto to Tintoretto*, G Scott, *Architecture of Humanism* Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*, translated by Blashfield and Hopkins, 1907, by de Vere, 1912–1915

XXXVIII

The Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests[1]

Little external change

THOSE external conditions of life which we call medieval largely persisted into early modern times or even until the French Revolution or the nineteenth century In most parts of Europe the life of the peasant and the land system were little altered In most towns the picturesque walls and towers, streets and houses, remained essentially unchanged, except that with the falling-off in population whole quarters might be deserted, or with the decline in taste charming Gothic arches, windows, columns, and ornamentation might be walled up, plastered over, cut through, or otherwise concealed and disfigured. Houses at Lyons, listed in 1725, still had the same signs and emblems to identify them as in the eleventh and twelfth centuries To a large extent, save in royal capitals and new commercial centers, the old buildings were made to suffice Thus, if a new school were opened, instead of occupying a new building, it would move into some half-ruined monastery or abandoned hospital The feudal castles were battered down and dismantled only in the seventeenth century If knighthood was not still in flower in the sixteenth century, nevertheless a captain of that time could say that a good cavalier on a good horse was as superior a being as there could be in this world The gild system was essentially the same in the seventeenth century as in the thirteenth, and did not disappear on the continent of Europe until the French Revolution and the middle of the nineteenth century Outbreaks of the plague continued until the early eighteenth century There was no marked improvement in either sanitation or transportation Francis Bacon stated that people bathed less in his day than they used to Quaint old customs and procedures, popular festivals and liberties, had declined Artisans worked longer and were paid less. Especially from 1300 to 1550 did the condition and pay of workingmen grow worse In the seventeenth century they had a longer working day than in the thirteenth century, while their pay had not yet risen to correspond. In the gilds and localities there was less charity and unity. Nor had the lot of the teacher and writer improved. But all this was in the nature of subtraction rather than alteration and innovation

---

[1] This chapter slightly recasts a paper of mine which was read before the American Historical Association and was published in *Speculum*, II (1927), 147–159.

If the external conditions were still so largely medieval, why should thought change? If man is largely dependent for his ideas upon his environment, such new thought as there was in the early modern period will be found to be based upon, or connected with, new or newly discovered things: manuscripts of Greek tragedies and comedies, and of the essays of Plutarch and Lucian, new continents across the Atlantic, new scientific instruments like the telescope and microscope which opened up vast realms of nature to discovery Otherwise the old thought and methods of thought might be expected to go on as before

Humanists and reformers

Much has been written, it is true, concerning the new spirit of the Renaissance and of the Reformation But gradually it is becoming recognized that both the humanists and the reformers were singularly lacking in originality As the seventeenth century opened, Hugo Grotius was the precocious pet of the humanistic circles in which moved Scaliger, Casaubon, and Heinsius. The first text he edited was that most early-medieval of all early-medieval works, the *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* of Martianus Capella, his first original poem was on a theme which had been repeatedly treated in the medieval religious drama Nevertheless it may be admitted that in the early modern centuries there was a certain turning away from medieval tradition The humanist, philologer, or antiquarian became enamoured instead of the classical tradition; the reformer turned away in disdain from the traditions of the medieval church Perhaps with most zest of all, absolute monarchs like Francis I cast aside the ancient laws of the realm and the solemn promises of their predecessors, riding roughshod over past privileges, franchises, and institutions, whether estates, parlement, or university This break with the immediate past was undoubtedly important. But, except that it also seriously affected the fine arts, it was in the main limited to such fields as have already been mentioned

Uninterrupted development

In other fields the course of development already initiated in the medieval centuries went on uninterrupted There was no sufficient occasion, for instance, for a physician or a lawyer or a mathematician or a chemist or an optician or a clock-maker or a cartographer or a munition-manufacturer to reject the medieval foundations that had been laid for him "It was a continuation of a medieval tradition," says Rashdall, "that made Montpellier and Padua the centers of European medicine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" And "there were surgical writers at Bologna as early as the second half of the thirteenth century whose works continued in sufficient circulation to be included among the earliest productions of the Venetian press and to be often reprinted up to the middle of the seventeenth century" "In political theory," Figgis states, "many of the medieval arguments and methods subsisted until the eighteenth century"

Not many new ideas

The divisions of the field of knowledge, the classification of the different subjects studied, the main interests of the human mind, remained almost the same in early modern times as they had been in the thirteenth century The humanism of the intervening centuries had added classical philology and antiquities, a more direct and ampler acquaintance with Greek; the new temper of the times and warring sects had added controversies — that was about all The courses offered in universities, the titles of academic chairs, the subject headings employed in catalogues of libraries — all these remained but little altered Lives of the saints and commentaries on the *Sentences*, liturgical works and ascetic treatises were generally abandoned by Protestants, but were still read and written by Catholics With the secularization of the Reformation period more space in the academic curriculum was given to history and politics, but we must remember that medieval historiography had been abundant and that Aristotle's *Politics* and *Economics* had even been translated into French in the fourteenth century

The philosopher Descartes (1596–1650) is commonly represented as having made a sharp break with scholasticism Yet even his celebrated "*Cogito, ergo sum*," merely repeats one of the four states of certitude of Duns Scotus, the schoolman of the early fourteenth century Descartes was opposed to overmuch study and scorned the teachings of the schools He would begin with a preliminary attitude of sweeping doubt as to all previous tradition and accepted knowledge, and then, by "the easy path" of the natural reason possessed by almost every man, "find in himself, and without borrowing from any, the whole knowledge which is essential to him in the direction of his life, and then by his study succeed in acquiring the most curious forms of knowledge that the human reason is capable of possessing."

Yet we find Descartes concerned with many of the problems, topics, and notions which had occupied the attention of the science and philosophy of previous centuries He employs such familiar captions of medieval physics as Meteorology and Dioptrics He asks such an old type of question as, Why children and old people weep more easily than others. He repeats the old notion of the formation of animal spirits in the cavities of the brain Indeed, it was not overthrown until the time of Gall in the nineteenth century. Descartes' doctrine of the pineal gland in the brain as the connecting link between soul and body reminds one of the explanation of thought as the opening and closing of "a particle of the substance of the brain similar to a worm," which we find in the ninth-century Arabic treatise of Costa ben Luca, *On the Difference between Soul and Spirit*. Costa ben Luca represented this particle as forming a sort of valve between the anterior and posterior ventricles, and held that when a man was in the act of recalling something to mind, this valve opened and the subtle spirits passed from the anterior to the posterior cavity. Now hear Descartes' explanation: "Thus when the soul desires to recollect something, this desire causes the gland, by inclining successively to different sides, to thrust the spirits towards different parts of the brain until they come across that part where the traces left there by the object which we wish to recollect are found. . . ."

The magnet and the rainbow played about as large a part in Descartes' philosophy as in medieval science. To the time-honored problem, Why is the sea not increased by the rivers flowing into it? he gives, not the modern answer, evaporation, but the answer which Ristoro d'Arezzo in the thirteenth century and others since had given, Because the surplus water returns by underground passages to the tops of the mountains. Descartes still had faith in Aristotelian first causes, criticizing Galileo for merely investigating particular phenomena and forces and so building without a foundation. So we might go on to show how Descartes denied the existence of a vacuum, discussed such oft-discussed matters as quicksilver, sulphur, and bitumen, nitre and salts, how stones and minerals are produced by vapors ascending from the interior of the earth, how vermilion or *minium* is made — a stock paragraph in medieval chemical treatises and collections of recipes for painters, why the flame of the candle is pointed.

Descartes of course often offered a new explanation, but the fact remains that he was trying to answer the same old set of questions and observing the traditional classification of the arts and sciences. He was still as much interested as the thirteenth century had been in the marvelous secrets of nature. Although in one place he states that it will be impossible for him to treat in detail of such matters as the phoenix, he soon expresses a curiosity concerning even "apparitions, illusions, and in a word all the wonderful effects attributed to magic," and promises to gratify it. "Then I shall place before your eyes the works of man upon corporeal objects, and after having struck wonder into you by the sight of machines the most powerful, and automata the most rare, visions the most specious, and tricks the most subtle that artifice can invent, I shall reveal to you secrets which are so simple that you will henceforward wonder at nothing in the works of our hands” These words sound almost like a literal translation of some sentence from the treatise ascribed to Roger Bacon, *On the Secret Works of Art and Nature and the Nullity of Magic* Descartes was not without faith in such time-worn marvels and ancient superstitions as the inexhaustible lamps supposed to burn for centuries without addition of new fuel, or the bleeding of the wounds of a corpse at the approach of the murderer He was confident that his Method could offer satisfactory explanation of the truth of such marvels

Modern "discoveries" anticipated

Finally, before taking leave of Descartes, let us recall that even his claim to be the inventor of analytical geometry must be discounted, since Nicolas Oresme had already made use of co-ordinates in the fourteenth century Oresme had also employed fractional exponents for powers, an innovation formerly attributed to the sixteenth-century mathematicians, Vieta and Stevin We have seen that Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is in part a translation of a fourteenth-century French poem. These cases illustrate the truth that not only were many intellectual interests of the Middle Ages perpetuated in the early modern centuries, but that what have been acclaimed as new discoveries resulting from the free spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation were often mere revivals of, or improvements upon, ideas which had already been broached in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Duhem has traced the use made by Leonardo da Vinci in his scientific thought of the previous medieval literature, and shown that his geological ideas, for example, were largely taken from Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth, and Albert of Saxony in the fourteenth century. Cardan was influenced in his turn by da Vinci, while Palissy plagiarized from Cardan. Torricelli, Galileo's private secretary and demonstrator by his famous experiment of the possibility of a vacuum, in his dynamics often used the reasoning and even the very wording of Jean Buridan, the Parisian schoolman of the fourteenth century Gesner and Cardan made large use of Albertus Magnus The thirteenth-century work of Bartholomew of England *On the Properties of Things*, intended by its author only as a handy compilation, was the chief source of scientific information for writers of the Elizabethan age Mary P Ramsay has pointed out the medieval doctrines in the English poet, Donne, of the seventeenth century. Knight has shown that Grotius' work *On the Law of War and Peace* covered ground already repeatedly trod by the schoolmen Anatomy and physiology did not begin with Vesalius and Harvey Guy de Chauliac in the fourteenth century, and the earlier writers whom he cites, possessed anatomical knowledge which has been commonly ascribed to a later period.

Nor did the men of the later centuries always fail to recognize the accomplishments of their predecessors Gabriel Naudé in the seventeenth century notes that Scaliger and Cardan in the sixteenth put Richard Suiseth or Swineshead, the "Calculator," of the fourteenth century, in the rank of the ten rarest wits that the world had ever known Regiomontanus has usually been represented, perhaps especially by German historians, as having resuscitated mathematics from the gloom and neglect of the Middle Ages He was better appreciated by Cardan who did not regard him as much of an originator, asserting that he had taken his *Tabulae directionum* in large part from Johannes de Blanchinis of the fourteenth century, his *Epitome* from a still earlier medieval writer of Milan, and his treatise on spherical triangles from a Hebrew of Spain

Regard for authorities

The regard for such ancient authorities as Aristotle, Galen, and Ptolemy was not diminished by the classical Renaissance and Protestant Reformation Sometimes the sixteenth century seems guilty of a blinder adhesion to the letter of such authorities than had previously been the case The archaic Italian Renaissance brought into honor again doctrines of Aristotle and Averroes which had been abandoned about 1300 John Dryander, in his 1540 edition of the Italian anatomist, Mundinus, of the early fourteenth century, was shocked to find that his author did not always follow Aristotle and Galen (as if they had always been in agreement among themselves!) and he presumed to correct Mundinus by citing Galen When Francis I in 1544 by royal edict condemned both of the recent works of Ramus against Aristotle and forbade him henceforth to attack Aristotle or other approved authors, those who sympathized with Ramus held that this was an unprecedented assault upon academic freedom, and that it had hitherto been no crime to oppose Aristotle Henceforth, however, it was to be, at least in Paris, where as late as 1642 the Sorbonne and Parlement censured certain men for attacking the Aristotelian doctrine of form, matter, and substantial forms Luther for a time indulged in violent vituperation of Aristotle, but he was much irritated when Carlstadt and Melancthon took his invective literally instead of in a Pickwickian sense. By 1535 Melancthon had seen the light and was convinced that without Aristotle "pure philosophy cannot be retained or indeed any right system of teaching or learning," and that "Aristotle wrote so eruditely of civil customs that nothing more is needed" For a long time thereafter the Aristotelian logic, physics, and philosophy remained as firmly intrenched in most Protestant as in Catholic schools Even so critical a spirit as Pierre Bayle, when he became professor of philosophy at Sedan in 1676, continued to follow Aristotle in logic and morals, though introducing the Cartesian physics, while his metaphysics remained scholastic with some attention to Cartesianism.

Dialectic

The good old medieval teaching of dialectic received severe punishment at the hands of Renaissance critics and satirists, but appears to have taken it all and come back smiling. When the Collège de Guienne was instituted in 1533 at Bordeaux, it was regarded as a progressive, humanistic enterprise, and Tartas, its first principal, was represented as going south to revive learning, accompanied by twenty-one teachers of Hebrew, Latin, and Greek. As a matter of fact, only one or two of them knew any Greek, while Hebrew was never taught at the school. However, disputations were abandoned, and the emphasis was on the Latin classics. Nevertheless, dialectic was taught from the start, and although Nicolas de Grouchy at first dictated his lectures in Greek, he concluded by using the Latin Aristotle of Joachim Périon. The pupils were dissatisfied with his successor in the chair of dialectic, and we find efforts being made to secure someone qualified to comment on Aristotle in Latin. This might sound as if good teachers of logic were becoming scarce, but at the beginning of the next century, when the study of Greek had been dropped from the curriculum, we find that the principal of the school was a Scot named Balfour whose most important work, published in 1616, was a commentary on the *Organon* of Aristotle.

Medicine

Similarly in the field of medicine there was a marked tendency in the first half of the sixteenth century to revert to the Greek text of Hippocrates and Galen, and to cast aside the great Arabic medical writers of the intervening period. This movement, however, never went very far, and was soon seen to be antiquarian retrogression rather than modern progress. The normal trend of early modern medicine was rather to continue, with occasional innovations such as those of Paracelsus, the methods and matter of the numerous medieval works and Latin translations. Since the later medieval centuries had seen no little progress in anatomy, medicine, and surgery, this situation cannot be called one of medieval stagnation, although it perhaps became stagnation in the subsequent centuries.

Scholastic questions

Be that as it may, we find the candidates for degrees or professorial appointment at Montpellier in 1574 defending theses which can generally be duplicated in the works of the Jewish physician Isaac of the tenth century or of Petrus Hispanus and Pietro d'Abano in the thirteenth. Among the questions discussed by François Sanchez, the noted sceptic, from August 2 to 4, 1574, and the theses of Jean Blazin, ventilated from October 7 to 9 in the same year, are these:

> Which meal should be the more frugal, dinner or supper?
> Is man of hotter constitution than woman?
> Is the vital faculty different from the animal?

Is respiration necessary to all animals?
Is wine or water more healthful?
Is purging or bleeding more suited to children?
Is vomiting or purging the better treatment for dysentery?
Should bread be eaten with garden fruits?
Is the flesh of poisonous animals poisonous to eat?
Is a wound from contusion properly cured by agglutinating remedies?
Are purging and bleeding good for virulent stings and bites?
Is suppuration caused by unnatural heat?
Do heavy and fetid odors help those who are suffocating?

These questions were argued theoretically or scholastically from the usual premises of ancient and medieval science and their *Weltanschauung* This may be further illustrated by quoting the forms followed by candidates for the doctorate at Padua in 1642 and 1665, as preserved in two manuscripts of the Sloane collection of the British Museum

> Relying on the inspiration of the divine spirit and your good will, O most wise fathers, I enter on explanation of the points assigned me by lot by the most illustrious presiding officer for today's examination, in expounding which I follow the received order in this dear university and proffer four things First, I will show the connection of the text with what went before Second, I'll expose the author's meaning Third, I'll divide the text into parts. Fourth, I'll explain the various parts and, if any matters are worthy of consideration, I'll note them too I have to interpret a twofold point, one philosophical, the other medical The philosophical is from the second book of Aristotle's *Physics*, and its opening words are "Quasi natura sit principium . . ." The medical is from the *Ars Parva* of Galen, chapter 43, opening, "Humidius autem et frigidius . . ."
>
> I come then to the first part of the text, in which Aristotle thus defines nature, that it is the principle and cause of motion and of that rest in which it is first and *per se* and not *secundum accidens*. Moreover, that nature is the principle of motion and rest may be confirmed by this argument whatever gives the essence to things, gives likewise the operations following the essence But nature gives things their essence, ergo etc. The major (premise) is clear, for whatever immediately constitutes a cause, the same also immediately constitutes the effect The minor (premise) is proved by this reasoning If nature is both the matter of natural things and their form, it also gives them their essence But the former is true, and hence the latter also A second argument that I adduce is that whatever is the principle and cause of increase and alteration and progression, the same is the principle of motion and rest. But nature etc , ergo etc. . .

In another case the candidate is assigned the problem of a youth of hot and dry temperament laboring with intermittent fever complicated by headache. His diagnosis is that the patient has a hot and dry distemper of the heart and entire body, caused by bilious humor putrefying outside the veins in two places The headache comes from bilious and putrid vapor affecting the brain Hence the patient requires cold and wet treatment, riddance of the putridity and inhibition of further putrefying by means of attenuating, abstergent, incident, and imminuent remedies, with cordials and liver-pills Hippocrates is cited to the effect that the disease is not perilous and that a cure may be hoped for The candidate for the doctorate advises bleeding from the basilic vein of the right arm as much as the patient's constitution will permit

It should not be thought, however, that the observance of such forms was necessarily incompatible with observation and experiment The very man who in 1583 had an anatomical theater constructed at Padua, at the same time renewed the practice of disputations which had begun to flag

Scholastic theology

In Roman Catholic lands scholastic theology also, which has often been represented as moribund in the fourteenth century, continued to hold its own into the eighteenth The University of Salamanca was the great center of Thomism in the sixteenth century There is a tradition that Duns Scotus was buried alive Certainly his soul went marching on in many a subsequent disputation and tome And as his corpse was repeatedly exhumed — in 1476, 1509, 1619, 1642, and 1706 — so his philosophy was repeatedly revived One such occasion was in the seventeenth century when the teaching of two young scholars from southern Italy spread like wildfire through all the Scotist schools The professors of the University of Rome from 1580 to 1690 were active in publishing works on the philosophy and theology of Aquinas, while Scotism found defenders still in the eighteenth century

Textbooks

Let us turn very briefly to yet other sides of education In the schools of Champagne in the second half of the sixteenth century reckoning was still taught by the means of jetons or counters in the medieval manner. The old medieval textbooks also continued long in use. When Maestlin composed an *Epitome of Astronomy* in 1582, he found that no better way could be devised of presenting the elements of astronomy than that employed in the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco, which had been composed early in the thirteenth century, and that even those who censured Sacrobosco sharply nevertheless followed in his footsteps We are therefore not surprised to find the *Sphere* still taught as a text at the University of Montpellier in 1608 The logic of Paul of Venice, who had a great reputation as an astronomer and philosopher in the early fifteenth century but seems to have done little more than reproduce earlier authors, found, according to Momigliano, a last refuge in the schools of the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Boethius was the text in music at Oxford in the eighteenth century The brief compendium of the philosophy of Albertus Magnus entitled *Philosophia pauperum* was being used at the University of Cracow in 1777

Occult science

Alchemy, astrology, and other occult sciences continued on much the same path as they had followed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and men of note in science and thought still were not above lending a favorable ear or even pen to their claims The works of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Porta, and Cardan contain almost no superstition not found in previous works A Giordano Bruno, an Achillini, a Bodin, a Kepler, a Francis Bacon, a Robert Boyle, all had their little weaknesses in these matters Such a doctrine as that of Bodin concerning climate, instead of constituting a new modern contribution, is little more than a borrowing from medieval astrology, whose last sighs have sometimes been mistaken for the first breath of a geographical interpretation of history

History

Finally, let us note that, despite the absorption of the humanists in classical history and antiquities, there was much historical interest in the medieval past manifested from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries Familiar enough to us perhaps is the appeal to history made by Protestants and Catholics and reflected in such rival enterprises as the Magdeburg Centuries and the Annals of Baronius; sufficiently familiar, too, the patriotic national histories and the publication of royal records But there were also numerous works written upon the past of individual towns and localities, of universities and learned professions At a time when centralization and unification in a few courts and capitals took away the life and power of the old local centers, it was natural that they should seek solace in a review of their historic past. At a time when absolute monarchy or foreign domination allowed few men the active exercise of citizenship, it was not strange that much intellectual rather than political history was written And such works almost always convey the impression of intellectual continuity between the medieval centuries and their own times

The revivals in more recent times of popular representative government, of towns that were flourishing in the thirteenth century, of romance and Gothic art, of widespread education and philanthropy, also have their medieval background, as our earlier chapters have shown

Chronological Outline

ASIA AND AFRICA	THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE BARBARIAN	
100		
	Conquest of Dacia (107)	
Rome withdraws from Armenia and most of Mesopotamia (117)	ROMAN EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST	
		Reign of Marcus Aurelius (161–180) *Signs of decline* *Infiltration of barbarian settlers*
200		
Persian kingdom replaces Parthian (227)		
	Decius defeated and slain by Goths (251)	
Death of Mani (276-277)	Loss of Dacia (275)	
300		Reign of Diocletian (285–305)
		Edict of Toleration by Galerius (311)
	Constantinople founded (330)	
		Decline of the municipalities
		Reign of Julian the Apostate (361–363)
	Battle of Adrianople (378)	
400		Sack of Rome by Alaric (410)
		West Goths and Burgundians in Gaul (419)
Vandals take Carthage (439)		
		Attila checked at Châlons (451)
		Sack of Rome by Vandals (455)
		West Goths begin to occupy Spain (484)
	CESSATION OF SEPARATE WESTERN	

	Byzantine Empire and Eastern Europe	Italy, Spain, Southern Europe	Franks
500	Bulgars and Heruli enter Empire	Reign of Theodoric in Italy (493–526) Breviary of Alaric (506) West Goths forced back from Gaul into Spain (507)	Clovis, King of the Franks (481–511)
	Justin and Justinian (518–565)		
Byzantine conquest of North Africa from Vandals (534)	*Digest* of Justinian (533)		Frankish conquest of Burgundian kingdom (534)
Armenian Church separates from Greek Church (536)			

INVASIONS	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, TECHNOLOGY
Tacitus *Germania* (98)			
EXTENT	*Spread of Oriental religions through Roman Empire*	Pantheon rebuilt under Hadrian (117–138)	*Peace and prosperity, many slaves freed*
		Spoken or Vulgar Latin spreads through Western Europe	
			Economic and social decline
Christianity introduced among Goths in the Crimea (304)		Porphyry d 304	Diocletian's Edict of Prices (301)
	Edict of Toleration by Galerius (311)	"Basilica of Constantine" and Arch of Constantine at Rome	
	Arian heresy (318)		
	Council of Nicaea (325)	Earliest specimen (on papyrus) of Christian music (301–305)	
	Baptism and death of Constantine (337)		*Coloni bound to the soil*
	St Antony d 356		
	Ulfilas d 381		Roman mint in Pannonia abandoned (387)
	Oration of Symmachus in favor of pagan cults (381)		
	St Martin of Tours d 397		First public water-mills at Rome (398)
		Vulgate translated by Jerome (c 400)	Invention of bells ascribed to Paulinus, Bishop of Nola (409–431)
		Annianus *Computus* (412)	
	Pope Leo the Great (440–461)	Augustine *City of God* (413–426)	
	Council of Chalcedon condemns Monophysite heresy (451)	Theodosian Code (438)	
	Symeon Stylites d 459		
Anglo-Saxon invasions of Britain	Nestorian college at Edessa suppressed by Emperor Zeno (479)		
EMPERORS			
Germany, Britain, Northern Europe			*Tendency toward a class of large landholders on one hand and of serfs on the other*
Heruli defeated by Lombards in lower Austria (505)		Cassiodorus *Chronicle* (519)	
		Boethius d 524	
		Dionysius Exiguus *Liber de paschate* (525)	
Long struggle of Britains against Anglo-Saxon invaders	Rule of St. Benedict (529)	Church of San Vitale, Ravenna, begun (526)	
		Building of St Sophia, Constantinople (532–537)	

ASIA, AFRICA; SPAIN	BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE	ITALY SOUTHERN EUROPE	FRANKS
550		Jordanes *History of the Goths* (551)	
Beirut ruined by earthquake, its law school ended (551)			
	Byzantine conquest of Italy from East Goths (555)		
	Avars invade central Europe (568)	Lombards invade Italy (568)	
	Fall of Sirmium (582)	Lombards destroy Monte Cassino (581)	Gregory of Tours *History of the Franks* (575–594)
West Goths conquer Suevi in northwest Spain (585)			
600	Accession of Heraclius (610)		
Sack of Jerusalem by Chosroes the Persian (615)			
Hegira of Mohammed (622)	*Seven racial groups of Slavs between Danube and Balkans*		
Death of Mohammed (632)			Frankish territories re-united under Dagobert (629–639)
Mohammedan conquest of Syria, Egypt, Persia (632–651)	*Ekthesis* issued (638)		
	Typos issued (648)	Lombard laws of King Rothari (643)	
		Genoa taken by Lombards (642) and hardly heard of again until 900	
	Empire very weak		
Ommiad dynasty founded (661)	Death of Maximus the Confessor (662)		
			Battle of Testry (687)
Carthage permanently captured by Mohammedans (698)		First doge of Venice (697)	
700			
Mohammedan conquest of Spain (711–713)	*Slavs press south of the Balkans*		
	Iconoclastic decree of Emperor Leo III (726)		
			Battle of Tours (732)
Abassid dynasty founded (750)	*Slavic element introduced in Greek vocabulary*	Ravenna captured by Lombards (751)	Pepin founds Carolingian dynasty (751)
Ommiad Emirate of Cordova (755)			
Bagdad founded by Mansur (762)			
			Reign of Charlemagne (768–814)
		End of Lombard kingdom (774)	

GERMANY, BRITAIN, NORTHERN EUROPE	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, TECHNOLOGY
			Silkworms brought to Constantinople (552) *Merchants still numerous in Italy, but small cultivators in distress*
Frankish conquest of Bavaria (555)		St Sophia rededicated (563)	
Mission of St Columba to Iona, Scotland (565)			
Petty kingdoms in Britain			Famine throughout Gaul (585)
	Pope Gregory the Great (590–604)		
Mission of St Augustine to Kent (597)			
		Alexander of Tralles d 605	
	Death of St Columban (615)		Jews persecuted in Spain (612)
		Isidore *Etymologies* (622)	
			A jeweler and mint-master becomes Bishop of Noyon (640)
	Synod of Whitby (664)		Organ used in church service (660)
Earliest original MS of an English charter (671)		Bewcastle Cross (670)	
		Caedmon d 680	First recorded use of Greek fire (673)
Christian Northumbrians visit Ireland for training as missionaries to Continent	Quinisext Council (691–692)		
Mission of Boniface to Germany (718)		Heliodorus, alchemist (c 716–717)	
Laws of Bavarians written down (744–748)	John of Damascus (c 700–760) the leading theologian	Albi map of Western Europe (c 730) Bede *Ecclesiastical History* (731)	
		Development of Romance languages from Vulgar Latin	
Lindisfarne sacked by the Northmen (783) Danish invasions begin in England (787) Irish visit Thule (795)			First paper factory at Bagdad (794)
		Charlemagne's cathedral at Aachen (793–804)	

ASIA; AFRICA; SPAIN	BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE	ITALY AND HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE	WESTERN EUROPE (EXCEPT SPAIN)
800			
Haroun-al-Rashid sends an elephant to Charlemagne (802)	*Serbs and Croats first appear under these names*		Imperial coronation of Charlemagne (800)
		Renewed invasions by Saracens and Northmen	
Saracens invade Sicily (827)		Saracens invade Sicily (827)	
			Treaty of Verdun (843) Victory of Breton duke (845)
		Break-up of the Frankish Empire	
Khazars converted to Judaism (862–866)	Ruric becomes Grand Prince of Russia (c 859) Conversion of Boris I of Bulgaria (864)		Treaty of Mersen (870)
	Period of prosperity in Empire (850–1050)	Bari recaptured from Saracens (875) Messina falls to Saracens (878) Monte Cassino again destroyed by Saracens (883)	
	Basilics of Leo the Wise (890) Invasions of the Magyars begin (c 896)		Northmen besiege Paris (885) Emperor Charles deposed (887)
900			
Saracens seize Saloniki (904)			
Fatimite dynasty founded in North Africa (909)	Bavarian host annihilated by Magyars (907) Reign of Constantine VII, Porphyrogennetos (911–959)	Basel destroyed by Magyars (917)	Origin of Normandy (911–912)
Caliphate of Cordova founded by Abd-er-Rahman III (929)	First Bulgarian Empire (893–1018)		Kingdom of Arles begins (934)
Death of last great Bagdad caliph (940)	Liutprand of Cremona sent to Constantinople (949)		
	Battle of the Lechfeld (955)		
		Otto the Great crowned Holy Roman Emperor (962)	*Development of feudalism*
Fatimites conquer Egypt (969)			
			Hugh Capet founds Capetian dynasty in France (987)
	Reign of St. Stephen of Hungary (997–1038) First monastery in Hungary (999)		Peasants' revolt in Normandy (997)

ENGLAND	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, TECHNOLOGY
		Liber pontificalis, Lucca, in uncials, half uncials, and imitative Visigothic (c 800)	*Western Europe shut off from trade by Moslem control of Mediterranean*
	False Decretals and False Capitularies (846–852) Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières (846–862)	Astronomical observatory at Bagdad (820) Arabic translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (827) Thebit ben Corat (836–901) Strasburg Oaths (842)	Stirrup shown in Spanish MS of the Apocalypse (840) Chinese porcelain described by an Arab merchant (851) Papal bull written on papyrus (855)
Reign of Alfred the Great in England (871–900)	Eighth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople (869)	Photius *Myriobiblion* (c 857) John Scotus Erigena *De universo* (c 867)	Oldest paper MS extant in Near East (870)
		Oldest extensive MS of Hebrew Bible (895)	
		Helperic *Computus* (903)	
	Abbey of Cluny founded (910)		
		Earliest stone carvings in Armenia (915–921)	
			Byzantine emperor tries to protect peasants against large landowners (922)
		Salerno famous for physicians and translations from the Greek	Organ with 26 bellows and 400 pipes erected at Winchester (c 950) Economy of Genoa still agricultural (c 958)
		Gerbert in Spain (967–970) Widukind *Saxon History* (968) Suidas *Lexicon* (c 970)	
King Edgar the Peaceful (d. 975)		Arabic numerals in a Spanish MS (976, 992) Oldest Provençal documents containing Vulgar Latin words (985, 999)	Hospital of St. Mark's, Venice, founded (978)
	Pope Sylvester II (Gerbert) (999–1003)	Oldest MS of Beowulf (c 1000) Hrosvita d 1000 (?)	Last Roman private document on papyrus (998)

ASIA, AFRICA, SPAIN	BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, SOUTHERN ITALY, SICILY	WESTERN EUROPE (EXCEPT SPAIN)
1000 Almansor d 1002			
			Growth of feudal states
Fuero de Leon (1020)	*Period of prosperity in Byzantine Empire continues to 1050*	Doge of Venice forbidden to associate son with himself in office (1032)	Growth of Marseilles
End of Caliphate of Cordova (1031)			Baldwin V, Count of Flanders (1036–1067) Foulques Nerra, Count of Anjou, d 1040
1050			
Earliest known feudal code, *Usatges* of Raymond Berengar I of Catalonia (1068)	End of Macedonian dynasty (1057)	Robert Guiscard becomes papal vassal for Sicily and southern Italy (1059)	
Seljuk Turks win battle of Manzikert (1071)			
	Fall of Bari, last Byzantine stronghold in Italy (1071)		
Turks capture Jerusalem (1078) Toledo taken by Alfonso VI of Castile and Leon (1085) Alfonso VI defeated by Almoravides at Zalaca (1086) Death of the Cid (1099) Crusaders storm Jerusalem (1099)		Canossa (1076)	Foundation of Portugal (1095)
1100			Reign of Louis VI of France (1108–1137)
Omar Khayyam d. 1123–1124		Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, d 1115 Freiburg-im-Breisgau founded (1120) Concordat of Worms (1122)	
	Premonstratensian Order enters Hungary (1130)	*German frontier advanced from the Elbe to the Oder*	Bayeux inquest on feudal organization in Normandy (1133)
Moses Maimonides (1135–1204) Union of Aragon and Barcelona (1137)			
Fall of Edessa (1144)		Commune at Rome (1143)	Lubeck founded (1143)
1150		Reign of Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190)	Suger d 1151
Saladin overthrows Fatimite dynasty in Egypt (1171)			Entire knight service of Normandy less than 800 men (1171)

ENGLAND	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE; TECHNOLOGY, DISCOVERY
			Discovery of Vinland (c 1000)
		Ibn Yunus, astronomer, d 1009	
Danish kings in England (1013)			*Greater utilization of horsepower and other power*
	Movement against simony, lay investiture, and marriage of the clergy	Albiruni on India (1031) Arabic treatise on alchemy (1034) Avicenna d 1037 Guido of Arezzo musical staff notation	*Increasing population*
Norman conquest (1066)	Abbot Desiderius starts a great revival at Monte Cassino (1058)	Oldest extant Persian MS (1056)	
		Cathedral of Pisa begun (1063)	
Domesday Book (1085)	Canossa (1076)	Psellus d 1079 Abelard (1079–1142)	
	Carthusian Order founded (1082)	*Chanson de Roland* (1085?)	
		Constantinus Africanus d 1087	First walls of Montpellier (1090)
	Urban II proclaims First Crusade (1095)	William X, Duke of Aquitaine and troubadour (1086–1127)	Gild of weavers at Mainz
	Cistercian Order founded (1098)	Nominalism condemned (1092)	
		Revival of Roman law	
	Many collections of canon law	William of Champeaux opens school at St Victor, Paris (1108)	Cloth of Ypres known in Novgorod since 1100
		Abelard lectures on Ezekiel at Paris (1111)	Pisan quarter in Antioch (1108)
		Great Portal of Cluny (1109–1115)	First mention of fairs of Champagne (1114)
		Averroes (1126–1198)	A Chinese allusion to use of magnetic needle in navigation (1119)
	Concordat of Worms (1122)	Adelard of Bath fl 1116–1130	
		Arabic astrology translated into Latin	
		Gratian *Decretum* (c 1142) Peter Lombard *Sentences* (c 1142) *Poema del Cid* (1145)	
		Gilbert de la Porrée d 1154	
Reign of Henry II, Plantagenet (1154–1189)	St. Bernard d 1153	End of *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (1154)	
		Geography of Edrisi (1154) John of Salisbury fl 1159	Profits from 3 voyages divided between a merchant and a money-lender of Genoa (1157)
		Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, begun (1163)	
Murder of Thomas Becket (1170)		College des Dix-huit at University of Paris (1171)	

ASIA, AFRICA, SPAIN	BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND EASTERN EUROPE	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, SOUTHERN ITALY, SICILY	WESTERN EUROPE (EXCEPT SPAIN)
1175 Fuero de Teruel (1176)		Battle of Legnano (1176)	Reign of Philip Augustus in France (1180–1223)
Jerusalem taken by Saladin (1187) First mention of representation of towns at Cortes of Leon (1188)	*Flemish and German colonists settle Transylvania*	Venice substitutes aristocratic assembly for popular one (c 1178) Peace of Constance (1183)	
1200	End of Chronicle of Kiev (1199) Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)	*Confusion in Germany and Sicily*	*Coutumes* of Arles (1200) *Très ancien coutumier de Normandie* (c 1200) Albigensian Crusade (1208) Sack and burning of Lille by Philip Augustus (1213)
Battle of Navas de Tolosa (1212)		Battle of Bouvines (1214)	
Jenghiz Khan, Emperor of the Mongols (1206–1227)			
Mongols begin to invade eastern Europe (1222)			
	Teutonic Knights called in to conquer East Prussia (1228)	*Holy Roman Emperors at war with Lombard cities and papacy*	Reign of St Louis in France (1226–1270) Lille receives municipal charter (1235) which remains in force for 550 years
Second great Mongol attack on Eastern Europe (1238–1239) Mongols invade central Europe (1240)			
Christian conquest of Murcia, Spain (1243)		First Council of Lyons deposes Emperor Frederick II (1245)	
1250 Reign of Alfonso the Wise of Castile (1252–1284)			
Bagdad sacked by Mongols (1258)	Byzantine Empire restored in weakened form (1261), with Greece in western hands	Peace League of German towns (1254) Interregnum in Holy Roman Empire (1256–1273)	
Marco Polo in the Far East (1271–1295)		Hohenstaufen line extinct (1268) Charles of Anjou conquers Naples (1268) Rudolf of Hapsburg elected Holy Roman Emperor (1273) Sicilian Vespers (1282) Genoa defeats Pisa (1284)	Beaumanoir: *Livre des coutumes et usages de Beauvoisins*, in Picard dialect (1279–1283)
Fall of Acre (1291)			League of the Three Forest Cantons (1291)
		Noble families of Florence disqualified for office (1293) Membership in Grand Council of Venice becomes hereditary (1297)	

ENGLAND	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, TECHNOLOGY; DISCOVERY
		Gerard of Cremona translates the *Almagest* (1175)	
Development of the common law	Third Lateran Council condemns Cathari, poor boys to be taught free (1179)		Modern rudder shown on a Belgian font (c 1180) Earliest English reference to a fulling mill (1185) Bologna begins its own coinage (1191)
Records of the King's Court begin (1194)		Earliest *Spruch* of Walther von der Vogelweide (1198) *Liber abaci* of Leonard of Pisa (1202) University of Cambridge (1209)	Walls of Ghent extended (1194) Maniacs admitted to hospital connected with Le Mans Cathedral (1203)
Magna Carta (1215)	Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) Albigensian Crusade (1208) Children's Crusade (1212) Fourth Lateran Council (1215)	Translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1210) Aristotle's natural philosophy forbidden at Paris (1210) Amiens Cathedral begun (1220) Universities of Padua (1222), Naples (1224), Toulouse (1229)	Charter to mine sea coal given to monks near Preston (1210) Earliest extant Italian account book (1211) Oldest documents of wool industry at Genoa (1224)
	St. Dominic d 1221	*Romance of the Rose* begun by William of Lorris (c 1235)	
	St Francis d 1226 *Decretals* compiled by Raymond of Peñaforte (1234)	Earliest reference to dissection in medieval universities (1240) Choir of Rheims Cathedral completed (1241) *Talmud* condemned at Paris (1244) Alexander of Hales d 1245	Resumption of gold coinage in the West (1230) Permit for canal from Ghent to Sluys (1231) Troyes attains greatest extent (1238)
	Heavy taxation of clergy and sale of church offices by the popes		
		Grosseteste d 1253 Collège de Sorbonne (1257) Cathedral of Chartres consecrated (1260)	
Provisions of Oxford (1258) Simon de Montfort's Parliament (1265) Exchequer rolls begin (1268)	Vacancy in papal see (1268–1271)	Merton College, Oxford (1263–1264) Roger Bacon *Opus Maius* (c 1266) Witelo *Perspective* (c 1270) *Alfonsine Tables* (c. 1270) Thomas Aquinas d 1274 Condemnation of 219 opinions at Paris (1277) Raymond Martini, *Pugio fidei* (1278) Albertus Magnus d 1280	Genoa and Venice ship grain to Italy from the Black Sea (1268) Papermaking at Fabriano (1269–1276) The Mesta (1273) 10,000 boys and girls in school in Florence (1283) First ducat coined at Venice (1284) *Portolani* or compass charts Two Genoese vessels attempt to circumnavigate Africa (1291)
Model Parliament of Edward I (1295)	*Clericis laicos* (1296)	Belfry of Bruges begun (1295)	Paper manufacture at Bologna (1293)

ASIA; AFRICA; EASTERN EUROPE	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, ITALY;	FRANCE	ENGLAND
1300		First meeting of Estates General (1302)	
House of Anjou in Hungary (1309–1382) House of Luxembourg in Bohemia (1310–1437) Dominican mission to Dongola (1316)	Battle of Morgarten (1315)		Battle of Bannockburn (1314)
		End of direct Capetian line (1328)	
Reign of Stephen VI in Serbia (1331–1355) Reign of Casimir the Great in Poland (1333–1370)	Courts of the Vehm		
		Hundred Years War begins (1337)	
John of Florence in the Far East (1338–1353)		Battle of Sluys (1340)	
Popular revolt at Salonika (1344)		Battle of Crécy (1346)	
	Rienzo and popular uprising in Rome (1347)		
1350 Ottoman Turks enter Europe (1353)	War between Genoa and Venice (1350–1355) Golden Bull (1356)		
		Battle of Poitiers (1356)	
		Revolutionary movement in Paris (1356) The Jacquerie (1358)	
		Treaty of Bretigny (1360)	
Mongols expelled from China (1368–1370)	Charles IV at Rome (1368)	Charles V, the Wise, renews Hundred Years War with success (1369)	
		Battle of La Rochelle (1372)	
Tamerlane (1336–1405)	Uprising of the Ciompi in Florence (1378) War between Genoa and Venice (1378–1381) Disfranchisement of the Ciompi (1382)		The Good Parliament (1376) Peasants' Revolt (1381) John Wyclif d 1384
Union of Poland and Lithuania (1386) Battle of Kosovo (1389)			
Battle of Nicopolis (1396)			Richard II deposed; Lancastrian dynasty in England (1399)

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (EXCEPT FRANCE)	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, TECHNOLOGY, DISCOVERY
Battle of Courtrai (1302)	Humiliation of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni (1303)	Dante exiled (1302) Peter of Abano *Conciliator* (1303)	Pietro dei Crescenzi *De agricultura* (c 1305)
	Papacy at Avignon (1308)	Duns Scotus d 1308	
	Council of Vienne (1311)	Bartolus (1313–1357) Raymond Lull d 1315 Mundinus *Anatomy* (1316)	Malocello reaches Canaries (1312)
		Dante d 1321 *Defensor pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua (1324)	
Battle of Cassel (1328)	Bull of Pope John XXII against Spiritual Franciscans (1329)	Jeux Floraux of troubadours organized at Toulouse (1328)	
		Translations of Galen by Niccolò da Reggio (1308–1345) Giotto d 1337 Petrarch crowned Poet Laureate (1341)	French use cannon at Cambrai and in Périgord (1339) Pegolotti *Mercantile Practice* (1340)
			A Majorcan vessel rounded Cape Bojador on Atlantic coast of Africa (1346)
Jacob Artevelde murdered (1345)		Univ. of Prague (1348) William of Ockham and Thomas Bradwardine d. 1349	The Black Death (1348)
			Decline of Flemish cloth industry *Laurentian Portolano* (1351) Giovanni de' Dondi's astronomical clock (1348–1364)
		Guy de Chauliac *Surgery* (1363) Univ of Vienna (1365)	Over 120 families of Hanseatic merchants resident in Bruges (1366)
Origin of House of Burgundy (1363) War of Hanseatic League vs Denmark and Norway (1367)	Urban V returns to Rome (1367)	Flamboyant style begins (1373)	Gilds win control of government of Augsburg (1367)
	Great Schism begins (1378)	Nicholas Oresme d 1382 Univ of Heidelberg (1385–1386) Milan Cathedral begun (1386)	
Battle of Roosebek (1382) Craft gilds gain control of government of Liége (1384)	John Wyclif d 1384 Gerard Groot d 1384		First urban sanitary act by English Parliament (1388)
Union of Kalmar (1397)		Henry of Hesse d 1397	

ASIA, AFRICA, EASTERN EUROPE	HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE SOUTHERN ITALY	FRANCE	ENGLAND
1400 Battle of Angora (1402)			
	Venice acquires Verona and Padua (1405)	Louis of Orléans murdered by John, Duke of Burgundy (1407)	
Battle of Tannenburg (1410) Portugal captures Ceuta (1415) Hussite Wars begin (1419)	First recorded meeting of Styrian Landtag with four estates (1412)		
		Battle of Agincourt (1415)	
		Treaty of Troyes (1420)	
		Relief of Orléans by Joan of Arc (1429)	
	Cosimo de' Medici comes into power in Florence (1435) Alfonso V of Aragon and Sicily wins Kingdom of Naples (1435–1442)	Duke of Burgundy abandons English alliance (1435) Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438)	Duke of Bedford d 1435 *The Libell of English Policy* (1436)
Battle of Varna (1444)	House of Hapsburg becomes practically hereditary in Holy Roman Empire (1437)		
1450 Fall of Constantinople (1453) Athens and Corinth capitulate to Turks (1458)	Francesco Sforza becomes despot of Milan (1451) Last coronation of a Holy Roman Emperor at Rome (1452)		
		Close of Hundred Years War (1453)	
Reign of Matthias Corvinus in Hungary (1457–1490) Italians humanists invited to Hungary Reign of Ivan III of Moscow (1462–1505)		*Local customs being written out*	Wars of the Roses begin (1455)
		League of Public Welfare vs. Louis XI (1465)	
Novgorod captured by Ivan III of Russia (1478)	Marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (1477)		Littleton *Short Treatise on Tenures* (c 1474)
		Louis XI renews ordinance for general redaction of French customary law (1481)	Battle of Bosworth Field, Henry VII founds Tudor dynasty (1485)
	Lorenzo de' Medici d 1492		
	Charles VIII of France invades Italy (1494)		
Peasants of Poland and Bohemia lose right of free migration (1493–1497)			
1500			

NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE (EXCEPT FRANCE)	CHURCH AND PAPACY	LEARNING AND THE ARTS	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, TECHNOLOGY, DISCOVERY
		Univ of Cracow (1400)	Daily weather record kept (1399–1401)
		Masaccio (1401–1428)	
		Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464)	
		Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* by Jacopo Angelo (1406)	
	Council of Pisa (1409)		
	John Hus excommunicated (1411)	Pierre d'Ailly *Imago mundi* (1410)	Abundance in Italy, (1413)
Portugal captures Ceuta (1415)	92 Flagellants burned at Sangershausen, Thuringia (1414)	Donatello's *St George* (1416)	
	Council of Constance (1414–1417)	Brunelleschi initiates Renaissance architecture (1420)	Travels of Niccolò de' Conti in India and East Indies (1419–1444)
		Antonino of Florence (1389–1459)	
		Aroused interest in Neo-Platonism	
			Portuguese reach the Azores (1431)
	Council of Basel (1431–1449)	Raymond of Sebonde d 1432	
	Compactata of Iglau with Hussites (1436)		
	Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438)		
Peasants' revolts fail in Denmark, succeed in Sweden (1440–1441)	Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439)		Invention of printing with movable types
	Lorenzo Valla exposes *Donation of Constantine* (1440)	Valla: *De elegantia linguae latinae* (1444)	
		Bianchini's Astronomical Tables (1446–1447)	Earliest datable printed book in Europe (1447)
		Ghiberti fl 1452	
			Cape Verde Islands discovered (1456)
Prince Henry the Navigator, of Portugal d 1460	Doctrine of contraband of war enunciated in papal bull, *Cuncta climata* (1454)		Alum discovered in Papal States (1461)
Sack of Dinant (1466)		Bessarion leaves his library to Venice (1468)	
Marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (1469)			
Catalan peasants win their freedom (1471)	Thomas a Kempis d 1471	Royal edict vs Nominalists at Paris (1474)	Portuguese cross equator (1472–1473)
		Upsala, first Scandinavian university (1476)	
		Regiomontanus d 1476	
Charles the Bold d 1477			
	Bull of Innocent VIII against witches (1484)	Italian painters flourish Mantegna (1441–1506) Ghirlandajo (1449–1494) Botticelli (1440–1510) Signorelli (1442–1524) Perugino (1446–1524)	Diaz rounds Cape of Good Hope (1486)
Conquest of Granada from the Moors (1492)		Durer's portrait of his father (1489–1490)	Discovery of America (1492)
		Politian d 1494	
		Pico della Mirandola d 1494	
	Savonarola executed (1498)	Standonc exiled from Paris (1499)	Vasco da Gama reaches India (1498)
Jews expelled from Spain		Erasmus *Adages* (1500)	

INDEX

Aachen, 76, 211–212, 214–215, 274, 515
Aargau, 599
Abacus, 423, 509, 536
Abano, 449 *See also* Peter of Abano
Abbas, 163
Abbasids, 163, 171, 201, 328
Abbot, 128–129, 269–270, 275, 285, 293
Abd-er-Rahman I, 163
Abd-er-Rahman III, 167–168
Abelard, 427, 428–430
Abraham Avenezra, 179–180
Abraham the tinner, 516
Abruzzi, 115
Absolution, 297, 347
Absolutism, 93, 362, 372, 556, 578, 621, 679, 687
Abu-Bakr, 162
Abu-l-Wafa, 178
Abyssinia, 91, 157, 417–418, 633
Academy, 660, of Plato, 98, 428
Accolade, 261
Account book, 637
Accursius, 426, 461
Achaia, 611
Achillini, 687
Acre, land measure, 237
Acre, seaport, 338–339
Actor, 370
Adam of Bremen, 423
Adam, Guillaume, 418
Adam Dorp, 653
Adana, 191
Adelard of Bath, 430–433
Adige, 189
Administration, Roman, 53–54, 63, 72, 74, 113, Byzantine, 85, 87, 94, 96, 105, Frankish, 205–206, of Frederick II, 370, 372–373, French, 397, 552; German, 605; Hungarian, 609
Admiralty, court of, 320
Adolf of Nassau, 381, 599
Adrianople, battle of, 68, 73, Turkish, 612
Adriatic Sea, 4, 43, 69, 189, 228, 308, 333, 348, 366, Hungary and, 328, Venice and, 243, 507
Adultery, 38, 522
Advowson, 286
Aegean Sea, 9–10, 44, 54, 367, 610
Aegidius, 77
Aegidius Romanus, 454, 653
Aemilian road, 581
Aeneas, 141, 476
Aeneas Sylvius, 578, 604, 652
Aeschylus, 10, 14, 49
Aetius, general, 72–74, 76
Aetius of Amida, 146
Africa, interior of, 25, 171, 418, east coast of, 171, 175, 418, 633, circumnavigation of, 418–419, 617, 632–635, Moslem, 168, Portuguese, 645
Africa, North, 2, 9, 11, 29, 52, 69, Roman province of, 52, 71, invaded, 44, Vandal, 71–72, Byzantine, 87, 105–106, 108, 185, ecclesiastical, 123, 125–126, 141, Moslem, 161, 163, 167–171, 183, 217, 228, 323, 424
Ages of man, 455
Agesilaus, 11
Agincourt, 558
Agora, 15
Agriculture, ancient, 29, 32, 35–36, 65, invasions and, 82, 219, two and three field, 235, 237, medieval, 454–455, 511, 520, 525, 631
Agrippa, Henry Cornelius, 687
Aidan, 132
Aids, feudal, 252
Ailly, Pierre d', 653–654
Aimeri, 411
Air, altitude of, 178, regions of, 442, and motion, 456
Aistulf, 199
Aix-en-Provence, 640
Aix-la-Chapelle *See* Aachen
Alamanni, 32, 68, 77, 88, 108, 112, 132, 134
Alamannia, 108, 215
Alan of Lille, 427
Alani, 67–68, 70
Alaric I, 68–70
Alaric II, 112
Alava, 325
Alba, 474
Albania, 188, 610, 615
Albategni, 178
Albert I, emperor, 381
Albert II, 573, 597–598
Albert the Bear, 326
Albert of Saxony, 456–457, 653, 682
Albertanus, 467
Alberti, Leon Battista, 667
Albertus Magnus, 358, 441, 448, 449, 451, 653, 682, 687, and botany, 443, 444
Albi, 348, cathedral, 349
Albigensian, 348, crusade, 338, 363, 367, 474

Albiruni, 175, quoted, 180
Alboin, 111
Albornoz, cardinal, 569, 581, 588
Albumasar, 179–180
Alcabitius, 179
Alchemy, Greek, 145, 179, Arabic, 176–177, 179, Byzantine, 192, medieval, 146, 450–452, 455, 459–460, 655, and early modern, 681, 687
Alciati, 658
Alcibiades, 53
Alcohol, 171
Alcuin, 139, 213
Alderman, 222, 316, 319, 536, 640
Alderotti, Taddeo, 437
Aleander, Jerome, 661
Alençon, 625–626
Aleppo, 174, 507
Alessandria, 308
Alexander the Great, 12, 16, legend of, 144, 451, 476, 661
Alexander Severus, emperor, 51–52
Alexander II, pope, 290
Alexander III, 297, 307, 309
Alexander V, 570–571
Alexander VI, 591
Alexander of Hales, 439, 653
Alexander Neckam, 441–442
Alexander of Tralles, 146–147, 177
Alexandria, 12, 27, 58–59, 98, 145, 151, 171, 189, 632, era of, 143, patriarch of, 117–118, 126, 160, 169, 185
Alexandrines, 476
Alexius Comnenus, 329–330, 333–334
Alfonse of Poitou, 402
Alfonsine Tables, 178, 447, 458
Alfonso II of Leon, 276
Alfonso VI of Leon, 203, 323–324
Alfonso X of Castile, 379, 433, 447, 479
Alfonso V of Aragon and I of Naples, 589–590, 658
Alfonso II of Naples, 591
Alfraganus, 145, 178
Alfred the Great, 221–225, 279
Alfred of England, translator, 431
Algebra, 178–179
Algeria, 163
Algorismus, 179, 446
Alhambra, 182
Alhazen, 178, 449, 456
Ali ibn Abbas, 176
Ali ibn Isa, 177
Al-Khowarizmi, 179
Alkindi, 179
Allegory, 57, 61, 124, 144–145, 149, 442, 477, 480–481
Allemand, 77
Almansor, 167–168
Al-Masudi, 239
Almeria, 167–168, 171, 173, 325
Almohades, 323–324, 368
Almoner, 531
Almoravides, 323–324, 368
Alms, Almsgiving *See* Philanthropy
Alphabet, of Ulfilas, 62, earliest English, 150, Arabic, 181
Alpine racial type, 2, 92, Slav, *see* Slovene
Alps, 3–4, 35, 79, 256, 275, 292, 617, eastern, 188, 596, French, 580, north of, 422, 426–427, 468, 510, 609, passes, 306, 308, 371, 583, crossed by Charles VIII, 590
Alsace, 77, 380, 621
Alsace-Lorraine, 266, 519, 646
Altaian, 65, 414
Alum, 507, 514, 638–639, 645
Amadio, Andrea, 654
Amalfi, 202, 302, 331
Amandus, Saint, 134
Ambassadors, 91–92, 172, 190, 201, 356, 366, 368, 378, 403, 415, 418, 656, 659
Amber, 601
Ambrose, Saint, 127, 139, 144
Ambulance, 631
Ambulatory, 487, 503
America, discovery of, 226, 551, 617, 631, 634–635, 679, and middle ages, 1–2
Amiens, 411, 463, 556, cathedral of, 496, 497, 498, 501, 504
Ammianus Marcellinus, 49, 117
Amorino, of Donatello, 671
Ampère, J J, 213
Amphitheater, 23, 25, 27
Amsterdam, 600
Amter, 515
Amurath, 611
Amusement, 15, 17, 27, 29, 33, 35, 49, 75, 80, 82, 93–94, 171, 191, 263, 337, 370, 438–439, 478, 566, 644, 647 *See also* Festival
Anagni, 408–409
Ananias of Shirak, 98
Anastasius, 84–85, 93–94
Anathema, 346, 348
Anatomy, 462, 673, 682, 686
Ancestor worship, 15, 37
"Ancients," scholastic philosophers, 653
Ancona, March of, 363–364, 366
Andalusia, 71, 167, 323
Andrea Amadio, 654
Andrea del Castegno, 675–676
Andrea della Robbia, 358
Andrea del Sarto, 675
Andrea, Giovanni d', 461, 547
Anesthetic, 177
Angelico, Fra, 357, 673
Angelo, Jacopo, 659
Angelus, Jacobus, 654
Angers, 277, 589
Angevin *See* Anjou, House of; Plantagenet
Angles, 73–74, 113, 132, 221–222
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 223, 469

Anglo-Saxon language and literature, 150, 223, 468, 469–470
Anglo-Saxons, 32, 74, 108, 111–112, 221, 237, coinage of, 226, conversion of, 127, 131, and land grants, 250–251
Angora, 613
Angoulême, 491
Ani, 192, 194
Animals, domestic, 25–26, 29, 36, 66, 92, 241, in art and literature, 467, 477 *See also* Horse, Ox, etc
Anjou, 277, 281, 360, 398–399, 411, 626, House of, 402, 409, 589, 607, 609, 625–626
Anna Comnena, 192
Annals, 131, 201, 223
Annates, 564
Anne of Brittany, 590, 626
Ammianus, 143
Anno, 290
Annuity, 513
Ansbach, 597
Anselm of Canterbury, 295, 429
Anselm of Laon, 429
Anthemius of Tralles, 85
Antichrist, 415, 567–568
Antimony, 459–460
Antioch, 12, 58, 62, 94, 105, 196, rebuilt, 98, Patriarch of, 126, 169, siege of, 334, principality of, 336
Antipodes, 140
Antiqui et moderni, 653
Antiquities *See* Archaeology
Antonino of Florence, 586, 645
Antony, Saint, 120, 123
Antwerp, 639
Apennines, 69, 134, 308, 310, 588
Apocrypha, 57, 430
Apollinaris Sidonius, 148
Apollo, 60
Apostles' Creed, 577, 658
Apostolic poverty *See* Poverty
Appanage, 410, 552, 623, 625
Appenzell, 599, 622
Apprentice, 515–517, 527, 529, 537, 600–601, 641, 673
Apse, 61, 100–101, 103, 151, 487–491
Apuleius, 47, 49, Herbal of pseudo-, 147
Apulia, 229, 322, 371, 497
Aqueduct, 21–23, 80, 124, 655
Aquileia, 95, 135, 648
Aquinas, Thomas, 358, 441, 449, 455, 463, 480, 482, 653, 686
Aquitaine or Aquitania, 81, 109, 162, 201, 209, 215, 272, 275–276, 281, 398, 627
Arabia, Arabs, 10, 106, 175; before Mohammed, 155–156, 217, after Mohammed, 163, 176, 188, 195, 229
Arabian Nights, 170
Arabic civilization, 170–193
Arabic language, 155, 170–172, 181, 201, 226, 454, 634
Arabic medicine, 176–177, 655, 684
Arabic science, 174, 178–181, 456
Aragon, 203, 276, 323–325, 352, 354, 359, 394, 402–403, 411, 418, 458, 474–475, 507, 570, 588–589, 630–631
Aral Sea, 65
Aramaic, 453–454
Arbitration, 436, 590, 640
Arcade, blind, 488, 491, 500–503
Arcadius, 68–69
Arch, gypsum, 181, pointed, 493–495, round, 23, 488, 667, triumphal, 23, of Constantine, 50
Archaeology, 25, 32–35, 44, 285, 661, 669, 680
Archbishop, 63, 88, 95, 126, 284, 293, 295–299, 313, 343–344, 360, 377, 407, 417–418, 422–423, 581, 586, 642, 645, Hussite, 573–574 *See also* Canterbury, etc
Archdeacon, 290, 296, 345, 374, 566, 647
Archduke, 621
Archer, 623 *See also* Bow
Architecture, ancient and Greek, 10, Roman, 22–25, 49, Byzantine, 98–104, 192–194, early medieval, 130, 151–152, Norwegian, 278, Early English, 393, Norman, 491, 664, Renaissance, 667–669, in paintings, 673 *See also* Art, Gothic and Romanesque, Castles, Cathedrals; Houses, etc.
Archives, 504, papal, 118, imperial, 268
Archpriest, 345
Ardoino, Sante, 654–655
Arezzo, 25, 497, 542
Argonautic expedition, 476
Argonne, 245
Argos, 68
Arianism, 57, 62, 72, 75, 79, 87, 89, 109–110, 118, 126, 139, 143
Ariosto, 662
Aristophanes, 174
Aristotle, 11–12, 20, 145, 174, 179, 192, 235, 476, 480, 653, 655, 660, 681, 683, and Christianity, 439, 449, 455, commentary on, 174–175, *De anima*, 443, divergence from, 456–457, *Economics*, 680, *Ethics*, 463, logic, 148, 428, 433, 658, 684, natural philosophy, 435, 441, *Physics*, 456, 685, *Poetics*, 428, 433, *Politics*, 680, *Rhetoric*, 428, translation of, 431–433, 684, pseudo-, 451, 460
Arithmetic, 148, 178–179, 446–447, 458, 536, 655, 686
Arius, 58
Arles, 21, 79, 313, kingdom of, 267, 274–275, 293, 380
Armagnac, 557–558, 625–626
Armenia, Armenian, 10, 68, 98, 106, 121, 160, 185, 192, 328, 359, 415, 416, Lesser or Little, 334, 368, 416, 507, quarter in Ravenna, 88

Armenian literature, 144, 476
Armillary, 458
Armor, Roman, 19, early German, 36, Byzantine, 87, Lombard, 113, Frankish, 162, Moslem, 171, Norse, 222–223, feudal, 248, 250, 260–261, late, 671, manufacture of, 518
Army, Spartan, 15, Roman, 17–19, 45, 51, early German, 39, Byzantine, 89–91, 105, 186, 191, Lombard, 113, Frankish, 205–206, Anglo-Saxon, 221–223, feudal, 252, 263, 332–333, 544–545, imperial, 306, of towns, 304, 317, 399, crusading, 332–334, French, 490, 552, 622-623, English, 544, 561; Hussite, 573, Spanish, 630, standing, 598, 611, 628
Arnald of Villanova, 459, 568
Arnulf of Carinthia, 229, 267
Arnulf of Metz, 198
Arnulfo di Cambio, 532
Arras, 246-247, 513, 515, 645-646, Treaty of, 561
Ars dictaminis or *dictandi*, 466–467
Ars vetus, 428
Art, ancient Greek, 10, 12, 27, Roman, 21–25, 47, decline of, 49, 54, early Christian, 59-60, of the Goths, 44, Byzantine, 98–104, 151, 176, 189, 194, 484, late, 611, Moslem, 181–182, Scandinavian, 227, Romanesque, 25, 152, 203, 285–286, 486-496, 503, Gothic, 24, 37, 486, 492-504, 547, 609, late, 664–665, 678, 687, industrial, 516, 527 Quattrocento, 666–676, 679, at Florence, 592, at Lyons, 643
Artesian well, 246
Arteveldе, Jacob, 544
Artevelde, Philip, 556
Arthur, king, 476
Arthur, nephew of John of England, 361
Arti, 304, 515
Artillery, 549–551, 561, 573, 623, 642
Artisan. *See* Gild, craft, Industry
Artois, 246, 402, 557, 590, 626
Aryan, 2, 10
Arzachel, 178
Asceticism, 48, 60, 71, 119-120, 124 127–128, 189, 401, 680
Asia, 168, 414, 416–418, 545, 612, 633
"Asia," Roman province, 52
Asia Minor, 9–10; ancient, 12, 45–46, 52, 54, 68, 75; Byzantine, 84, 104–105; 146, 160, 169, 186–187, 328; monastic, 121, crusades and, 330, 332–336, 338, 474, nomadized, 329, 415, 547, 611–613, pest in, 547; port of, 510
Assassination, of emperor, 18, 68, 70–71, 74, 126, 186, 365, 482, of other rulers, 75, 109–110, 189–190, 557–558, 581; Moslem, 159; of Becket, 298, of legate, 351; of popular leaders, 544, 554; of inquisitors, 566, miscellaneous, 211, 376, 676
Assembly, tribal, 38–40, Roman popular, 45, Frankish, 198, 205, 211, Bavarian, 269, Cluniac, 285, other medieval, 241, 310, 312–313, 366, 394, 396, 642, annual, of Friars, 358, local, German, 596, Hungarian, 610, Polish, 607, Hanseatic, 600 *See also* Estates, Parliament, Representation
Assisi, 354, 356
Assize, 383, 513
Assizes of Jerusalem, 336
Assouan, 418
Asti, 581
Astrolabe, 178
Astrology, ancient, 12, 52–53, 57, 144–145, refuted, 140–141; Arabic, 178–180, 431, medieval Latin, 370, 432–433, 448–449, 452, 480, 603, 607, 654–655, in French, 479, in Spanish, 447, early modern, 687
Astronomy, ancient, 12–13, 144–145, Arabic, 178, 180, medieval, 427, 441, 444–447, 449, 458, 480, 482, 607, 655, 686, early modern, 635, 686, observatory, 632
Asturias, 201, 276, 323, 519
Ataulf, 69–70
Athanaric, 62
Athanasius, church father, 120–121, 144
Athanasius, pope, 200
Athens, 46, 49, 68, 98, 185, 193, 426, 428, 615, Duchy of, 367, 610
Athletics, 15, 17, 438
Athos, Mount, 121
Atlantic, 223–226, 418–419, 632–635
Atomic theory, 11, 452
Atrocities, 260, 282, 573, 612–613, 645 *See also* Towns, sack of
Attabi stuffs, 172
Attainder, 628
Attalus, 69–70
Attila, 73–74, 470
Aube, 534
Aucassin et Nicolette, 478
Auch, 319
Audit of accounts, 640
Augsburg, 515, 593, 648
Augustal, 508
Augustine, Saint, of Canterbury, 131
Augustine, Saint, of Hippo, 48, 69, 124, 127, 139–142, 144, 209, 485
Augustinianism, 141, 299, 357
Augustinus Justinianus, 453
Augustus Caesar, 18
Augustus, imperial title, 53–54, 211, 398
Aurelian, 53
Aurispa, 659
Ausculta fili charissime, 408
Ausonius, 61
Austin canons, 299
Australia, 418

Austrasia, 109, 132, 135, 162, 198, 267
Austria, 115, 229, 327, 380, 470, 571, 582, 596–597, 599, 621
Austria-Hungary, 380
Authentica, 426
Authorities, citation of, 430–431, 442
Autopsy, 462
Auvergne, 272, 276, 331, 346, 397, 402, 411, 422, 469, 557
Auxerre, 344
Auxois, 315
Avars, 67, 93, 105–106, 115, 124, 203, 229–230
Averroes, 175, 653, 683
Averroism, 449
Avicenna, 176, 179, 431, 461–462, 655
Avignon, 409, 418, 462, 527, 543, 563–565, 569–571, 580, 588, 598, 637, 639, 656, 664, university of, 454
Avranches, 298
Azores, 418–419
Azov, Sea of, 195, 416

Baal, 47
Babylon, Babylonia, 53, 59, 160, 171, 178, 320
Babylonian Captivity, 563
Bacchus, 439
Bacon, Francis, 678, 687
Bacon, Roger, 358, 438, 446–449, 451, 549, 682
Bagdad, 163, 170–172, 174, 176–177, 201, 328–329, sack of, 415, 613
Baian, 93
Bailli, 273, 312, 397, 411, 533
Bajazet, 612–613
Bakers, 27, 114, 191, 246
Balance of power, 590
Baldwin I, Latin emperor, 367
Baldwin, count of Edessa, 334, 336
Baldwin IV of Flanders, 246
Baldwin V, 246, 273
Baldwin IX, 367
Balearic Islands, 71, 87, 168, 325, 542
Balfour, 684
Balia, 586
Balkan mountains, 43, 67, 188, 414
Balkan peninsula, 68–69, 73, 75, 89, 105, 230, 332, 348, 368, 547, 610, 612, 615
Ballot, secret, 586
Baltic, 3–4, 34, 43, 92–93, 171, 318, 326–327, 513, 515, 519, 593, 601–603, 607
Bamberg, 463, 515
Ban of Bosnia, 352
Ban, imperial, 306
Banking, ancient, 25, medieval, 399, 509–511, 517, 586, 638
Bannockburn, 391, 393
Banquet, papal, 118, 124
Bapaume, 247
Baptism, 47, 57, 59, 79, 125, 151, 295, 301, 346
Baptisteries, 101–102, 130, 151, 487, 490, 497, 524, 666, 671
Baradaeus, Jacob, 119
Barbarians, 27, 32–33, as settlers, 43, 50–51, invasions of, 65–82, 186, 188, Justinian and, 89–93
Barbers, 517, 519, barber-surgeons, 647
Barcelona, 70, 104, 168, 202–203, 248, 276, 324, 359, 422, 458, 637
Bari, 88, 229, 323, 569
Baronius, *Annals*, 687
Barral des Baux, 313
Barrel, 33, 312, 315
Bartholomew Diaz, 633
Bartholomew of England, 442, 682
Bartolus, 461, 541, 658
Basel, 122, 318, 380, 529, 622, 641, 645 Council of, 573–576
Basil, Saint, 121, 139, 144, 534
Basil I, emperor, 190, 231
Basil II, 190, 196
Basilica, Roman, 23, 62, early Christian, 61, 100–101, 487–488
Basilics, 187
Basque, 3, 110, 134, 203, 205, 519
Bas-relief, 669
Bastide, 313
Bathing, early German, 35, nomadic, 66, Moslem, 158, Byzantine, 186, in hospitals, 535, later German, 597, early modern, 678
Baths, Roman, 23, 72; Moslem, 172, Slavic, 327, medicinal, 449, mineral, 461, public, 529
Battle of the Spurs, 404
Batu, 414
Bavaria, 93, 108–109, 112, 115, 134–135, 148, 203, 215, 229, 265, 267, 269, 305, 381, 596, 605, 609
Bayeux tapestry, 219, 250, 280, 528
Bayle, Pierre, 683
Bayonne, 248, 313, 511, 519, 554
Bayreuth, 597
Beatrice, 480, 482
Beaucaire, 411
Beaufort, 628
Beaujolais, 557
Beaumanoir, cited, 319
Beaumont, 245
Beauvais, 344, cathedral, 494, 496
Beazley, C. R., quoted, 171, 228, 414
Bec, 423
Becket, Thomas, 296–299, 398
Bede, 149–150, 192, 469
Bedford, duke of, 558, 561
Bedlam, 535
Bedouin, 159
Beehive, 254. *See also* Honey
Beer, 35, 149, 601, 650
Beggar, Begging, 332, 548, 561
Beghard, 565
Beguine, 565

Beirut, 98, 339
Bejaunus, 438
Bela IV, 380, 414
Belfry, 316
Belgium, 396, 617, 664
Belgrade, 613
Belisarius, 85–88, 91, 94, 189, 237
Belles-lettres, 656
Bells, church, 145, 348
Benedetto, 525
Benedetto Rinio, 654
Benedict III, pope, 162
Benedict XI, 409, 506
Benedict XIII, 571, 653
Benedict, Saint, of Nursia, 127–128
Benedictine Rule, 127–129, 134, 668
Beneficium, 207–208, 251
Benevento, Beneventum, 111, 186, 199, 202, 228
Benevolences, 628
Benjamin of Tudela, 511
Beowulf, 34, 40, 469–470
Berbers, 2, 32, 87, 161–163, 167–168, 170, 228–229 *See also* Moors
Berengaria of Navarre, 338, 361
Bergamo, 307
Bergen, 600–601
Berlinghieri, 505
Bernard, Saint, of Clairvaux, 299, 324, 337, 429
Bernard Silvester, 427
Bernard of Soissons, 504
Bernard of Verdun, 418–419
Berne, 318, 599
Bernicia, 74, 111
Berri, 399, 626
Berta, 108
Berthold V, 318
Besançon, university of, 652
Bessarabia, 92, 115, 195
Bessarion, quoted, 585–586
Bethlehem, 372
Bewcastle, 152
Béziers, sacked, 351
Bianchini, Giovanni, 655, 683
Bible, 55, 117, 119, 121, 143, 149–150, 171; and art, 151, 496, 506, 673, and literature, 478, authority of, 140, 426, 430–431, 565, 567, 577, commented on, 453, for poor and lowly, 568; quoted, 500, translated, 62, 139, 194, 226, 479, 567, 577
Biblical criticism, 577, 658, 661
Bibliography, 663
Bill of exchange, 510
Biography, 30, 669, Moslem, 156, Latin, 467, Provençal, 474
Birds, young of, discussed, 177, Saint Francis and, 349, 355
Biscay, Bay of, 227, 275, 313, 325, 519
Bishop, 57–58, 72, jurisdiction of, 60, 63, 352; growing importance of, 82, 109, 114, 118, 124, 141–142, 148–149, 220, 222, 244, 260, 524, power limited, 121, 166, 358, deposed, 577, iconoclastic, 187, married, 198, Carolingian, 205, 209, feudal, 275, German, 269–270, 291, 601, Norman, 277, relation to archbishop, 284, 344, 361, and investiture, 293, and sacraments, 346, and towns, 301–302, 313–315, 317–319, 463, 537, 642, and universities, 436, 439, worldly, 75–76, 145
Bithynia, 44, 52, 188
Black Death, 542, 545–548, 643
Black Forest, 77, 621
Black Prince, 549, 554–555
Black Sea, 3–4, 10, 32, 34, 36, 43–44, 54, 67, 73, 226, 416, 507, 545, 607, 610, 615
Blanche of Castile, 401
Blasius of Parma, 652, 654
Blasphemy, 296
Blazin, Jean, 684
Bleeding, 686
Blessing of bread, 350
Bliss, F J., quoted, 158
Blois, 274, 277, 559
Blok, quoted, 320–321
"Blues and Greens," 94
Boat, river, 277, Viking, 217–220
Bobbio, 136, 152
Boccaccio, 547, 662
Boccanegra, 378
Bodin, 687
Boellet, Colette, 576
Boethius, 75–76, 143–145, 147–148, 223, 427–428, 686
Boetius of Denmark, 449
Bogomiles, 352
Bohemia, 3, 115, 203, 217, 230, 268, 327, 359, 379–381, 416–417, 501, 519, 571–574, 578, 593, 603–606, 608–610, 615, 638, 650, church in, 563–564, 568
Bohemian Brotherhood, 574
Bohemond, 329, 332–333, 335
Boiardo, 662
Boinebroke, Jehan, 516
Boissonade, quoted, 248
Bokhara, 416
Bologna, 239, 303, 306, 308, 373, 454, 575, 581, 588, 664–665, "fat," 542, in 1496, 641–642, university of, 342, 424–426, 435, 437–439, 445, 454, 462, 467, 542, 588, 679
Bonaventura, 439, 653
Boncompagni, 426
Boniface, count of Africa, 71
Boniface, Saint, 135
Boniface VIII, pope, 353, 389, 405, 407–409, 439, library of, 463–465
Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, 366–367
Bonn, 76
Bonus, Petrus, 459
Book of Kells, 151

Book of the Epistle, 200–201
Book of the Prefect, 191
Bookkeeping, 25, 320, 509, 511, double-entry, 509, 637
Books, burned, 453, confiscated, 653
Bordeaux, 104, 248, 313, 511, 554, 684, archbishop of, 344, 409
Borgia, Caesar, 591
Borgia, Lucrezia, 591
Boris I, 194–195
Borneo, 418
Borough, 243–244, 317–318, 389
Bosnia, 352, 414, 610, 612, 615
Bosworth Field, 628
Botany, 144, 147, 443–445, 654–655
Botticelli, 673–674
Boucyer, Marion, 537
Boudet, M., cited, 546
Bourbon, House of, 557, 625
Bourbonnais, 557
Bourgeoisie, 318, 337, 403, 621–622, 629, 631
Bourges, 271, 411, 576, 622, 646–647, cathedral, 481, "king of," 558, 561
Bourg Saint Andéol, 312, 526
Bouvines, 365
Bow, 590, cross-, 238, 544, long-, 545, 550
Boyle, Robert, 687
Brabant, 513, 553, 556, 617
Bracton, 384
Bradwardine, Thomas, 458, 547
Brain, 443, cavities of, 680–681
Brandenburg, 230, 327, 381, 597, 605, 648
Brandolini, Lippo, 661
Bremen, 515
Brescia, 128, 307, 581
Breslau, 414, 416, 536, 566
Brethren of the Common Life, 577
Brethren of the Sword, 328, 601
Brétigny, Treaty of, 545, 549
Breton, 554, dialect, 468, March, 205
Breviary of Alaric, 112
Brick, Roman, 21
Bridge, 168, 206, 522, 534, 536, 544, 598, 664; fortified, 550–551, of boats, 172. *See also* Drawbridge
Bridget, Saint, 569
Brie, 625
Brindisi, 88, 332
Bristol, 513, 633
Britain, 9, 14, 26, 68, 92, invades, 73–74, 108, 476
British Isles, 3, 32, 133, 203, 221, 393, 432, 564
Briton, 74, 111
Brittany, 73, 132, 205, 215, 227, 239, 241, 250, 255, 276–279, 348, 411, 427, 468, 476, 517, 544–545, 554, 590, 625–626, 638, 643, 664
Brive-la-Gaillarde, 312
Brocade, 104, 639
Brocardica, 437
Broiefort, 472
Broker, 320
Bronze, 146, age, 34; doors, 24, 101, horses, 194, nude statue, 671, of Capua, 25, tiles, 24
Brotherhood, armed, 630, local, 301, 313, 533, 647, 676, of man, 21, 46, 55
Brothers of the Free Spirit, 565
Bruce, Robert, 393
Bruderschaften, 515
Bruges, 247, 317, 319, 403–404, 513, 556, 600, 628, 639
Brunelleschi, 667, 669
Brunhilda, 126, 470
Bruni, Leonardo, 655, 658
Bruno, 422
Bruno, Giordano, 687
Brunswick, 640 *See also* Otto IV
Brusa, 611
Brussels, 618, 639–641
Brutus, 482
Brythonic, 468
Bubonic plague, 545
Budapest, 531
Budget, 513
Building ordinance, 526
Bulgars, Bulgaria, 3, 67, 75, 91, 93, 106, 115, 186, 188, 194–196, 359, 368, 414, 610–612, Old Bulgaria, 227
Bund, 649
Bundschuh, 648
Bunyan, John, 662, 682
Bureaucracy, 54, 87
Burgos, 248
Burgrave, 597
Burgundians, 32, 68, 148 *See also* Burgundy
Burgundio of Pisa, 437
Burgundy, kingdom of, 70, 73, 75, 77, 79, 198, 215, 220; Upper and Lower, 267, duchy of, 271, 274–275, 291, 489, 511, 535, 557–558, 561, 598, 617–621, 623–627, county of, 275, 380, 411, 557, 590, 626, 646, court of, 618, 664
Burh, 243
Burial, of crusaders, 337
Buridan, Jean, 456–457, 653, 682
Burma, 417
Bursar, 651
Bursfeld, 576
Business, 637; agent, 156
Buttress, 488, 499, flying, 493–496, 498, 500, 503, 665
Byron, quoted, 255, 467, 621
Byzant, 104, 206, 324
Byzantine empire, 89–90, 92–93, 136, 159–161, 168, 172–176, 185–190, 195–196, 228–229, 235, 273–274, and Franks, 201, 211–212, and Northmen, 226–227, in Italy, 202, 270, 322–323, and crusades, 330–334, 338, 340, and Turks, 328–329, revived, 610–611, envoys and refugees from, 659

Byzantium, 54

Cabaret, 191
Caedmon, 150
Caelian Hill, 124
Caen, 544
Caesar, Julius, 9, 33, 35–37, 40, 143, 287, 482, 661
Caesar, title, 53–54
Caesarea, 160
Caesarius of Arles, 121, 144
Cahier, 405
Cahors, 509, 550
Cairo, 166, 170, 177–178, 334, 336, 418, 445, 632–633
Caithness, 221
Calabria, 190, 322
Calais, 545, 549, 554, 558, 561, 637
Calculator, 457
Calculus, 457
Calendar, 524, reform, 143, 458, 654–655
Calicut, 632, 634
Caligula, 33
Caliph, Caliphate, 159, 162–163, 170, 187, 235, 328, of Cordova, 163–168, 323
Calixtins, 572
Calvinists, 149
Cambria, 246, 550
Cambridge, 643; songs, 475
Camel, 632
Camera obscura, 178
Camp, Roman, 18, 243 nomadic, 66, Arab, 163, 181
Campania, 52, 145
Campanile, 145, 488, 490, 502, 506, 581, 668–669
Campanus of Novara, 374, 447
Camphor, 146, 171
Canal, 513
Canary Islands, 418–419, 634
Canon, 299, 345, 642 secular, 361 *See also* Law, Canon
Canonization, 356, 401, 407, 561
Canossa, 292, 409
Cansonetta, 474
Canterbury, 131, 134, 279, 296, 298–299, 344, 361–362, 449, 458, 463, 555, 568, Christchurch, 463, 529
Canton, Swiss, 599
Cape of Good Hope, 633–634
Cape Verde Islands, 632, 634
Capella. *See* Martianus
Capetian dynasty, 270, 278, 315, 360, 396–397, 411, 422, 543
Capital, ancient, 25; Moslem, 173; medieval, 242–243, 484, 509, 516, 519, 616; individual, 638, 648
Capitani, 303
Capitularies, 202, 207, 209, false, 200, 284; *de villis*, 209
Cappadocia, 63
Cappella dei Pazzi, 667
Caps d'ostal, 533
Capua, 25
Caracalla, 20
Carcassone, 351, 411, 474
Cardan, 457, 551, 682–683, 687
Cardinal, 289, 293, 343, 407, 409, 568, and pope, 563, 569–570, 591
Cards, playing, 644
Carinthia, 115, 135, 203, 230, 267, 327, 380, 648–649
Caritas Sancti Spiritus, 533
Carloman, brother of Pepin III, 198
Carloman, brother of Charlemagne, 202
Carlstadt, 683
Carmel, Mount, 358
Carmelite, 357–358
Carmina Burana, 439
Carniola, 135, 380
Carolingian, 114, 199, 206, 213, 220, 267, 270, 284, 422
Carpathian Mountains, 3, 34, 115, 414, 416
Carpet, 173 *See also* Rug
Carrara, Francesco, 656
Carrara, House of, 581–582
Cartagena, 104
Cartesianism, 683
Carthage, ancient, 12, 29, 43, 45, bishop of, 58, Byzantine, 87, council of, 123, taken by Vandals, 71, 82, taken by Moslems, 161
Carthusian, 299, 453
Casaubon, 679
Casimir the Great, 607, 615
Caspian Sea, 3, 65, 67, 226, 415–416
Cassel, 544
Cassian, 121
Cassiodorus, 75, 114, 129, 147
Cassius, Dio, 51–52
Castile, 168, 241, 248, 276, 323–325, 356, 367, 479, 514, 554, 570, 630–631, Old, 323, New, 323
Castles, 250, 252, 255–259, 271, 273, 277, 281, 296, 303–304, 372, 384, 399, 474, 497, 551, 589, 630, 678; wooden Slavic, 327, of crusaders, 337
Castrum, 243–244
Catacombs, 60
Catalan Atlas, 418
Catalan company, 549, 610
Catalan language and culture, 275, 324, 469, 475
Catalans, Catalonia, 168, 276, 324, 453, 475, 510, 522, 648
Cataphracti, 87
Catapult, 238, 258
Catechism, 536
Categories, 428
Cathari, 348–350, 354, 612
Cathay, 416, 634
Cathedral schools, 422–423, 429, 537
Cathedrals, 203, 214, 298, 336, 343–345,

374, 404, 433, 451, 481, 484–486, 488, 499–504, 606, 642, 664–665, 667–668, chapter, 313, 344–345, 361, 405, 536, chapter house, 390
Catherine of France, 558
Catherine of Siena, 569
Catheter, 463
Catholicos, 160
Cato, *Distichs* of, 147, 566
Caucasus Mountains, 68, 196, 507, 612
Causality, 455, 681
Cavaillon, 463
Cavalier, 678
Cavallini, 505
Cavalry, nomad, 66–67, 416, Vandal, 71, battles, 73, Byzantine, 87, 328, crusading, 333, 337, French, 590, 623, Turkish, 611
Cecrops, 46
Celestine IV, 407
Celibacy, 422, of clergy, 287, 294, attacked, 567, violated, 566, 591, lay, 577
Celtic language and literature, 467–468, 471, 476
Celts, 2, 34–35, 73, 92, 111, 276, 393, migrations of, 132
Censorship, 168
Centralization, 375, 563–564, 618, 630, 687, decentralization, 123
Centuries, estimates of, fourteenth, 541, fifteenth, 643–645, 652, 666
Cerdagne, 590
Ceremonial *See* Court, ceremony and etiquette, and Official, ceremonial
Cesalpino, 443
Ceuta, 87, 167, 632
Cévennes Mountains, 4, 77
Ceylon, 416–417
Chad, Lake, 171
Chalcedon, 105, 160, council of, 63, 118–119
Châlons, 73
Châlons-sur-Marne, 496
Chambre des Comptes, 397
Champagne, 274, 331, 346, 411, 492, 625, 686 *Also see* Fairs of
Chancellor, 296, 361, 374
Chancery, 205, 269, 466, 609
Chansons de geste, 203, 471–473, 475–478, 482, 523, 541
Chantry priest, 347
Chapel, 355, 487, 501, 521, 667, 675
Charity. *See* Philanthropy
Charlemagne, 5, 139, 150, 189, 201–207, 209–214, 219, 272, 382, 396, 398, 421, 471–472, 657
Charles Martel, 135, 162, 183, 198–199, 251, 472
Charles the Simple, 220
Charles, son of Louis the Pious, 215
Charles, grandson of Louis the Pious, 215, 220
Charles IV, emperor, 578, 587–588, 596–598, 600, 609, 651
Charles IV, of France, 406
Charles V, 554, 556, 664
Charles VI, 556–558
Charles VII, 558–561, 576, 622–623, 626–627, 653
Charles VIII, 590–592, 626, 647
Charles of Anjou, 313, 373–375, 401–403
Charles the Bad, 549, 552–553
Charles of Berri, 625–626
Charles the Bold, 599, 617–621, 625–626, 645
Charles I, of Hungary, 609
Charles of Maine, 626
Charles II, of Naples, 609
Charles of Orléans, 590
Charolais, 590
Charter, 541, gild, 517, local, 405, 521, royal, 201, 207, 406, town, 315–316 *See also* Magna Carta
Chartres, 274, 317, cathedral of, 236, 494, 496–497, 499, 503, 504, 518, school of, 427
Châteaux, 664
Chaucer, 298, 470, 548, 566, 662
Cheapside, 548
Chess, 252, 263, 467
Children, 38, 332, 401, 618, in art, 669–670, murdered, 357, 628 *See also* Education, Exposure, Family
Children's Crusade, 339, 367
Chilperic II, 114
Chimney flue, 258, 453, 527, 643
China, 10, 39, 48, 67, 104, 163, 171–172, 176, 179, 192, 414–418, 507, 513, 613, 633
Chinchilla, 173
Chindaswind, Law of, 112
Chinon, 559
Chioggia, 461
Chios, 194
Chivalry, 260–261, 338, 340, 473, 609, 661
Choir, 487–495, 500–504, stalls, 497
Chosroes I, 91, 98
Christianity, rise of, 48, 54–62, 69, early medieval, 141–142, 185–187, 223, among Moslems, 156, 159, 170–171, 177, Russian, 196, conversion to, 131, 203, 220, 226, 228, 230, 322, 327–328, 603, 606–607, expansion of, 322–340, 368, in fifteenth century, 576–577 *See also* Missionaries
Christmas, 5, 211, 252, 328, 422, tree, 37
Chronicle, 131, 142, 198, 220, 223, 263, 288, 422, Russian, 226; world, 423, 467
Chronology, 5, 143, 180, 423
Chrysoloras, 658–660
Church, 60, 342–343, 567, Eastern, 95–96, 119, 187, 194, 226, 576; Greek, 613, Bulgarian, 612, union, 613, Gallican, 124, 198, 576, 623; local or national,

563; in Spain, 576, 630, reform, 284–291, 299–300, 368, 563, 570, 574–576, loss of prestige, 563, 569–570, 574, 679, and art, 484–485, 673, and business, 638, and dissection, 337, and feudalism, 260–261, 287, 290, 598, and State, 15, 200, 209–210, 273, 286, 290, 294, 297, 350, 399, 405–410, 557, 563, 565, 567, 576, 585, and the poor, 531 *See also* Christianity, Church Fathers, Clergy, Council, church, Monasticism; Papacy
Church Fathers, 127, 139–140, 171, 429–430, 547, 577, 661
Cicero, 14, 145, 656
Cid, Poema del, 479
Cilicia, 123, 191, 416
Cimbri, 34–35
Cinnabar, 146
Cinnamon, 114
Cino da Pistoia, 461
Ciompi, 556, 586–587
Cipher, 655
Circa Instans, 424
Circe, 82
Circumcision, 167
Circus. *See* Amphitheater, Hippodrome
Cistercians, 299, 324, 328, 606
Citizen, Citizenship, 18, 47, 56, 303–304, 311, 314–315, 318–319, 461, 687, limited, 376, 598, 641
City, as seat of bishop, 58 *See also* Municipality; Town
City of God, 69, 123, 139–142, 209, 429, 485
City-state, 14–17, 46–51
Cividale, 239
Civilization, history of, 30, spread of, 14, 45–46, nomadic menace to, 66–67, 615–616, decline of classical, 235; Arabic, 170–183, new European, 235, 393, 421, 606, Chinese, 417; effect on, of Black Death, 546, of Hundred Years War, 561–562, of Hussite Wars, 574, of failure of Conciliar movement, 578, of age of discovery, 635
Civitas, 63, 111, 303
Clan, Celtic, 111, -monastery, 121, 132
Clarke, cited, 316, quoted, 510
Class. *See* Social classes
Classe, 101
Classics, Classicism, 10, 49, 132, 139, 202, 213, 463, 656, 661, 679, in art, 667, 673
Claudian, 61
Clearstory, 103, 488, 496, 501, 503
Clement IV, pope, 447
Clement V, 406, 409–410, 439, 506
Clement VII, 569–570
Clementines, 440
Cleopatra, 27
Clergy, distinct from laity, 60, 149, 300, 521; privileged, 60, 200, 347, 436; married, 286–287, forbidden to marry, 288, 291, criminal, 297, worldly, 351, local, 345–346, 374, 578, lower, 393–395; and taxation, 407, French, 408–409, 622, opposition to, 557, 565–568, 591, eastern, 613, moral decline, 541, reformed in Spain, 576
Clericis laicos, 407
Clermont-Ferrand, 272, 330, 346
Clientage, 166
Climate, 4, 65, 67, 160, 235, 443, 687
Clock, astronomical, 461, mechanical, 453
Cloister, 491, 532
Closing time, 191
Cloth, fulling of, 239, making of, 246–248, 514, 516, 545, 637–639
Clothier, 516
Clothing *See* Costume
Clover, 520
Clovis, 77, 79, 108–109, 112
Cluny, 285–286, 289, 291, 299, 423, 463, 489
Cnut, 227, 279, 280
Coal, 519, 531
Co-aration, 237
Cobbler, 121, 374, 514
Coblenz, 247
Cochin-China, 417
Code of Justinian, 97, 105, 424–426
Codex, 150
Cœur, Jacques, 622, 638
Coimbra, 324
Coinage, 33, 36, 40, 63, 113, Byzantine, 104–105, Moslem, 171 Carolingian, 206; Anglo-Saxon, 226–227, 515, Arabic, 227, 515, feudal, 268, 273, 402, of Holy Roman Empire, 306, 508, of Jerusalem, 337, of towns, 318, 508, royal, 402, varied, 510, 648, depreciated and debased, 404–405, 553, 598, 606, electoral, 594, farmed, 638
Colette Boellet, 576
College, 438, 463, 547, 651
Collège de Guienne, 684
Collegiate church, 345, 486
Collenuccio, 654
Colleoni monument, 582, 671
Cologne, 76, 318, 445, 468, 514–515, 600, 640, 648, archbishop of, 269–270, 290, 364, 381, 620, cathedral, 501, 503
Colonization, Greek, 10, 12, 15, 32, 44, Roman, 16–17, German, 320, 325–328, 380, Spanish, 631
Colonna, House of, 407–409, 571
Colonus, 51, 82, 208
Colony, trading, 336 *See also* Colonization
Color, 673 *See also* Dye
Colosseum, 667
Columba, Saint, 132, 134
Columban, Saint, 126, 132, 134, 149
Columbus, Christopher, 633–635, 654
Columns, Greek, 10, Byzantine, 100–101,

104, at Aachen, 214, at Pisa, 488, other Romanesque, 491, Gothic, 495, Renaissance, 667
Comacine masters, 114
Comet, 180, 192, 458, 654–655
Comitatus, 40–41, 250
Commendation, 110, 208
Commentaries, on Aristotle, 174, 175, legal, 187, on *Sentences*, 652, 680, other, 450, 453
Commerce, ancient, 15, 25, 33, 36, 80, Byzantine, 104, 114, 188–189, Moslem, 156, 162–163, 173; Frankish, 197, Norse, 218–219, 221, 226–228, medieval, 238, 243–245, 247–248, 268, 303, 371, 507, 510–515, 637, later medieval, 593, 600–601, 606, 632, 637–639, eastern, 336, 341, 622, 631–632 *See also* Bookkeeping, Fair, Merchant, Trade routes
Common land, 237, 241, encroached upon, 629, 647 *See also* Land system
Common law. *See* Law, English common
Common Pleas, court of, 384
Commons, House of, 384, 389, 392, 406, 555, 568
Communes: Italian, 302–304, 306–307, 310, 363–366, 435, French, 313–317, 399, 642, rural, 241, 316, 522, 533, 599, and art, 485
Communication, 123, 136, 209, 598, of ideas, 268 *See also* Bridge, Road, Travel, etc
Communism, early Christian, 56, 120
Community organization, 533–534
Comnena, Anna, 192
Comnenian dynasty, 329, 367 *See also* Alexius Comnenus
Como, 581
Company, commercial, 509–510, 637–638, of mercenaries, 549, 610
Compass, mariner's, 419–420, 442, 551
Compensation *See Wergeld*
Compiègne, 247, 553, 561
Complexio, 443
Compositiones ad tingenda, 145
Compostella, 167–168, 246, 360, 398, 471
Compound medicine, 177
Compurgation, 38, 41
Computus, 98, 143, 446
Concentric style, 100, 104, 487
Conceptualism, 428
Conciliar movement, 574, 576, 578
Conciliator, 449
Concio, 319
Concordat of Worms, 293
Condottieri, 375, 580–583, 590
Conductores, 29
Confession, auricular, 347, 401, 565, 567, forced, 353, 410
Confirmation, 346, 567
Congo, 632
Conjunction, planetary, 179
Conrad I, 229–230
Conrad II, 274, 288, 291
Conrad III, 337
Conrad IV, 340, 372–373
Conrad of Zahringen, 318
Conradin, 373
Consiglio, 319
Consilia, 461
Consolamentum, 350
Consolation of Philosophy, 76, 143–144
Consorterie, 304
Constance, 648, council of, 571–575, Lake of, 77, 134, 484, Peace of, 309, 371
Constance of Burgundy, 203
Constance of Sicily, 363–364, 370
Constans II, 185
Constantine the Great, 1, 23, 49, 54, 60–62, 97, 117, 200, 268
Constantine V, 187
Constantine VI, 210
Constantine VII, 195
Constantine *See* Cyril
Constantinople, 68–69, 73, 75, 84, 91, 98, 106, 160, 313, 639, foundation of, 1, 54, 62–63, as capital, 71, 74–76, 82, 89, 95, life in, 94, 104, money of, 104, 206, 324, 508, Patriarch of, 118–119, 126, 169, 185, 187, 190, 323, 367, rebuilt, 98, repeopled, 186, trading privileges at, 189–190, visited, 124, 190, 226, 423, 449, 659, crusades and, 332–333, 339–340, 367, Dominicans in, 454, fall of, 329, 550, 610–613, 615, 638, 659
Constantinus Africanus, 176, 424, 437
Constantius II, 62
Constantius III, 70–71
Constitutions of Clarendon, 297–298
Consuls, 16, 39, 52, 74–75, 96, medieval, 241, 304, 306–313, 319, 536, 642
Consulares, 54
Contarini, cardinal, 575
Continuum, 458
Contract, commercial, 243–244, 511, feudal, 264, legal, 295, 537
Contracting, 638
Controversies, 657, 680
Convention of Stanz, 621
Cooking, 528, 529
Copenhagen, 600, 606
Copper, Coppersmith, 145, 173, 248
Copt, Coptic, 104, 161, 476, church, 119, 160
Corbeil, 535
Corbels, 257, 491
Corbie, 114, 576
Cordova, 163, 167, 172–173, 178, 325, 445, caliphate of, 163–168
Corfu, 367
Corinth, 68, 191, Gulf and Isthmus of, 91, 610
Cornhill, 548
Cornice, 667

Cornwall, 74, 111, 468, 519
Coronation, imperial, 186, 211–212, 268, 270, 291, 293, 306, 365, 370, 598, 669, royal, 359, 368, 559, ducal, 276
Corporation, 25, 130 *See also* Company, commercial, Gild
Corpus iuris, 97
Corsica, 87–88, 125, 290, 588
Cortes, 394, 631
Corvée. *See* Labor, forced
Cos, 160
Cosmology, 57
Costa ben Luca, 681
Coster, 662
Costume, ancient, 27, 30, barbarian, 35, 38, Byzantine, 28, 94, 103–104, monastic, 128, Christian, 140, clerical, 642, Syrian, 337, academic, 438; court, 666, 669; peasant, 647–648; other, 518, 623–624, 673
Cottager, Cotter, 326, 523, 548
Cotton, 171–173, 240
Coucy, 258
Coulton, quoted, 643
Council, church, 58, 114, 166, 408, 563; ecumenical, 126, of Nicaea, 1, 54, 62; of Ephesus, 117; of Chalcedon, 63, 118–119; Fifth, 95, Quinisext, 98, 143, 186. Seventh (Nicaea II), 210, Eighth, 96, 136, 368, Fourth Lateran, 343, 347, 367–368; First Lyons, 373; of Vienne, 410, 454, of Pisa, 570–571. of Constance, 571–575, 578, 581, 597, 653; of Basel, 573–576, 653; of Ferrara-Florence, 576, 653, 655, 660, of Trent, 568 Others of Ephesus (A D 449), 118–119, of Sardika, 118, of Carthage, 123, Lateran, 185, of Whitby, 134, in Gaul, 198 at Constantinople (688–694), 287, of 754, 187, of Mainz, 213, 288, of Pavia, 288, during Investiture struggle, 291–293, in England, 294, of Clermont-Ferrand, 330, of Siena, 574
Council, political, of chiefs, 40, of state, 263, 397, of regency, 317, 399, 627. English Great, 387–388, Venice Great, 378, 585, 591; of Ten, 583–585, Florence, of Seventy, 586, other town, 304, 310–319
Count, County, 109, 111, 166, 205, 220, 222, 269, 273, 277, 301, 403, 511, 556, 594
Courland, 171, 600
Court, attendance, 261, 263–265, 272, 387, Burgundian, 618; ceremony and etiquette, 53, 75, 91, 93, 211, 272, 333, 377, 475, English royal, 470, 555, imperial, 71, papal, 409, 563–564, 591
Court of law, Communal, 316; ecclesiastical, 126, 295–298, 337, 354, 391, 561, 568; electoral, 594; English, 383–384, 555, 628–629; feudal, 252, 263, 281–282, 336, French, 402, and *see also* Parlement, German, 605, gild, 516, 519, king's, 207, knight's, 566, local, 40–41, 205–206, 221–222, 594, and *see also* Folk-court and Vehm, manorial, 241–242, 281–282, 522, 548, 649, municipal, 245, 320, 337, papal, appeals to, 296–297, 361, 365, 552, 576, Venetian, 585 *See also* Law
Courtesy, 261, 473
Courtrai, 404, 544
Courtyard, 665, 667
Coutances, 496
Coventry, 514
Cracow, 414, 416, 687, university of, 607
Crank, 240
Creation, 55, 143–144, 547
Crécy, 544, 549–550, 552, 554, 557–558, 581
Credulity, 450–452
Cremation, 37, 218
Cremona, 243–244, 307, 371, 581–582
Crenelation, 257
Crescenzi, Pietro dei, 454–455
Crete, 9, 160, 196, 228, 367
Crime, 328, 561–562, 585. jurisdiction, 40, 297, 372, 594–595, 600, trial, 385
Crimea, 62, 416, 507, 608
Criminals *See* Crime
"Criminous clerks," 297, 572
Croats, Croatia, 115, 194–195, 328
Cross, holy, 105–106, 338, Latin, 71, sign of, 57, 149, in art, 103–104, 152, worn by crusaders, 330
Crossbow, 238, 544
Cruas, 484
Cruciform, 71, 487–488
Crusades. defined, 330, First, 285, 332–336, 638, Albigensian, 338, 363, 367, 474 Fourth, 478, 610, other, 305, 317, 329–341, 365–368, 371–372, 380, 398, 474, 577, 601, 606, 612–613, 622, economic effects of, 341, opposition to, 565, 571, 573–575
Crypt, 488
Ctesiphon, 160, 171
Cujas, 658
Culmbach, 597
Curia regis, 272, 281
Curiales, 16, 50, 81
Currency *See* Coinage; Money
Cursus curiae Romanae, 136, 466
Custom, 41, 222, 252, 281, 297, 311, 316, 319–320, 382–383, 406, 411, 547, 595, 605, 618, 631, 649, 678
Customs duties, 191, 247, 264, 306, 507–508, 511, 514, 554, 600
Cyclades, 513
Cydonius, Demetrius, 659
Cyprian, 58
Cyprus, 9, 160, 196, 338, 368
Cyril, 194

Czech, 115, 217, 230, 573, 578, 609

Dacia, 44, 62, 67, 188
Dagobert, 109, 115, 134, 197–198
Dagomari, Paolo, 458
Dalmatia, 52, 88–89, 115, 188, 212, 328, 352, 368, 459, 582–583, 609, archbishop of, 126
Dalriada, 132,
Dalton, quoted, 187, 611
Damascus, 105, 163, 170, 174, 177, 336, 507, 613
Damasus, 118
Damietta, 339
Damme, 513
Dandolo, Enrico, 366
Danegeld, 279, 281
Danelaw, 221–222
Danes, 32, 203, 219, 221, 279, 382, 472 *See also* Denmark
Dante, 239, 379, 407, 449, 453, 479–483, 541, 563, 566, 656
Danube, 4, 14, 32–33, 43–44, 67, 73, 75, 89, 91–93, 105, 115, 188, 195, 328, 414, 416
Danzig, 416
Dardanelles, 44
Dastin, John, 459
Datini, Francesco, 637
Dauphin, 552–554, 557–559, 620
Dauphiné, 275, 469, 552, 620, 623
David of Donatello, 669–671
Days of week, names, 37
Dean, 345, 389
Debate, early German, 36–37, 39, in Capetian *curia regis*, 272, in revived Roman Senate, 310, in Venetian senate, 378, at Paris, 577
Debt, canceled, 404, commercial, 511, public, 311, 378
Decameron, 547
Deccan, 417
Decius, 54
Decorated style, 503
Decretal, papal, 118, 439–440, false, 284
Decretum, of Gratian, 426
Defender of the Holy Sepulcher, 336
Defensor pacis, 565
Defensores, 54
Degree, academic, 374, 426, 435, 437–439, 576, 653–654, 684–685, qualitative, 462
De haeretico comburendo, 568
Deira, 74, 111
Delhi, 612
Delambre, cited, 178
Demesne, 197, 241, 271, 384. *See also* Domain, royal
Democracy *See* People, Representation
Democritus, 11
Demons, belief in, 49, 127, 141, 149, 180, 192
Demosthenes, orator, 10, 14
Demosthenes, physician, 177
Denarius, 206
Denmark, 74, 92, 219, 227, 326, 394, 515, 593, 600, 603, 606–607, 633, 648, and papacy, 290, 359
Deposition of king, by nobles or people, 40, 92, 161, 222, 362, by pope, 199, 362, by Parliament, 392, 556, of emperor, 69, 79, 220, 270, by pope, 291–292, 373, by electors, 381, 596, by crusaders, 367, of counts, 269, of pope, 288–289, 292–293, 570–571, 576, of patriarch, 118, of bishop, 344, of priest, 649
Descartes, 680–682
Desiderius, 202
Despots, Greek, 608, Italian, 375–377, 480, 580–582, 586, 590–591, 656–657, 661, 675
Deventer, 577
Devonshire, 519
Dialectic, 427–428, 456, 684 *See also* Logic
Dialogue, 144, 149, 431, 660
Dice, 263, 438, 644
Dictatus, 290
Dictionary, 657, 659
Diehl, quoted, 190–191
Dienstrecht, 282
Diet (or Reichstag), German, 596, 598, 605, 638, Polish, 607, Bohemian, 609, Hungarian, 610, 615
Dietrich von Freiberg, 456
Digest, 97, Old, 424–426, 437, New, 424–426
Digot, cited, 521
Dinan, 529
Dinant, 248, 618, 645
Dinar, 206
Dio Cassius, quoted, 51–52
Diocese, 54, 63
Diocletian, 53–54, 63, 282, era of, 143
Dionysius the Areopagite, 213
Dionysius Exiguus, 5, 124, 143
Dioptrics, 680
Dioscorides, 145, 147, 424
Diplomacy, of Justinian, 88, 91, of Frederick II, 371, of Albornoz, 569, French, 399, 403, Italian, 581, 585–586, 590 *See also* Ambassador, Legate
Disease, 30, 124, 146, 176, 180, 461, 603, 685–686
Dispensation, 564
Disputation, 435, 437, 684, 686
Dissection, 461–462
Distillation, 459–460
Distraint of Knighthood, 392
Divination, 37, 141, 180
Divine Comedy, 481
Divorce, 202, 263, 281, 288, 295, 363, 654
Dobrzin, Knights of, 601
Document, 112, 135, 201, 203, 207, 271, 329; forged, 200–201

Doge, 189, 311, 377–379, 585
Dôle, 646, university of, 652
Domain, royal, 399, 411, 626, imperial, 291
Dombes, 557
Dome, Roman, 24, Byzantine, 72, 98–101, 104, Romanesque, 487–489, 491, Gothic, 667
Domesday Book, 280, 317–318, 384
Dominic, Saint, 354, 356–357
Dominicans, 357–358, 418, 438–439, 441–442, 448, 453–456, 568, 576, 591, 649
Domremy, 559
Don river, 67, 414–416
Donatello, 669–673
Donation of Constantine, 62, 200, 658, of Pepin, 200, 202
Donatist, heretic, 58, 72, student of grammar, 147
Donatus, 147
Dondi, Giovanni de', 461
Dondi, Jacopo de', 461
Dongola, 418
Donjon, 256, 258, 271
Donne, 682
Doria, Oberto, 378
Dorp, Adam, 653
Dorset, 74
Douai, 246–247, 319, 403, 516
Dover, 545, 637
Dragon, 470
Drainage, 326
Drama, ancient, 10, 15, 49, 422; revived, 659, 662, 679
Drawbridge, 257–258
Drawloom, 84, 104, 235
Dream, 52, 180, 477, 548
Dreux, 271
Drinking, ancient, 29–30, early German, 35–37, 470, Christian, 81, Byzantine, 191; student, 438, by Wenzel, 596, prohibited, 158 *See also* Wine
Dryander, John, 683
Dublin, 393
Ducat, 508–509
Du Guesclin, 554
Duhem, Pierre, cited, 192, 460, 682
Duke, 109, 111–112, 125, 162, 199, 205, 222, 230, 267, 269–271, 273, 276–277, 302, 594
Duns Scotus, 455–457, 653, 680, 686
Duoro, 323
Durazzo, 332–333
Dürer, 504
Durham cathedral, 491
Dushan, Stephen, 610
Duumvir, 16
Dutch language, 468
Dutch people, 601, 635
Dyes, Dyeing, 9, 33, 145, 248, 453, 514, 569
Dynasty, 10, Berber, 228; feudal, 273, 397, 410, 557, frontier, 626, German local, 593, 597, Greek, 610, in Holy Roman Empire, 269, in Mecklenburg, 327, in Sicily, 331, Slav, 230, 327, union, 416–417 *See also* Abbasid, Angevin, Capetian, Comnenian, Carolingian; Hapsburg, Hohenstaufen, Isaurian, Jagellon, Lancastrian; Luxemburg; Macedonian; Merovingian, Norman, Omniad, Plantagenet, Severi, Theodosian, Tudor, etc

Ealdorman, 222, 280
Earl, Earldom, 278, 280
Early English style, 501–503, 606
Earth, medieval ideas of, 446–447, 457, 632–633, 655
Earthquakes, 23, 62, 75, 98
East Anglia, 221, 547
Easter, 422, date of, 134, 143, 201
Ebnerin, Margarete, 568
Ebro, 323
Ecclesiastical court *See* Court of law, ecclesiastical
Ecclesiastical states, 269, 273, 371, 594
Eckhart, master, 568
Ecloga, 187
Economic conditions, 27, 35, 45, 235–248, 331, and regulation, 53, 372, and legislation, 629
Economic thought, 637–638, 660
Eddas, 34, 37, 219, 470
Edessa, 119, 334–337
Edgar the Peaceful, 222, 279
Edict of Theodoric, 112
Edinburgh Castle, 550
Edmund, 373, 388
Edrisi, 175, 419, 433, 611
Education, individual, 85, 87, 124, 371, 398, 401, 442, 480, 523, 548, late Roman, 139, Byzantine, 98, 189, 192; early medieval, 147–148, Moslem, 167, 172–174, Charlemagne and, 212–213, Alfred the Great and, 223, in tenth century, 421–422, Cluniac, 285, crusades and, 341, in twelfth century, 426–430, elementary and secondary, 535–538, 647, 686–687; for girls, 418, 535–537, books on, 442, discussion of, 446–447; municipal, 537–538, 577, 641; at Lyons, 643, by Brethren of the Common Life, 577, after printing, 663, humanist, 659 *See also* Cathedral schools, Universities
Edward the Confessor, 278–279
Edward I of England, 388–393, 407–408, 543, 545
Edward II, 391–393
Edward III, 392, 543–545, 549, 551, 555, 557–558, 567, 627
Edward IV, 561, 620–621, 628–629
Egbert, 205

Egypt, 9–10, ancient, 12, 18–19, 45–48, 53, 99, 140, 633, Byzantine, 94, 104–106, 114, 119, 189, monasticism in, 120, Moslem, 160, 163, 169, 181, 183, 188, 201, 336, 338–339, 415, 613, trade of, 507, 511
Ehrle, cardinal, cited, 652
Einhard, 201, 212–213
Ekthesis, 185
Elbe, 3, 112, 203, 217, 220, 230, 326–327, 468, 600
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 260–261, 281, 398
Eleanor of Portugal, 604
Eleanor, wife of Edward I, 390
Elections ancient Roman, 17, early German, 40, 92, 111, 198, 222, papal, 75, 117–118, 126, 210–211, 289–290, 307, 342, 374, 409, 517, 569, of abbots, 128, of other ecclesiastics, 58, 288, 293–294, 344, 360–361, 365, 576, of doges, 189, 311, imperial, 269, 305, 381, 594, 598, disputed, 364, 379, 381, English, 278, of medieval Roman senate, 310, of podestas, 310–311, of gastaldos, 311, of consuls, 313, indirect, 311–312, Venetian, 585, by lot, 587, of king in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland, 574, 606, 615, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, 606, for Estates General, 622, for Parliament, 627, of aldermen, 640; popular, 646–647, astrological, 179
Electors, seven, 381, 593–594, 598
Elements, 11, 459
Elizabeth of Hungary, 262
Eloquence, 657, 659
Ely cathedral, 491
Emancipation, 166, 240–242, 246, 521
Embroidery, 181
Emigration, 219, 228, 322, 379, 545
Emilian towns, 581
Emir, Emirate, 163, 336, 338
Emperor worship, 19, 47, 53–54, 59, 117
Empyrean, 482
Enamel, 194, 248
Enclosures, 629
Encyclopedias, ancient, 30, Byzantine, 191–192, medieval, 150, 441–442
Endowment, 533
Engelbert of Admont, 419–420
Engineering, 493, 504, 655
England, 4, 32, 74, 108, 111, 177, 206, 208, 221, 227–228, 239, 382–393, 593, 612, 616, church in, 123, 127, 131, 134, 150, 287, 296–299, 354, 356–357, 402, 439, 563, 566–568, 576; papacy and, 290, 360–363, 375, 563, 570–571; feudal, 251, 255, 261, 267, 273, Danish and Norman, 278–281, towns in, 317–318, industry in, 516, 519–520; trade of, 511–514, 601, 637, art of, 491, 501–502, education in, 537, writers of, 457, 466–470, and *see also* Oxford, Black Death in, 547–548, during Hundred Years War, 543–545, 549–561, 630, 651, after 1453, 617, 620, 626–629, 633, 635, 643, 661; modern, 509
English Channel, 4, 132, 271, 545, 561, 637
English language *See* Language
Entertainment, right of, 206, 209, 252
Enrico Dandolo, 366
Envoys *See* Ambassadors
Enzio, 373
Eorch, 108
Ephesus, 104, councils of, 117–119
Ephthalite, 93
Epicureans, 11, 46, 657
Epicurus, 46
Epicycle, 13
Epirus, 610
Episcopalian, 57
Epopee, Byzantine, 192
Equator crossed, 632
Era, 143, 157
Erasmus, 658
Eric, king of Sweden, 219
Erigena, 213
Erwin von Steinbach, 432
Erythraean sibyl, 140
Erzerum, 416
Escheat, 251, 269, 310, 557
Espionage, 53
Esquire, 261, 392
Essex, 74
Estates, three, 394, 405, 553, 558, General, 403, 405–406, 408, 552–554, 622, 625, 627, provincial, 405–406, 552–553, 627, Bohemian, 609, of Languedoc, 406
Este, House of, 580, 675
Estonia, 171, 603, 606
Ethelbert, 131
Ethelred, 227, 385
Ethics, 11, 448
Ethicus Istricus, 147
Ethiopia, Ethiopian, 91, 201, 418, 476
Ethnology, 175–176
Etymology, 150, 398
Euboea, 367
Eucharist, 57, 572 *See also* Mass
Euclid, 178, 430, 446
Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, 162
Eudes II, count of Blois and Chartres, 274
Eugenius III, pope, 310
Eugenius IV, 575–576
Eunuch, 168, 190
Euphrates, 171, 196, 334
Euric, 70, 112
Euripides, 49, 55
Europe, races of, 2, geography of, 3–4, invaders of, 67, 79, 168, central, 93, 115, 615, eastern, 606–616, 652; northern, 423, and western, 14, 235, 509, southeastern, 332, in tenth century, 423; decline of, in fourteenth century, 541–542

Eusebius of Caesarea, 142–143
Eustathius, 121
Evidence, legal, 207, 353–354
Evil, problem of, 350
Evno of Wurzburg, 459
Evreux, 458
Examination, 685
Exarch, 87–88 *See also* Ravenna
Exchequer, 268, 384
Excommunication, 119, 291–294, 297–298, 322, 332, 348, 362–363, 365–366, 372–373, 408–409, 565, 571
Executioner, 314
Exemplar, 463
Exile, 293, 304, 343, 362, 385, 398, 480, 517, 645, 654
Experiment, 178, 431, 448–449, 452–453, 455–456, 458, 487, 492, 654, 686, artistic, 487, 492, 673, political, 580
Export, forbidden, 407, trade, 516, 607
Exposure of infants, 30, 38, 158, 227
Extravagantes, 440
Extreme unction, 346, 567
Eye, 177 *See also* Lens, Optics
Ezekiel, Book of, 429
Ezzelino, 338

Fabliaux, 478, 482, 523, 541
Fabriano, 239–240
Façade, 499–502, 529, 669
Faculty, 435, 658
Fairs, 246–247, 318, 320, of Champagne, 314, 404, 511–513, English, 514
False Decretals, 284
Family, Roman, 21, early German, 37–39, in town life, 288, 304, 313, 317, 365, 378–379, 533, 546, 639, 642, 646; name, 34[illegible]
Famine, 114, 167, 331, 334, 523, 587
Far East, 45, 104, 119, 631, 635; marvels of, 442
Faroe Islands, 221
Fasting, 124, 127, 158
Fatima, Fatimite, 163, 167, 195, 334, 338
Favorite, royal, 389, 391, 552, 555, 558, 622
Feasts, pagan, 127. For Christian feasts, *see* Holidays
Federigo of Naples, 492
Fee, professional, 96, 426, 537–538, 564
Fehm *See* Vehm
Felt, 33, 66
Fen, 176
Ferdinand of Aragon, 576, 590, 592, 630–631, 664
Fernel, 551
Ferrante I, of Naples, 589, 591
Ferrante II, 591
Ferrara, 307, 497, 542, 576, 580, 655, 662, 669
Festival, folk, 478, 678, troubadour, 474
Fetish worship, 37
Feudal life, 259–263, 281–283, 467, 470–473, 476
Feudal register, 274
Feudal states, 263–281, 325, 366, 402
Feudalism, growth of, 105, 166, 249–255, 382, 617, Byzantine, 333, English, 386–387, persistence of, 410–411, 598, 621
Feuds, 42, 156, 163, 268, 303, 594
Ficino, Marsilio, 660
Fiesole, 547
Fifth essence, 458
Figgis, quoted, 630
Filarete, 667
Filelfo, 659
Fines, 316, 480, 647
Finland, 3, 226–227, Gulf of, 603
Fire company, 25
Firearms, 550, 573
Fireplace, 258
Fireworks, 550
Firmicus Maternus, 52–53, 144–145
Firth of Forth, 74, 111
Fishing, 219, 246, 514–515, 519, 601, Mediterranean, 9, 189, 243, rights, 254, 280, 344, 650
Fishmongers, 302
Flagellants, 547, 565
Flail, 240
Flamboyant style, 664
Flamen, 63
Flanders, 134, 246–248, 273–274, 317, 332, 338, 361, 391, agriculture in, 520, colonists from, 326, 328, heresy in, 348, manuscripts in, 463, revolt, in, 544, 556, trade of, 511–514, and France, 396, 399, 403–405, and England, 544–545, 637, and Burgundy, 557, 617, and Great Schism, 570, decline of, 543 *See also* Flemish
Flemish art, 664, 666, 673
Flemish dialect, 77, 468
Fleury, 128
Flight into Egypt, 525
Florence, 310, 320, 400, 480, cathedral of, 506, 666–669; economics of, 510–511, 519, 637, 639, education in, 536, 658, 660, hospitals, 531, government of, 379, 508–509, 556, 586–587, 657, 661; in later middle ages, 547, 576, 581, 583, 589–592, 616, 633, 645, 659, 662, 666–667, 669, 671–673, art, 666–673; university of, 658, 660
Florent, Saint, 277
Florin, 508–509
Fluckiger-Hanbury, cited, 514
Folk-court, 41, 206
Folk epic, 470
Folklore, 223, 327
Fontana, Giovanni da, 632, 654–655
Fontenay, 215
Food and food supply, ancient, 27, 35, 69, 75; of nomads, 66; of Constantinople, 104, 106, 188, of Slavs, 92, in West,

114, monastic, 121, feudal, 259, 524, of crusaders, 334, 366, Franciscan, 356, of students, 436, of towns, 517, 531, 559, rural, 647
Forest rights, 237, 241, 316, 344
Forest Cantons, 599
Forest of Dean, 519
Forez, 557
Forfeiture, 251, 263
Formula, 655
Fornovo, 592
Fortnight, 34
Fortunate Islands, 633
Forum, Roman, 23
Fougères, 257
Foulques Nerra, 277
Fountain, as water supply, 526, at Perugia, 497, 532
Fra Angelico, 357
Fractional exponents, 460, 682
France, 32, 612, 616, 642, geography of, 4, 77, duchy of, 271, ecclesiastical, 294, 353, 356–357, 563, 576, feudal, 251–252, 254, 261, 266–267, 273–277, 328, 523, royal, 396–411, 542, northern, 348, 403, southern, 255, 275, 320, 325, 333, 351, 357, 490, 520, 527, 535, 561, and Italy, 374, 580, 582, 590–592, and papacy, 289, 375, 564, 570–571, 576, and Scotland, 393, art in, 484, 492, 496, 501, 506, 606, 664; eastward expansion of, 598, education in, 537, 651, gilds in, 517, population of, 522, trade of, 511, during Hundred Years War, 543–546, 549–562, 630, 638, 664, after 1453, 617, 620–627, 661 *See also* Gaul, French
Francesch des Valers, 418
Franche-Comté, 275, 646 *See also* Burgundy, county of
"Franchise," 645
Francis, Saint, 349, 354–356, 358–359, 565, in art, 505–506
Francis I, of France, 679, 683
Franciscans, 356, 439, 442, 447, 453, 455, 563, 566, 568, 649, Spiritual, 459, 565
Franconia, 229, 267, 597
Franks, 32, 44, 68, 70, 73, 472, kingdoms of the, 75, 88, 108–110, 115, 126, 192, 197–200, 202; empire of the, 203, 211–215, 226, East, 229, East and West, 215, 267, 469, West, 220, 271; Ripuarian, 76–79, 112, 215, Salian, 76–79, 112, 215, and Avars, 93, and Moslems, 162, and the Church, 134–135; principalities of, in the East, 610
Frankfort, 598, 641
Fraticelli, 565, 588
Frederick I (Barbarossa), emperor, 269, 297, 305–310, 338, 363–364, 467
Frederick II, 318, 338–340, 364–365, 370–373, 376, 414, 432, 435, 467, 479, 497, 508, 601
Frederick III, 578, 598, 603–605, 620
Frederick of Austria, 381, 596
Frederick III of Hohenzollern, 597
Frederick VI of Hohenzollern, 597
Frederick III of Sicily, 589
Frederick of Tyrol, 571
Frederick of Urbino, 645
Freedmen, 33
Freedom, academic, 653–654, 683, of the will, 144, 658. *See also* Emancipation; Liberty
Freeholder, 384–385, 392
Freemen, Greek, 10, Roman, 21; early German, 39–40, 42, 112–113; Byzantine, 190, Frankish, 205, 213, 221–222, Norse, 219, feudal, 252, English, 387, in towns, 303–304, 311, 319, 327, other, 541, 595, 617
Freiberg (Saxony), 327
Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 318, 503
French languages, 227, 469–470
French literature, 471–479
French painting, 675
French Revolution, 643, 678
Fresco, 60, 505, 666, 675
Freya, 37
Friars, 352–359, 435, criticized, 566–567, decline of, 576. *See also* Dominicans, Franciscans
Fribourg, 621, 641
Frieze, 15, 49, 667, 669
Frisia, 108, 134–135, 198, 201, 215, 274, 394, 468
Friuli, 111, 205, duchy of, 270
Froissart, 544
Frontier, Roman, 26, 33, early German, 36, Byzantine, 87, 89, 91, 195–196, 611, Spanish, 311, crusading, 336; German, 325–326, French, 642, French-Burgundian, 620. *See also* Mark
Fruit culture, 173
Fulda, 269
Fulk the Black, 277
Fulk V, 277
Fullers, 239, 520, 639–640
Funerals, 33, 301, 319, 642, academic, 438
Funeral monuments, 262, 666, 671
Fur trade, 227, 507, 601
Furlong, 237, 566
Furniture, 527, 647

Gabelle, 404–405
Gabriel, 157
Gaelic, 468
Gaeta, 302
Gaetano, Peter, 407
Gaiseric, 71–72
Galen, 13, 146, 174, 176–177, 443, 683–685; in Latin, 431, 437, 449, 461–462
Galerius, 60, 62
Galicia, in central Europe, 416–417
Galicia, in Spain, 276, 323, 479

Galileo, 681
Gall, F. J., 680
Gall, Saint, 134
Galla Placidia, 70–71, 73, mausoleum, 71, 101
Gallery, dwarf, 489, 491
Galley, 377–378, 637
Gallican church and liberties, 576, 623
Gallipoli, 88, 611, 639
Gama, Vasco da, 634–635
Gambling, 35, 39, 517
Gansfort, Wessel, 577
Garden of Eden, 426, 482
Gargoyle, 500
Garonne, 4, 110, 220, 275, 520
Gascons, Gascony, 110, 241, 275–276, 281, 319, 391, 402, 409, 411, 469, 513, 549, 590
Gastaldo, 311
Gattamelata, 671
Gaucher of Rheims, 504
Gaul, Roman, 14, 33, invaded, 35, 44, 68, 70, 72–73, 229; Frankish, 76–79, 108–110, 199, monastic, 121, 127, 132, 134, ecclesiastical, 124–126, 135, 287, 422–423, fifth century, 148, feudal, 281, language, 468, 472, twelfth century, 511
Gauzelin, 220
Geber, 179
Gelée, Jacquemart, 477
Gelimer, 87
Gelnhausen, 269
Gemistos Plethon, 611, 660
Gems, virtue of, 452; from India, 634
Genealogy, 340
General, of Friar Order, 358
Generation and corruption, 11
Genesis, 652
Geneva, 639
Genoa, growth of, 88, 243–244, 248, 304, 308, and crusades, 331, 334, 336, 338, later, 371, 373, 378–379, 416–419, 453, 544–545, 570, 580, 582, 589–590, 610–611, economic life, 240, 507–509, 511, 633, 637–639; visited, 658
Gens, 38
Gentile da Foligno, 462, 547
Gentilly, 647
Geoffrey, brother of John of England, 361
Geoffrey the Fair, 277, 281, 432
Geoffrey Martel, 277
Geoffrey of Meaux, 458
Geoffrey of Monmouth, 476
Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 370, 467
Geography, of Europe, 3–4; and history, 4, ancient, 34, 661, early medieval, 147, later, 417–420, 423, 442, Arabian, 169, 175, 226; south of Loire, 275–276, of Spain, 323, 325; of world, 635, 654, 659
Geology, 682
Geometry, 14, 144, 178, 448, 458, 655 analytical, 460, 682
George of Podiebrad, 573–574, 603, 615
Gepidae, 92–93, 106
Gerald of Wales, 442–443
Gerard of Cremona, 176, 431
Gerard Groote, 577
Gerbert, 422–423, 463
German language, 62, 139, 148, High and Low, 468–469, Middle, 609
German nation, 547
Germans, early, 32–44, 51, 92, 222, as settlers, 82, 84, 572–574, 593, 601–603, 609 east of Rhine, 108, 135, 198, 215, of Elbe, 325–328, as crusaders, 339, 612–613, as scientists, 655, tribal songs of, 213, and Slavs, 230, 416
Germany, geography of, 3–4, ancient, 26–27, 74, feudal, 251, 255, 267–270, 282, 423, ecclesiastical, 287, 289–294, 332, 356–357, 576, Hohenstaufen, 240, 305–306, 308, 370–373, 375, later, 379–380, 593–605, 617, 647–648, papacy and, 288–289, 363–365, 375, 563–564, 570–571, north, 380, 513, 600, northwest, 544, south, 556, 597, art in, 484, 491–492, 496, 503, Black Death in, 545, economic conditions in, 638, education in, 537, 651–652, heresy in, 348, humanism in, 661, invaded, 573, literature in, 475–476, manuscripts in, 463, modern, 32, 42, 375, mysticism in, 568, Rienzo in, 588, towns in, 318–319, trade with, 246, 513–515, first university in, 578
Gerson, Jean, 653–654
Gesner, 682
Ghent, 246, 317, 319, 403, 513, 544, 556, 618, 639, castle at, 256
Ghibelline, 305, 366, 379, 581
Ghiberti, 666–669
Ghirlandajo, 673–674
Gian Galeazzo *See* Visconti
Giant, 470, 662
Gibbon, 85
Giberto da Fano, 461
Gibraltar, 161, 325, Straits of, 9, 87
Gilbert of England, 452
Gilbert de la Porrée, 428
Gilbert de Nogent, 282
Gilds, 114, 642; Byzantine, 191, merchant, 245–246, craft, 248, 301–302, 311, 316–317, 376, 399, 403, 478, 514–518, 610, 618, 678, exclusive, 641, Florentine, 379, 586, French, 641, house, 529; opposition to, 598, scholastic, 436; towns and, 639–640, 642
Giotto, 355, 505–506, 541, 666
Giovanni d'Andrea, 461
Giovanni da Fontana, 632
Giovanni de Lucca, 461
Giovanni Pisano, 497, 532
Giraudet, quoted, 541
Giustizia Vecchia, 311
Givry, 546

Glaber, Raoul, 423
Gladiator, 30, 75, 93
Glanville, Ranulf, 383
Glarus, 599
Glass, ancient, 25, 145, Merovingian, 151, Moslem, 171, window, 453, stained, 493, 499, 518, 643 *See also* Lens
Gloss, 426, 461
Glossators, 426, 461, tombs of, 425
Gluttony, 514
Gmunden, John of, 655
Gnosticism, 57
Godfrey of Bouillon, 332, 335–336
Godwine, 279
Gog and Magog, 415
Goidels, 468
Gold, 36, 80, 173, 206, 459, 508–509, 631–632, 638, leaf, thread, etc , 145, 518–519, mines, 609, pieces, 360
Golden Bull, 593–594, 596
Golden Fleece, Order of the, 618
Golden Horde, 415–416, 608, 612, 631
Golden Legend, 467
Goldsmiths, 667, 673
Gonzaga, Elisabeth, 672
Gonzaga, House of, 580, 673
Gorm the Old, 219
Goths, 32, 36, 43–44, 54, 62, 67–71, 81, East, 32, 44, 67, 74–76, 79, 87–88, 108, 237, 275, West, 32, 44, 62, 67–73, 75, 77, 79, 104–105, 108, 110, 112, 115, 126, 148, 161
Gotha, 648
Gothia, 108, 275
Gothic art *See* Art, Gothic
Gothic language, 62, 468
Gotland, 227, 515, 600
Gout, 461
Government: Greek, 11, Roman, 17–19, 51–54, early German, 39–40, Moslem, 161, 166–167, Persian, 176, Frankish, 205–208, by Northmen, 228, feudal, 263–266, 276–277, 336, imperial, 268–269, local, 264, 268–269, 281, 301–302, 311, 319, 327, 382–385, 533–534, 548, 599–600, 626, 631, of Norman England, 280–281; of Norman Sicily, 323, town, 304, 320, 403–404, Venetian, 311, 377–378, 583–586, of kingdom of Jerusalem, 336–337, centralized, 375, English, 382–393, conciliar, 574–575, 578, parliamentary, 574, 631, German, 593–594, 596, 598, 605 *See also* Administration, Assembly, City-state, Kingship, Parliament, Representation, Towns
Grain, 507, 515, 545, 601, 607. *See also* Agriculture, Food supply
Grammar, 148, 150, 422, 427, 466, 657, Frankish, 213, Greek, 439
Grammar schools, 435, 438, 517, 535–538, 547, 660
Granada, 168, 182, 323, 325, 368, 630
Grand jury, 384–385
Grand, Roger, cited, 546
Grand Prince, 224
Grande Chartreuse, 398
Granson, 621
Gras, P , cited, 546
Gratia Dei, herb, 445
Gratian, emperor, 63
Gratian, monk, 426, 430
Great Charter *See* Magna Carta
Great Council *See* Council
"Great Mortality," 545
Great Mother, 47
Greece, 3, 9–10, 27, 45, 146, 188, 329, 357, 367–368, 511, 549, 610–611, 615
Greek civilization, 10–14, 32, 176, in southern Italy, 190, in Russia, 608 *See also* Byzantine Empire
Greek Empire, 89
Greek fire, 84
Greek language, 10, 30, 43, 49, 97–98, 123–124, 144, 188, 213, 611, Byzantine, 660, in Constantinople, 192, study of, 132, 150, 430, 449, 454, 655, 658–661, 680, 684 *See also* Translations
Greek literature and learning, inventoried, 191, study of, 132, 150, 430, 655, 658–661 *See also* Mythology, Translation
Greek manuscripts, 463–465, 585, 659, 679
Greek popes, 88, 189
Greeks, in Italy, 655, 659–660
Greenland, 223–225, 368
Gregorian chant, 127
Gregorovius, quoted, 541
Gregory the Great, pope, 114, 124–127, 131, 148–149, 157–158, 197, 210, 223, 287
Gregory II, 190
Gregory VI, 289
Gregory VII, 289–293, 302–303, 329–330, 362, 374, 606
Gregory IX, 371–373, 439, 453
Gregory XI, 568–569
Gregory XII, 570–571
Gregory of Rimini, 653
Gregory of Tours, 110, 149
Grimoald, 198
Grindstone, 240
Grosseteste, Robert, 439
Grotius, Hugo, 679, 682
Grouchy, Nicolas de, 684
Grove, sacred, 37
Guadalquivir river, 173, 183, 323, 325
Guadiana, 323
Guardian, legal, 38, 537, 647 *See also* Wardship
Guarino of Verona, 659
Guelders, 620
Guelf, 305, 319, 364
Guerrini, G , cited, 546

Guépin, quoted, 643
Guesclin, Bertrand du, 554
Guicciardini, quoted, 376
Guidarello Guidarelli, 583
Guidebooks, 114–115
Guienne, 275, 402, 411, 543, 549, 626, Collège de, 684
Guilhem *See* William
Guillaume Adam, 418
Guillaume de Guillemart, 662
Guillaume de Passavant, 504
Guinea, 632
Guipuzcoa, 325
Gundobad 112
Gunpowder, 453, 549–550
Gutenberg, 662
Guy de Chauliac, 462–463, 682
Guy de Foulques, 447

Haarlem, 662
Hades, 481
Hadrian, emperor, 293
Hadrian I, pope, 114, 200, 211
Hagiography *See* Saints' lives
Hainault, 134, 246, 248, 274, 513, 552–553, 617
Hakam II, 167–168
Hall, academic, 651; of castle, 258, early German, 470, largest vaulted, 310
Halphen, cited, 212
Haly, 176
Hamburg, 515, 600, 606
Hamlet, 246
Hansa, Hanse, 245, 513, 600
Hanseatic League, 593, 600–603, 608, 637
Hapsburg, House of, 380–381, 573, 596, 598–599, 603–605, 610, 621
Harbiyah quarter, 172
Hare, quoted, 321
Harem, 158, 167–168
Harfleur, 457
Harold of England, 279
Harold Fair-Hair, 219
Harold of Greenland, 227
Harold Hardrada, 279
Harranian, 170
Harrow, invention of, 237
Harvey, William, 682
Haselbach, Thomas, 652
Haskins, quoted, 370
Hastings, 279, 280
Haye-du-Theil, 537
Heart, Peter of Abano on, 451
Heathen, 108, 132, 134-135, 195, 197, 217–220, 340, 416, 470, 601, 632, 635
Heaton, cited, 514
Hebrew, 140, 147, 174, 453–454, 476, 662, 684
Hebrides, 132, 221
Hector, 52
Hedwig, 607
Hegira, 157
Heidelberg, university of, 651
Heinrich Raspe, 373
Heinsius, 679
Heligoland, 227
Hell, 127, 158, 175, 481–482
Hellenic culture, 10–11, decline of, 45–46, 49
Hellenistic civilization, 12, 55
Hellespont, 611
Héloise, 429
Henry I, king of East Franks, 229–230, 267
Henry II, emperor, 270, 274, 288
Henry III, 269, 288–289, 291
Henry IV, 291–293, 302–303, 332
Henry V, 293
Henry VI, 323, 338, 363–365, 514
Henry VII, 381, 598–599
Henry, son of Frederick II, 370, 372
Henry I of England, 277, 281, 295, 302, 386, 429, 432
Henry II, 281, 296–299, 307, 317, 360, 382–386, 393, 398, 432
Henry III, 373, 379, 388–389, 401–402, 414, 664
Henry IV, 556–557, 568
Henry V, 557–558
Henry VI, 557–558, 561, 627–628
Henry VII, 561, 590, 628–629
Henry VIII, 298, 561, 629
Henry of Burgundy, 324
Henry of Hesse, 651–652
Henry the Lion, 269, 305, 318, 326, 364
Henry the Navigator, 632
Henry Suso, 568
Hentisbery *See* William of Hentisbery
Heptarchy, 111
Heraclius, 105–106, 115, 185
Heraldry, 36, 261–262, 340
Herbal, 147, 424, 443–445
Hercules, 37
Hereditary office, 272, 310, 376, 389
Hereditary succession, 53, 72, 109, 189, 199, 246, 361, 594; disputed, 393
Hereditary tendency, 50–51, 80, 205, 287
Hereditary tenure, 208, 241, 246, 251
Heresy, 57–58, 95, 118–119, 126, 159, 175, 192, 348–353, 356–357, 359, 366, 370–371, 410, 474, 527, 561, 565, 568, 571 575, 594, 631
Hermandad, Holy, 630
Hermann of Carinthia, 431
Hermann the Lame, 423
Hermes Trismegistus, 450–451
Hermia, 461
Herodotus, 10, 37
Herophilus, 177
Herring, 519, 601
Heruli, 92–93
Herzegovina, 368, 613
Hesse, 108, 135, 597
Hexaemeron, 547

Hexham, 152
Hide, 241
Highways *See* Roads
Hildebrand *See* Gregory VII
Hilderic, 87
Hildesheim, 530
Hincmar of Rheims, 214
Hindu *See* India, Numerals
Hippo, 141
Hippocrates, Hippocratic collection, 12, 437, 461–462, 684, 686
Hippodrome, 86, 94, 194
Hirschberg, J , cited, 177
Hispana, 284
Histoire littéraire, 463, 479
Historiography, History, 11, 33–34, 49, 51–52, 110, 120, 544, 632, 680, classical, 661, Greek, 70, new Christian, 141–143, 149–150, Byzantine, 191–192, Anglo-Saxon, 223, Arabic, 226, medieval Latin, 423, 467, French, 478, Spanish, 479, Polish, 607, church, 652, local and intellectual, 687, early modern, 687; nationalist, 551, of nineteenth century, 541, geographical interpretation of, 687
Hofrecht, 282, 319
Hohenstaufen, House of, 305, 363, 373–375, 598–599
Hohenzollern, House of, 597
Holidays, 437, 517, 521, 577
Holland, 273–274, 326, 513, 552–553, 601, 616–617
Holstein, 326–327, 600
Holy Family, in art, 524, 673
Holy Grail, 476
Holy Hermandad, 630
Holy Land *See* Palestine
Holy Roman Empire, 268–270, 273–275, 325, 566, 593, 595–599, and Italy, 305–309, 580–582, 587, and papacy, 288–289, 323, 363–365, 563, 593, 598, and the Swiss, 621–622; failure of, 370–374, 379–381, 409, 578, 648
Holy Spirit, 55, 57
Holy water, 348
Homage, 251, 267, 270, 272, 276–277, 288, 310, 407, 543
Homer, 10, 14, 52, 192, 659
Honey, 173, 442, 521
Honnecourt, Villard de, 504, 506
Honoria, 71
Honorius, emperor, 61, 68–71
Honorius III, pope, 371
Hops, 33
Hordes, nomadic, 66–67. *See also* Golden Horde
Horses, 26, 66, 109, 227, 238, 472 *See also* Cavalry
Hospitals, 98, 172, 177, 529–535, 678, field, 631; municipal, 535, village, 647
Hospital of the Innocents, 667
Hospitalers, 324, 337, 410, 615
Hospitality, 285
Hostage, 72, 549
Houses, Roman, 23, early German, 35, height of, regulated, 104, 531, in *bastides*, 313, in Leon, 312, medieval, 453, peasant, 523–524, 647, stone, 513–514, town, 526–529, 641, 678, wooden, 643
Hrosvita, 422
Hruodland, 203
Hubert de Burgh, 388
Hubert Walter, 361, 383
Hufe, 241
Hugh Capet, 270–271
Hugh of Siena, 655
Hugh the White, 271
Hugo of Provence, 267
Hugo von Trimberg, 463
Humanism, in art, 496, in literature and learning, 578, 615, 652, 655–661, 675–676, 679–680, 684
Humors, four, 13, 443, 455
Hun, 67–68, 72–75, 79, 81, 84, 91, 94, 414–415,White, 93
Hunain ibn Ishak, 174, 177
Hundred, 209, 221–222, 385–386
Hundred Years War, 543–545, 548–549, 554, 557–562, 580, 647
Hungary, 3, 93, 115, 195–196, 229–230, 269, 320, 366, 380, 414, 416, 435, 470, 513, in later middle ages, 606–607, 609–610, 612–615, Christian, 328, 332, 339, 356–357, 571, 574, economic, 638, 649, and Germany, 593, 603–605, and Italy, 580, 582–583, 588, 661, and papacy, 290, 352, 359–360, 367–368, 564, 570
Hunting, 35, 209, 263, 272, 382, 566
Huntington, 302
Hunyadi, John, 613
Hus, John, 568, 571–572, 652
Husik, quoted, 176
Hussite, 550, 572–575, 609–610
Hygiene, 451, 519, 531
Hymns, 61, 127, 213
Hypocaust, 21

Iazyges, 43
Ibadites, 175
Ibn Batuta, 611
Ibn Yunus, 178
Iceland, 4, 34, 132, 223–228, 359, 368, 470–471, 633
Icon, 187
Iconium, 507
Iconoclasm, 186–187, 192, 194
Idealism, 428
Idyll, 662
Ignatius, 56
Ilanz, 206
Île de France, 271, 492
Illyria, 85
Illyricum, 92, 125, 190

Image, astrological and magic, 180, 450, religious, 186–187
Imago mundi, 654
Imitation of Christ, 577
Immigration, 43, 51, 67, 172, 190, 275, 609
Immortality, 47–48, 55–56, 158, 200, 441
Immunity, 80, 201, 208–209, 249, 251, 280, 285, 317, 359, 646
Impeachment, 555
Imperator, 18
Impetus, theory of, 457
Import trade, 507–508, 545, forbidden, 638
Incantation, 171, 180, 450–452
Income tax, 166, 404
Indemnity, 338
India, 10, 38, 67, 121, 146, 163, 171, 176, 416–419, 476, 612, 633–634
Indian Ocean, 175, 418, 632, 634
Indians, American, 634
Indiction, 143
Indies, 417, 632, West, 634
Individualism, 46–47, 113, 155, 238, 240, 326, 496, in art, 666
Indo-European, 2, 43, 92
Indulgence, 330–331, 347–348, 352, 503–504, 564–567, 571, 577
Industrial Revolution, 529
Industry, ancient, 25, early medieval, 114, 128, manorial, 208–209, town, 246, 248, 303, 311, late medieval, 631, 639, 647; early modern, 678, state, 53, 80–81, 104, 191 *See also* Gilds, Occupations
Ine, laws of, 113
Inertia, 457
Infantry, 611
Infortiatum, 424–426
Ingeborg of Denmark, 363
Inheritance, 42, 251, 522–523 *See also* Hereditary
Inlay, 181
Innkeepers, 642. *See also* Tavern keepers
Innocent III, pope, 310, 324, 342–346, 351–352, 354, 356–357, 359–370, 406, 439
Innocent IV, 340, 373–374
Innocent VI, 568
Innungen, 515
Inquisition, 352–354, 565–566; Spanish, 576, 630–631. *See also* Sworn inquest
Insanity, 105, 177, 535, 548; royal, 556–558
Inscriptions, 36, 152
Institutes, of Gaius, 97; of Justinian, 97, 426
Instruments, astronomical, 458–459, scientific, 634, 679; surgical, 462 463
Insurance, mutual burial, 25
Intellectual caliber, early German, 36–37, early medieval, 148–149; Arabic, 155; Moslem, 172–174
Intelligence, Aristotelian, 11–12
Interdict, 346, 348, 362, 366, 565, 606
Interest, forbidden, 296, 509–510, 642, paid by Venice, 311, rate of, 112, 638; usurious, 648
Intermarriage, of Germans and Romans, 112, 115, of Jew with Christian forbidden, 115, of Lombard and Italian, 305, of German and Slav, 327, across the Pyrenees, 276, of crusader and oriental, 337, of knight and peasant, 523, of Turk and European, 615
International relations, 343, 368, 373, 406, 577–578, 587, 605, 618
Interregnum, 373, 379
Interrogation, astrological, 179
Intolerance *See* Persecution
Invasions, 43–44, 65–80, 91–93, 106, 159–162, 188, 217–230, 328–329, 414–415, 611–615
Inventions, 33, 88, 144–145, 191, 237–240, 449, 551, 658, 662–663
Investiture struggle, 288–289, 291, 293–295, 302
Iona, 132, 134, 221
Ipswich, 514
Iran, 48, 67
Iraq, 174
Ireland, 111, 132, 134, 148, 150, 213, 221, 227, 215, 278, 281, 442, 454, 468, 471, converted, 121, 123, England and, 393, 638
Irene, empress, 187, 210
Irish Channel, 223
Irish monks, 132–135, 150–151, 423
Irish, Old, 132
Irnerius, 424
Iron, mining of, 519, 521, scarcity of, 36, utensils, 173, working of, 25, 145, 151; wrought, 171, 484
Iron age, 34
Isaac Israeli, 176, 684
Isabel of Bavaria, 666
Isabella of Castile, 576, 630–631, 664
Isaiah, 652
Isauria, Isaurian, 75, 84, 186
Isidore of Seville, 150
Isidoriana, 284
Isis, 47
Islam, 157–159, 192; conquests of, 159–162, 615, divided, 322, losses of, to Christendom, 323–325, 340, to Mongols, 415
Istria, 189, 459
Italian Lakes, 599
Italian language and literature, 656, 662, 667
Italy, 3, 9, 32, Roman, 14, 16–17, 27, 45, 51–52, 71, under barbarian rule, 74–75, 114, 119, Byzantine, 136, 187, 211, Lombard, 199, Frankish, 202, 215, ecclesiastical, 123, 126, 287, 565, feudal,

267–268, 270, in tenth century, 421–422, Norman, 322–323, 331, 363–364, 368, empire and, 292–294, 371–373, 598, papacy and, 374–375, 563–564, 569–571, 578, cities of, 302–311, 320–321, 331, 511, later medieval, 580–592, northern, 469, and *see also* Lombardy, central, 488, southern, 10, 45, 88, 125, 185–186, 190, 217, 228, 402, 426, 615, 686, commercial, 247, 637, 643, industrial, 520, nautical, 419, 510, influence of, in Hungary, 615, in Russia, 608, art in, 492, 503, 505, education in, 435, 537, 651, humanism in, 659–661, literature in, 475–476, manuscripts in, 463, science in, 443, 448, 654–655, decline of, 542
Itinerant justices, 383
Itineraries, Roman, 115
Ius gentium, 426
Ivan III, 601, 608, 611
Ivory, 632, carving, 194, 484, 666

Jacob Baradaeus, 119
Jacobite sect, 119, 171, 177
Jacquemart Gelée, 477
Jacquerie, 553–554
Jacques de Molai, 410
Jacques Pantaléon, 374
Jagello, 607
Jagellon dynasty, 607–608
James the Apostle, 248
James I, of Aragon, 325
James de Cessolis, 467
James of Voragine, 467
Janiculum hill, 26
Janizaries, 611
Japan, 171
Jativa, 239–240
Java, 417
Jayme III, of Majorca, 588
Jean de Jandun, 565
Jean le Loup, 504
Jean de Meun, 477
Jean de Murs, 458
Jean d'Orbais, 504
Jeanne d'Arc, 559–561
Jeanne de France, 654
Jenghiz Khan, 414
Jerome, Saint, 69, 121, 123–124, 127, 139, 142, 144
Jerome of Prague, 571–572
Jerusalem, 106, 160, 163, 322, 482, fall of, 59, 117, Patriarch of, 126, 169, 374, crusades and, 330, 334–339, 367–368, 371–372
Jester, 566
Jesuit, 686
Jesus Christ, 55–59, 103–104, 117, 119, 142, 185, 565; date of birth, 143, quoted, 332
Jetons, 686
Jews, 55, 58–59, 114–115, 142, 149, and Islam, 156–157, 159, 161, 170, 172, 176, 180, in the East, 196, in the West, 318, 327, 391, 399, 416, 453, 509, 534, 648, 683–684, expelled, 511, 631, persecuted, 58, 404, 547
Joan of Arc, 559–561
Joanna I, 588
Joanna II, 588–589
Jobst, 597
Johannitius, 174
John X, pope, 229
John XXI, 176, 452
John XXII, 440, 550, 565, 568
John XXIII, 571, 574, 671
John, king of England, 351, 360–362, 386–388, 393, 398–399, 552
John II of France, 548–549, 552, 554, 557
John II of Aragon, 589
John, king of Bohemia, 581
John II of Portugal, 633
John of Cappadocia, 85, 94
John of Damascus, 163, 192
John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, 557–558
John of Florence, Franciscan general, 439
John of Florence, papal envoy, 418
John of Gaeta, 136
John of Gaunt, 555–557, 567–568, 627
John of Legnano, 588
John of Monte Corvino, 417–418
John Moschus, 189
John Peckham, 448–449
John de Plano Carpini, 417
John of Rupescissa, 459–460, 568
John of Sacrobosco, 446–447
John of Salisbury, 427
John the Scot, 213
John of Seville, 431
Jonas, a monk, 149
Jongleur, 478
Jordan the Catalan, 418
Jordanus Nemorarius, 447, 654
Journeyman, 515–516, 641
Joyous Entry, 553
Jubilee, papal, 408, 564
J.U.D., 426, 438
Judaism, 55, 159 *See also* Jews
Judas, 482
Judea, 59
Julian, emperor, 54, 146
Juliers, 76
Julius Valerius, 144
Junker, 647
Jura mountains, 4, 599
Jurés, 319
Jury, 208, 384–385, 627, 629
Justiciar, 361
Justification by faith, 37
Justin, 85, 93, 95
Justinian, 84–98, 104–105, 112, 482
Justinian II, 186, 188

Jutes, 73–74
Juvenal, 49, 55

Kaaba, 157, 159
Kalmar, 607
Karakorum, 417
Kardaja, 458
Kemmerich, cited, 496
Kempten, abbot of, 648
Kent, 74, 111, 131, 221–222
Kepler, 687
Khagan. *See* Khan
Khalid, 160
Khan, 66, 93, 106; Great, 67, 414–418
Khazars, 196
Kiev, 195, 226, 414, 507, 607
King of the Romans, 603
King's Bench, 384
Kingship, early German, 40, after the invasions, 70, 72, 92, 104, 109–113, 115, 126, 148, anointed, 198–199, 273, Scandinavian, 219, in Russia, 226; feudal, 265–266, Anglo-Saxon, 222, 278–280, English, 280–281, 382–392, 628–629; Capetian, 272–273, 315, 396–411; later French, 552, 554, 622–627, 645–647, in Spain, 630–631, in central Europe, 650; sought by Burgundy, 620; elective, 416; universities and, 435–436
Knight, W. S M, cited, 682
Knighthood, 252, 261, 263, 298, 303, 305, 469, 678 *See also* Knights
Knights, crusading, 324, 331; 401, English, 384–385, 388–389, 392; French, 544–545, 623; German, 648; Burgundian, 618, robber, 259–260, 477, 594, 642 *See also* Military Orders; Teutonic Knights, etc
Knights of Dobrzin, 601
Knights of the Round Table, 476
Knowledge, fields of, 680
Königsberg, 655
Koran, 156–158, 170, 173–174, 181, 337, 432
Korea, 171
Kosovo, 612
Krafft-Ebing, cited, 546
Kublai Khan, 415
Kumanian, 414
Kumiz, 66

Labor, ancient, 25, 80–81; Byzantine, 190; medieval, 248, 516, 555; agricultural, 548, 551, 555, 629, 647–648, forced, 113, 190, 238, 242, 245, 647, hired, 639; hours of, 517
Labor-saving devices, 235, 240
Laborers, Statute of, 551
Labrador, 226
La Cité, 317
Laconia, 188
Ladislas I, 573, 603
Ladislas II, 574, 603–605, 615
Ladner, quoted, 187
Lady Chapel, 501
Lagny, 248
La Hogue, 544
Laity, 347–350, 360, 442, 478, 563, 568, 572, 574, lay teachers, 536–537
Lambert of Hersfeld, 423
Lamp, 100
Lancaster, House of, 556–557, 620, 627–628
Land system, 18, 29, 43, 51, 80, 678, early German, 34–36, after the invasions, 72, 76, 82, 88, 115; and allotments, 18, 36, 89, 110, 115, 166, 198, 250–251, 280, 324, church and, 60, 125, 287, 391, monastic, 130–131, 299, Byzantine, 105, 186, 188, 190, Moslem, 163, Frankish, 109–110, 197, 206, 208–209, in German East, 326–327, in Scandinavia, 606; in England, 392, 629, in Low Countries, 617, Florentine, 591, late medieval, 622, 647–650 *See also* Agriculture, Feudalism, Serfdom
Landgrave, 594
Landscape, 506, 673
Lanfranc, 423
Langland, 470, 548 *See also Vision of Piers the Ploughman*
Langton, Stephen, 361–362
Language, 49, 115, 454, 466–469, 609, Anglo-Saxon, 74, 111, 223, 382, 468–470; Basque, 3, 110, 275, boundary between French and German, 77, 273, between German and Slavic, 327, Bulgarian, 91; English, 382, 393, 466, 470, German in Italy, 80; Indo-European, 2, 43, 92, Italian, 480, Romance, 138, 188, 227, 266, 275–276, 312, 411–413, 469, 479, 486, Slavonic, 194; Spanish, 152, 171, 519, vernacular, 536. *See also* Arabic language, Celtic language; Greek language, Latin language, Translations
Languedoc, 275, 348, 351–352, 399, 402, 469, 556, 627
Langue d'oc, 469
Langue d'oil, 469
Lanzarotto Malocello, 419
Laon, 220, 282, 429, 498, 556; commune of, 314–315; bishopric of, 345, 374
Lapps, Lapland, 3, 325
La Rochelle, 554
Las Siete Partidas, 479
"Last judgment," in art, 481, 484, 496, 505, 675
Lateen sail, 191
Lateran, 135, 200, 289–290 *See also* Council, church
Latin Empire, 367, 582, 610
Latin language, literature, and learning, 14, 30, 34, 43, 49, 72, 305, 427, 535–536, 566, and *see also* Grammar; at Con-

stantinople, 89, 97, in German kingdoms, 112, 148–151, vulgar, 138, rude, 140, barbarous, 312, neglected, 170–171, improved, 213, new textbooks in, 147; ecclesiastical, 138–139, 194, 342–343, medieval, 139, 421–423, 466–467, 480, in Poland, 417, in towns, 312, 509, and vernaculars, 662 *See also* Humanism
Latitude and longitude, 180
Latvia, 171
Laudanum, 442
Laundry, 517, 519, 529–531
Laura, 656
Laurentian Portolano, 419
Law, Anglo-Saxon, 113, 251, 527, later Byzantine, 187–188, Canon, 123–124, 296, 426, 439–440, 461, customary, 40, 42, 187, 426, 598, redaction of, in France, 627, English Common, 299, 383–384, 629, feudal, 281–282, Frankish, 206–208, German, 34, 41–43, 112–114, 205, 426, international, 140, manorial, 319, maritime, 303, Merchant, 319–320, mining, 609, modern, 320, Mosaic, 426, Moslem, 181, 426, municipal, 319–320, 426, 461, of nature, 20–21, 46, 426, 577, Polish, 607, Roman, 20–21, 43, 52–53, 59, 112, codified under Justinian, 96–97, decline of, 81, 113, retention of, 275, 295, 383, revival of, 306, 383, 397, 424–426, 460–461, 605, royal, 282, Russian, 415, sources of, 426, Spanish, 479, 630, testamentary, 42, 295, Venetian, 585
Law schools, 98, 437–438, 542, 656, 658
Law-speaker, 41
Lawsuit, 643
Lawyer's fee, 96, 426
Layamon, 393
Laying on of hands, 350
Lea, quoted, 350
League, Italian, 590, local, 406, Swiss, 599, of cities, 556, 597–599, 607, of knights, 597; of nobles, 557, 607, 610 *See also* Hanseatic League, Lombard League
League of the Public Welfare, 625
League of Venice, 592
Learning, decline of, 148–149, 541, 612, enthusiasm for, 423, 427, 432
Leather, 638
Lechfeld, 230
Lecture, 437–438
Leech-Book of Bald and Cild, 223
Lefebvre des Noettes, 238, 453
Legal procedure, 372 *See also* Law
Legates, papal, 118, 289, 291, 298, 343–344, 351–352, 364, 366, 368, 387, 407–408, 536, 544, 566, 571, 581, 606, 613
Legend, 73, 422, 470, 472, 476 *See also* Alexander the Great, legend of
Legislation, 136, 139, local, 312–313, parliamentary, 551, 607, 609, royal, 207, 372, 391, sumptuary, 319
Legnano, 309
Lehnrecht, 282
Le Mans, 284, cathedral of, 499, 504, 518
Lemberg, 416
Lens, burning, 448, 655, magnifying, 178, 453
Lent, 203, 401
Leo III, emperor, 186–187, 199, 323
Leo V, 187
Leo VI, 187
Leo the Great, pope, 73, 118–119
Leo III, 211
Leo IX, 322
Leon, 168, 241, 276, 312, 323–325
Leonard of Bertipaglia, 654–655
Leonard of Pisa, 444
Leonardo da Vinci, 504, 666, 682
Leonardus Qualea, 632
Leoniceno, 654
Leprosy, 200, 355–356, 401, 517, 534
Lérida, 203
Les Baux, 313
Lèse majesté, 653
Letts, 92, 593, 601. *See also* Latvia
Letters, medieval instruction in writing, 466–467, of Catherine of Siena, 569, of crusaders, 329, of Gerbert, 422–423, papal, 125, 148, 201, 342, of Paston family, 629, of Petrarch, 656, of travelers in Asia, 415
Letters of credit, 341, 509
Lexicon *See* Dictionary
Libell of English Policy, 637–638
Liber diurnus, 136
Liber pontificalis, 135–136
Liber sextus, 439
Liberal arts, 145, 147
Liberty, early German, 38–40, Arabian, 155, 163–166, Norse, 219, of townsmen, 302, 313, 588, of Church, 359–360, lost, 550, 645, 678
Libraries, monastic, 130, 150, 463, of Caliph, 167–168, Arabic, 171, public and private, 463–465, royal, 554; papal, 578, at Urbino, 645
Libya, 27. *See also* Berbers, Moors
Licinius, 62
Liége, 248, 274, 345, 374, 618, 640, sacked, 645, bishopric of, 513, 556
Light, 457
Lille, 246, 477
Limburg, 617
Limes, 33
Limoges, 220, 247, 469
Limousin, 241, 276, 411, 469
Lincoln, 302, 390, 439, cathedral, 502–503
Lincolnshire, 459
Lindisfarne, 122, 132, 134
Lippert, J, 177

Lippi, Fra Lippo
Lisbon, 167, 248, 419, 633–634
Literacy, meaning of, 535
Literary criticism, 11–12, 148, 467, 657–658
Literature, classical, 10, 14, 72, 132; decline of, 49, early German, 34, 37; early Christian, 60–61, Persian, 91, patristic, 140, Byzantine, 191–192, medieval, 466–483, 547–548, 606, 662, modern, 213–214, 635, popular, 329–330, effect of printing on, 663
Lithuania, 92, 571, 601–603, 607–608
Liturgy, 47, 191, 194, 210, 422, 478, 680
Liutpold of Bavaria, 596
Liutprand, king of the Lombards, 199
Liutprand the Lombard, writer, 190, 423
Livonia, 601
Load-line, 508
Loan, forced, 311, 628
Loca, 508
Local autonomy, 108–109, 123, 196, 222, 316, 594
Local enterprise, 240, 266, 522, 527
Loches, 623
Lodging, 436
Lodi, 307
Logic, 11, 148, 427–428, 435, 536, 686 *See also* Dialectic
Loire river, 4, 73, 77, 128, 227, 275, 277, 313, 399, 413, 471, 477, 511, 549, 558, 664
Lollard, 568, 577
Loller, 548
Lollianus, 52
Lombard duchies, 270
Lombard League, 307–309, 372
Lombard Street, 510
Lombards, 32, 92, history of, 149; in Italy, 88, 93, 105, 108, 111, 124, 127, 186, 202, 251, 270, 274, laws of, 112–114, papacy and, 125, 200, as bankers, 404, 510, 638
Lombardy, 111, 189, 215, 229, 348, 357, 422, 511, 616; towns of, 302–309, 363, 366, 371–373, 542, Inquisition in, 353
London, 221, 244, 278, 302, 447, 510, 513, 531, 535, 555, 566, 600, 638–639, Cheapside, 548, Cornhill, 548, Steelyard, 600
Longbow, 545, 550
Longinus, 607
Longnon, editor, 209
Lords, House of, 389, 392, 406, 555
Lord's Prayer, 452
Lord's Supper, 57, 572
Lorraine, 215, 267, 274, 332, 380, 411, 519, 521, 547, 559, 620–621, 625
Lorsch, 201
Lotario de Segni. *See* Innocent III
Lot-drawing, 41 *See also* Election
Lothair, 207, 214–215
Lotharingia, 215, 267
Louis the Child, 229, 267
Louis-le-Débonnaire, 472
Louis the German, 215
Louis the Pious, 201, 207, 209–210, 212–215, 284
Louis II, son of Lothair, 229, 267
Louis IV, of Bavaria, emperor, 381, 565–566, 581, 596, 598
Louis V, of France, 270
Louis VI, 271–272, 277, 314–315, 399
Louis VII, 281, 297, 307, 337, 398–399
Louis VIII, 352, 399, 527, 534
Louis IX, 339, 352, 401–403, 407, 442, 453, 463
Louis X, 406, 549
Louis XI, 590, 620–621, 623–628, 645–647, 653
Louis XII, 592, 654
Louis the Great, of Hungary, 583, 607, 609–610
Louis of Orléans, 557–558, 581
Louvain, 641
Louvre, 664, 675
Love, 29, 72, 439, romantic, 473–475, 477, 480
Low Countries, 379, 513, 543, 577. *See also* Netherlands
Lowenstadt, 318
Lubeck, 318, 327, 515, 536, 538, 600, 606, 640
Luca della Robbia, 669
Lucca, 310, 511, 514, 547, 570, 586, 639
Lucerne, 599
Luchaire, quoted, 359
Lucian, 679
Lucifer, 482
Lucius, 47
Ludolph of Saxony, 568
Lull, Raymond, 418, 454, 655
Lullian art, 454
Lupus, 213
Lusatia, 615
Lute, 473
Luther, Martin, 577, 609, 658, 683
Lutterworth, 568
Luxemburg, duchy of, 617, House of, 381, 578, 596–597, 608
Luxeuil, 132, 134, 244
Lwow, 416
Lydgate, 662
Lyons, 350, 373, 375, 409, 517, 639, 642–643, 678

Mabillon, 463
Macdonald, D B, quoted, 158
Macedon, Macedonia, 12, 188, 476, 610, 612
Machiavelli, 454, 591–592, 661
Machicolation, 257
Machinery, 27, 235, 240, 681
Mâcon, 114, 411

Macrobius, 145
Madagascar, 417
Madeiras, 418–419, 633
Madonna, in art, 673–674
Maestlin, 686
Magdeburg, 328, 514–515
Magdeburg Centuries, 687
Magic, ancient, 30, 37, in Neo-Platonism, 48–49, 660, early medieval, 147, 225, Arabic, 180, in literature, 218, 470, 476, natural, 448, 460, 681–682, reputation for, 422, 432, 451, 481
Magna Carta, 362, 386–387, 391, 594
Magnet, 681
Magnus, 227
Magyar, 3, 67, 195–196, 217, 229–230, 267, 322, 414, 612
Main river, 34
Maine, 279, 360, 399, 402, 411, 626
Mainz, 269, 302, 318, 514, 662, archbishop of, 114, 381, cathedral, 491, council, 213
Maior or Mayor, 208
Major domus, 197
Majorca, 454, 542, 588, 648
Majorian, 81
Malabar coast, 418
Malacca, 632
Malaga, 168
Malaria, 45
Malatesta, Sigismondo, 590
Maldives, 418
Mâle, quoted, 525
Malocello, Lanzarotto, 419
Mamelukes, 415, 612
Mandonnet, cited, 449
Manfred, 373
Mani, Manichaeism, 48, 140, 188, 350
Maniera greca, 505
Manor, 208–209, 238, 240–242, 522, break-up of, 548
Mansus, 241
Mantegna, 672–673
Mantes, 317
Mantua, 307, 580, 669, 673
Manuel I, 366
Manuscripts, Anglo-Saxon, 223; Greek, 463–465, 585, 659, 679, Irish, 132, 134, copying of, 120, 129, 429–430, 437, 463–464, 577, 656, dealers in, 172, 519, early, 146, illuminated, 122, 132, 151, 181, 504, 525, 547, 597 666, illustrated, 239, noted, 121–122, 136; numerous, 145, 424, 462, 479, of the classics, 213, searched for, 174, 422, 657, sole, 98, 443–445, 469, 566, and printed books, 663
Manzikert, 328
Map, 418–420, 633–634
Marcel, Étienne, 552–554
Marcellus Empiricus, 146
March *See* Mark
Marche, 557
Marciac, 313
Marco Polo, 415–417, 451, 631
Marcomanni, 43
Marcus Aurelius, 43, 46, 50, 62
Mare, Peter de la, 555
Margaret of Burgundy, 626
Margaret of York, 620
Margrave, 205, 269, 594
Maria of Sicily, 589
Marianus Scotus, 423
Marienburg, 603
Maries, three, 478
Marignolli, Giovanni de', 418
Mark, 203, 205, 220, 230, 269, 276
Mark of Toledo, 431
Market, 15, 238, 242–244, 311–312, 316, 318, 327, 399, 513, 526, 637, 647
Marmora, Sea of, 89
Marne river, 271
Marriage, alliance by, 75, 88, 198, 203, 212, 226, 272–274, 323–324, 338, 363, 371, 373, 380, 401–402, 404, 556–558, 581, 588–590, 596, 603, 607, 609, 611, 620, 623, 626, 628, 630, clerical, 198, 286–287, 291, early German, 38, feudal, 252, 261, 384, 399, 473, 594, forbidden, 263, 282, 600, imperial, 68, 70–71, 196, of Columbus, 633, outside the manor, 242, peasant, 647, sacrament of, 295, 346, scholastic, 461, servile, 522, shunned, 123 *See also* Intermarriage
Mars, 37
Marseilles, 104, 121, 338, 447, growth of, 243, government of, 313, 640, trade of, 371, 510, 639
Marsiglio of Padua, 565
Marsilius d'Inghen, 651
Martène, 463
Martianus Capella, 145, 679
Martin V, pope, 571, 574–575
Martin, king of Sicily, 589
Martin of Tours, Saint, 120–122, 148–149, 220
Martini, Raymond, 453
Martyrs, 56, 58, 60, 117, 119, 142, 187, 227, 298, 422, 572
Mary of Bethany, 56
Mary of Burgundy, 620–621, 626
Mary of Hungary, 609
Marzocco, 669
Masaccio, 666–667
Masonry, Roman, 21, Gothic, 493
Mass, 261, 346–347, 438, for dead, 149, 301, 347, 350, 567; price of, 649
Massari, 509
Massif central, 77, 275, 312
Masterpiece, 516, 641
Maternus, see Firmicus
Mathematics, Greek, 13, 178; fourth century, 144–145; Arabic, 178–179, medieval Latin, 422–423, 441, 444–448, 456–458, 607, 632, 655, 683

Matilda of England, 281, 295
Matilda of Tuscany, 292, 310, 364
Matins of Bruges, 404
Matthew Paris, 467
Matthias Corvinus, 574, 603, 613–615, 661
Mauretania, 71, 87, 161
Maurice, 105, 126
Mavortius, 52
Maxentius, 23
Maximilian, 590, 592, 598, 603–605, 620–621, 626
Maximus the Confessor, 185
Mayence *See* Mainz
Mayor of the Palace, 197–198
Mayor, of a town, 313–314, 646–647
Maypole, 37
Mazdaism, 91
Measurement, 655. *See also* Instruments
Meaux, 271, 274, 472, 514
Mecca, 155–157, 159, 163, 633
Mechanics, 654
Mecklenburg, 327, 600, 606
Medieval Academy, 285
Medici, Cosimo de', 586, 660, 668–669
Medici, House of, 592
Medici, Lorenzo de', 586, 590, 645, 660, 662
Medici, Piero de', 590–591
Medicine, Greek, 12–13, 30, 98, late Roman and Byzantine, 146–147, 192; Arabic, 176–177; Anglo-Saxon, 223, other western, 127, 144, 424, 435, 437–438, 449–452, 547, 655, 679, 684–686, clinical, 461
Medina, 157, 159, 163, 633
Mediterranean race, 2, 43, 275
Mediterranean Sea, 3, 9, 26, 45, 168, 175, 235, 416, control of, 162, 183, 219, crossed, 510; eastern, 12, law of, 320; maps of, 419–420; declining importance of, 615–616, 635
Meier, 208
Meissen, 230
Melanchthon, 683
Melk, 576
Melrose Abbey, 433
Membri, 379
Menander, 10, 14
Mendicant Friars *See* Friars
Mendips, 519
Meran, 259
Mercenaries, 94, 281, 322, 330, 375, 397, 544, 549, 553, 581, 610–611, 615, 623, 627, 649, 671
Merchants, feudal, 259–260, 264, 387; foreign, 114, 159, 190–191, 327, 391, 507, 513; Italian, 545; native, 244–245, 350, 376, 552, 609, 629, Venetian, 311, 415–417
Mercia, 111, 221, 279
Mercury, 37
Mérida, 173
Merle, William, 459
Merlin, 451, 476
Merovingians, 109, 113–114, 148–149, 151, 198
Merseburg, 423
Mersen, Treaty of, 215
Meschinot, 645
Mesopotamia, 52, 98, 106, 121, 146, 160, 612
Messina, 228
Mesta, 519
Mesue, 176
Metals, drain of precious, 45, seven, 459, workers in, 518, Hanseatic trade in, 601 *See also* Gold, Iron, etc.
Meteorology, 459, 654, 680
Methodius, 194
Methusaleh, 140
Metz, 73, 501, 642
Meuse, 77
Meyerhof, Max, 178
Michael III, 101, 190
Michael of Cesena, 565
Michael Scot, 370, 432–433
Michelangelo, 675
Middle class *See* Bourgeoisie, Town
Middleman, 598
Middlesex, 74
Midwife, 647
Miesko, prince, 230
Migration, folk, 34–35, 43–44, 67–68, 71–75, 79, 91–93, 108, 110, 115, 132, 188, 221, 328; free peasant, 649–650, university, 436
Milan, 54, 73, 306–307, 371–372, 542, 580–581, 583, 590–592, 620, 656–658, 683, archbishop of, 88, 95, 377; cathedral, 664–665; education in, 140, 536
Milec of Kromeriz, 568
Military Orders, 324, 328, 337, 340, 601, 630, 632
Military service, 245, 250–253, 263–264, 280, 653 *See also* Army
Mills, hand, 25, 239; ship, 88, 239, water, 26, 172, 239, 254, 260, 453, 520, 522, 642 *See also* Windmill
Millers, 239
Mines, Mining, 81, 105, 516, 519, 548, 622, 638, 645, gold, 609; iron, 519, 521, silver, 327
Miniatures, 484, 504, 666
Ministeriales, 34, 255, 282, 291
Minnesinger, 475
Minorites *See* Franciscans
Minorities, of rulers, 68, 269, 273–274, 289, 291, 364, 387–388, 396–397, 399–401, 555–556, 558, 573. *See also* Wardship
Minstrels, 478
Mints. *See* Coinage
Miracles, 27, 55, 73, 120, 149, 329–330, 422, 559

Miracle play, 478
Miran Mirza, 612
Missal, 213
Missi, 206
Missionaries, 56–57, 74, 95, 104, 106, 119, 121, 123, 127, 131, 134–135, 194, 198, 356, 415, 417–418, 454
Mistra, 611
Mithra, Mithraism, 47, 60–61
Moat, 256
Model Parliament, 389
Modena, 308, 546, 581, 669
"Moderns," scholastic philosophers, 653
Mohammed, 106, 155–159, 162
Mohammed II, 613–615
Molai, Jacques de, 410
Moldavia, 92, 610
Mombasa, 634
Momigliano, cited, 686
Monachism, 120, 123
Monasteries, 121, 127–135, 150, 200, 209–210, 285, architecture of, 664, in Bologna, in 1496, 641, decline of, 678, destroyed, 221, 229, 277, 572, 574, Greek, 121, as lords, 317, papacy and, 344, representatives of, in Estates General, 405, schools attached to, 423, 429, 435, 438, 442 *See also* Cluny, etc
Monasticism, 120–123, 127–135, 209–210, 285, abuses of, 360, effect of Black Death on, 547, humanism and, 514, 658, 661, reform of, 568, 576, of twelfth century, 299, 327–328 *See also* Cluny, etc.
Money, at papal court, 343; bequest of, 363; as fief, 253; forbidden to Franciscans, 356, increased use of, 238, 242, 260, 314–315, 341, 344, 399, 407, 637, as rent, 326, 649, scarcity of, 252
Money changer or lender, 27, 244, 315, 378, 509–510, 513, 550, 642
Mongols, 67, 414–417, 609–613, 631
Monks, 114, 120–123, 127–135, 150, 187, 209–210, 223, 244, 285, 299; as writers, 198, 423, 467, 469, 499
Monnier, cited, 541
Monod, quoted, 143
Monophysite, 84, 94–95, 119, 185, 187
Monopoly, 638
Mons Meg, 550
Monsters, 140, 442, 470; in art, 497
Montaigne, cited, 646
Montaigu, castle of, 282
Montaigu, Collège de, 654
Mont Cenis pass, 308
Monte Cassino, 127–128, 424
Montenegro, 368
Montesquieu, quoted, 32
Montferrat, county of, 270, marquisate of, 366, 580
Montfort *See* Simon de Montfort
Montlhéry, 625
Montpellier, 325, 359, 411, 511, 542, 552, university of, 438, 462, 679, 684, 686
Moors, 27, 32, 44, 72, 87, 170, in Spain, 276, 630
Morality, Moralizing, 30, 38, Christian, 55, 58, 81–82, 135, 141–142, 209–210, 442, 467, 480, 541, 592, 656
Morality play, 422
Morat, 621
Moravia, 327, 380, 416, 615
Moravian sect, 574
More, *Utopia*, 661
Morea, 367, 608, 611, 639
Morgante, 662
Morgarten, 599
Morin, Dom, 144
Morocco, 87, 163
Morris, William, quoted, 528–529
Mosaic, 23, 28, 71, 85, 101–104, 145, 151, 173, 194, 488
Moscow, 414, 608
Moselle, 61, 114, 240, 620, 642
Moslems, 178, 218, 248, 531, and Christian, 160–161, 432, in Spain, 166–167, 630–631, in Syria, 337, 610–611, in Far East, 635 *See also* Saracens
Mosque, 163–166, 168, 172–173, 613, 615
Mosquito, 45, 171
Mosul, 171
Mother-goddess, 47
Motion, concepts of, 456–458
Mountains, of Europe, 3–4; of Spain, 323
Mount Sinai, 632
Mozambique, 634
Muller, Johann, 655
Mummeries, 478
Mundinus, 462, 683
Mundus, 94
Munich, 244, 318
Municipalities, Roman, 16; decline of, 50 70, 81, 110, survival, 63, 110–111
Munster, 244, 530
Murad I, 612
Murad II, 613
Musa ibn Nusair, 161
Museum, 15, 151, 194, 227, 262, 485, 528, 613
Music, 92, 148, 458, 460, 479, 536, 670, church, 127, 475, 566, Moslem, 171, troubadour, 475, popular, 548, 645
Muslimin, 157
Mystery play, 422, 478, 518, 647
Mysticism, 48, 191, 439, 563, 568, 660
Mythology, Greek, 10, 15, 46, 60, 63, 132, 141, 145, 657, 661, Norse, 37, 470 *See also* Legend, Tradition

Näfels, 599
Nallino, editor, 178
Namur, 248, 645
Nancy, 621
Nantes, 643

Naples, 114, 125, 202, 217, 226, 302, 497, 510, 542, 569–570, kingdom of, 375, 542, 570–571, 581, 588–592, 609, 626, 639, university of, 370, 435, 445
Napoleon, 598
Narbonne, 70, 162, 275–276, 407, 510, 517, 565, 571
Narses, 85, 88, 92, 94, 112
Narthex, 103, 151
"Nation," in Brussels, 640; at Council of Constance, 571, in universities, 435, 547, 609
Nationalism, disregarded, 214, 266, feeling of, 227, 362, 375, 563, 572, 603, 605, growth of, 382–393, 409, 562, 621, self-interest and, 578, 615, 637–638
Nativity, astrological, 179
Natural place, 456
Nature, defined, 685, in art, 497, 504, 666, 669, in literature, 470–471, 474, 477, 548, law of, 20–21, secrets of, 681, study of, *see* Science
Naudé, Gabriel, cited, 683
Navarre, 218, 276, 324–325, 475, 630
Navas de Tolosa, 325, 368
Nave, 103, 487–491, 500–501, 503–504, 664
Navigation, ancient, 8, 25, 36, Byzantine, 191, laws, 508, of ocean, 616, 633
Navy, Anglo-Saxon, 221, armed merchant, 508, Byzantine, 84, 106, 229, Castilian, 554, English, 544, French, 513, 544, 550, 554; Hanseatic, 600, imperial, 69, of Italian cities, 189–190, 243–244, 302, 331, 334, 366, 371, 378, 418, 580, 582, 589, Moslem, 160, 228–229, Vandal, 71
Nebuchadnezzar, 120
Neckam, Alexander, 441–442
Necromancy, 180
Negro, 310, 418, 632, 654
Nemours, duke of, 625–626
Neo-Platonism, 11, 18, 140, 145, 660
Nepotism, papal, 407, 409
Nerac, 162
Nestorians, 119, 171, 187, 415
Nestorius, 119
Netherlands, 513, 544, 617
Neustria, 109, 135, 162, 198, 215, 267
Nevers, 532, 557
Neville's Cross, 545
New England, 226
Newfoundland, 226, 633
New World, 634
Nibelungenlied, 34, 37, 73, 201, 470
Nicaea, councils of, 1, 54, 62, 210, and crusades, 333, 611
Niccola Pisano, 497, 532
Niccolò de Comitibus, 459
Niccolò da Reggio, 431
Niccolò da Uzzano, 671
Nicolas II, pope, 289–290, 322
Nicholas V, 576, 578, 661
Nicholas of Cusa, 575, 598, 653, 655
Nicholson, R A , quoted, 155
Nicolas of Lyra, 453
Nicolas Oresme *See* Oresme
Nicomedia, 54, 367, 611
Nicopolis, 610, 612–613
Niger river, 418
Nika riot, 94, 98
Nile, 183, 632, delta, 339, upper, 91, 418
Nîmes, 79, 647
Nimrod, 661
Nisibis, 98
Noah, 140; in art, 236, in literature, 478
Nobility, 38, 40–42, 82, 110–111, 124, 127, 342, 345, 480, Anglo-Saxon, 222, Bohemian, 572–574, Carinthian, 649, crusading, 331–332, 340, English, 387, 391–392, 627–629, feudal, 238, 253–255, 260–261, 263, 270–271, 273–276, 278, 281–282, 284–285, 287, 296, 359, 362, 371–373, 398, 401–402, 405, 551, 555, 557, Frankish, 197–198, 205–206, French, 622–626, 646, German, 290–292, Hungarian, 615, Moslem, 163–168, new, 115, Spanish, 630, town, 303, 378–379, 585, 587
Nocera, 570
Nogaret, 408–409
Nogent-sous-Coucy, 282
Nola, 145
Nomad, 32, 35, mounted, 65–67, 79, 217, 322, 328, 414–417, 611, 615–616
Nominalism, 428, 653–654
Nomisme, 190
Norbert of Prémontré, 299, 328
Nordlingen, 529
Norfolk, 74
Noricum, 43, 73–74, 88, 121
Normandy, 208, 220, 227, 239, 241, 245, 250, 255, 265, 274, 277, 281, 298, 332, 360, 363, 399, 402, 411, 453, 523–524, 537, 557–558, 561, 625, 627
Normans, conquests of, 228, 278, 289, 382, 470, establish kingdom in Sicily and southern Italy, 290, 292–293, 306–307, 322–323, 332
Norse. *See* Northmen
North Cape, 223
North Mark, 326
North Sea, 4, 36, 73, 76, 219, 279, 515, 519, 601, 617
Northeast passage, 633
Northmen, 203, 206, 217–228, 278, 322, 419, 467–468, 470–471
Northumbria, 111, 132, 134, 221, 279
Norway, 4, 219, 221, 227, 273, 278–279, 593, 600–601, 606
Norwich, 514, bishop of, 361; cathedral, 489, 491
Notary, 95, 114, 190, 588; registers of, 511
Notitia dignitatum, 63
Notker Labeo, 469

Notre-Dame, cathedral of, 505
Nova Scotia, 226
Novara, 447, 581
Novella, 662
Novels, of Justinian, 97, 426, of Leo the Wise, 188
Novgorod, 196, 226–227, 415, 593, 600–601, 608
Noyon, 314
Nubia, 418
Numbers, Book of, 69
Numbers, mystic significance of, 97, 111
Numerals, Greek, 14, Roman, 509, Hindu-Arabic, 179–180, 423, 444
Numidia, 71
Nuns, 124, 356, 360, 418, rule for, 121
Nurnberg, 97, 291, 515, 518, 524, 529, 593, 597, 641, 644, 655
Nymwegen, 273

Oars, use of, 508
Oath, legal, 41, 207, 211, 595, of allegiance, 211, 280, 292, 309, 362, conformity, 654, fealty, 294, 333, 359
Oats, 33
Occult science, 431, 451, 687
Occult virtue, 149, 452
Occupations: ancient, 29, monastic, 121, at Bagdad, 172, at Florence, 379, other medieval, 514–515, 518–519, 641–642
Ockham *See* William of Ockham
Oder river, 3, 230, 326, 416, 468
Odo, count, 220
Odoacer, 74–75, 119
Odofredus, 437
Office, sale of, 96, 287, 374, 564, term of, 585–587
Official, ceremonial or household, 205, 252, 267, 272, 281, 594
Ogier the Dane, 472
Oil painting, 673
Oise river, 271
Olaf, Saint, 227
Oligarchy, 586–587, 639–640
Olive oil, 27, 173
Olivi, 457
Ollioules, 533
Olmutz, Peace of, 615
Oman, quoted, 550
Omar, 163
Omar Khayyam, 179
Omniads, 163, 201
Ontological argument, 429
Opium, 452
Oporto, 324
Optics, 178, 448–449
Oracle, 141
Orange, 313, 473
Orator, 657
Ordeal, 41, 42, 385, forbidden, 354, 372
Ordination, 346
Oresme, Nicolas, 457, 460, 682
Organ, pipe, 423
Oribasius, 146
Orient, ancient, 10, 14
Origen, 59, 69
Orkneys, 132, 221, 278
Orleanists, 557
Orléans, 73, 104, 213, 247, 271, 411, 625, duchess of, 646, siege of, 558–559, university of, 646
Ormond, Earl of, 638
Ormuz, 416, 418
Orosius, 141–142, 223
Orphans, 356, 513, school for, 172
Or San Michele, 669
Ortolanus, 459
Oslo, 217
Osma, 354
Ostrogoth *See* Goth, East
Other-worldliness, 481
Otranto, 114, 615
Otto I, emperor, 229–230, 267–268, 270, 422
Otto II, 270, 422
Otto III, 241, 270, 422
Otto IV, 360, 364–365, 588
Otto of Freising, 305, 467
Ottocar II, 379–380, 609
Ottomans *See* Turks
Outlawry, 42, 113, 407
Overlordship, 609, Byzantine, 87, 196, Capetian, 396, 399, of Charlemagne over pope, 211, English, 205, 393, feudal, 254, 265, 273, 474, Frankish, 108–109, imperial, 268, 325, papal, 359, 362, 364, 387, 406
Ovid, 660
Oviedo, 276
Ox, 109, 127, 237–238
Oxford, 302, 459, 550, university of, 148, 435, 439, 447, 454–455, 567–568, 651
Oxfordshire, 241
Oxus basin, 93

Pachomius, 120–121
Padua, 240, 307, 310, 378, 449, 497, 542, 580, 582, 653, 656, 669–670, university of, 435, 449, 461, 655, 679, 685–686
Paganism, 63, 69, 79, 141, 432, 439, legislated against, 95, 98, revival of, 661
Page, feudal, 261, 623
Pagus, 63
Pahlavi, 91
Pain, 30, 218
Painting, early Christian, 60, early medieval, 130, 145, Persian, 181, Byzantine, 194, 505; Gothic, 504–506, 643, mural, 484, 547, Quattrocento, 666, 672–676 *See also* Manuscript, illuminated
Palace, Vandal, 72, of Theodoric, 75–76, Frankish, 109, and *see* Mayor of the Palace, Byzantine, 93, 98, 191, 195,

197, Moslem, 171, imperial, 200, 270, 273, 306, papal, 229, 408, 564, 569, 664, Gothic, 622, 667, Renaissance, 667, for humanists, 669, school, 212–213, 422
Palatinate of the Rhine, 270, 381, 597
Palazzo Bevilacqua, 665
Palazzo della Ragione, 309–310
Palazzo del Re Enzio, 373
Palazzo Riccardi, 668
Palermo, 175, 228–229, 323, 461
Palestine, 55, 106, 114, 128, 189, 271, 330, 338, 357, 474, 511, 569, 601, 673. *See also* Jerusalem
Palissy, 682
Pallium, 343–344
Palma, 637
Palos, 634
Pamiers, 408
Pampeluna, 248
Pandects, 97
Panegyric, 76, 139
Pannonia, 43, 88–89, 93, Upper, 52
Pantheon, 24, 186
Pantomime, 49, 75, 86
Paolo di Negro, 633
Papacy, 62–63, 73, 75, 84, 88, 117–119, 123–124, Justinian and, 94–95, under Gregory the Great, 125–126, 131, after Gregory the Great, 134–136, 143, 169, 183, 185–187, Carolingians and, 198–200, 209–211, 284, and Empire, 288–289, 291–294, 306–309, 370–375, 480, and Norman conquest, 278, and Cluny, 285, and Becket, 297–298, increased power of, 299–300, 323; fiefs from, 322, 324, and crusades, 330–333, 337, 340, 573, 612, and Aragon, 394, and England, 388–389, 551–552, and France, 272, 402, 406–410, 622–623, and Florence, 480, and Italy, 583, 590–592, and Joan of Arc, 561; and universities, 436, and humanism, 656–657, 661; arbitration by, 545; at Avignon, 563–568; during Schism and Conciliar movement, 569–578, resisted, 563, revenue, 374, 510, unreformed, 577–578, 591; vacant, 373, 414. *See also* Innocent III
Papal absolution, 297 *See also* Indulgence
Papal bull, 294, 407–408, 568, 571
Papal *curia*, 342–343, 466. *See also* Court, papal
Papal infallibility, 290
Papal primacy, 565
Papal singers, 114
Papal States, 200, 564–565, 569, 571, 575, 580–581, 588, 658
Paper, 172, 239–240, 453, 520, 622, 642
Papinian, 20
Pappus, 145
Papyrus, 105, 114, 150, 162
Paracelsus, 684
Paradise, 426, 482
Parchment, 145, 151, 162
Paris, 73, 109, 209, 247, 271–272, 447, 472, 544, 576, Capetian, 317, 397, 399, 411, cathedral, 496, 504–505, count of, 220, 270, during Hundred Years War, 544, 557–558, 561, 656, Hôtel-Dieu, 535, industries of, 518, schools, 536, south of, 647, trade, 511, university of, 266, 342, 361, 425, 427, 429, 435–439, 445, 448, 453–454, 462–463, 547, 565–566, 570, 576–577, 606, 646, 651, 653–654, 683, revolution in, 553–554, 556, in decline, 543
Parish, 254, 286, 345, 536, 566, 568, 623, 647, register, 546
Parlamento, 304, 311, 319, 388
Parlamentum, 533
Parlement, 388, 397, 402, 554, 627, 646, 653, 683
Parliament, 318, 386–392, 408, 519, 551–552, 555–557, 566–568, 627–629, 638, 643
Parma, 307, 525, 542, 581
Parsifal, 476
Parthenon, 615
Parthia, 43, 52
Partition of fiefs, 254, 263, 399
Partnership, 25, 507
Party strife, 94, 304, 314, 366, 375, 378–379, 480
Paschal II, 293
Passion play, 642
Paston Letters, 629
Pasture rights, 237, 241
Patarin, 348
Patriarch, 63, 126
"Patrician of the Romans," 211, 306, 310
Patricians in towns, 317, 319, 639–640
Patrick, Saint, 121, 123
Patrimony of Saint Peter, 365–366
Patriotism, classical, 47, Venetian, 585
Patristic Literature *See* Church Fathers
Patron saints, 301, 518, 521
Patrons, 166, 319, of church, 286, 345, 388, of learning, art, and literature, 277, 376, 382, 388, 433, 479, 554, 578, 586, 588, 626, 663
Patzinak, 195, 328–329
Paul the Apostle, 56, 117, 213, 229, 577
Paul of Aegina, 146
Paul the Deacon, 149
Paul of Samosata, 58
Paul of Venice, 652, 654, 686
Paulician, 58, 188
Paulinus, Saint, 145
Paulus, jurist, 20
Pavement, cathedral, 450, 504 *See also* Streets
Pavia, 73, 152, 270, 307–309, 542; Council of, 288, university of, 426, 657–658
Payne, quoted, 223

Peace, Roman, 17, 21, 30, 46, early German, 35, 40, Christian, 55, 142, keeping the, 41, 264, 268, 272–273, 310, 385, 594, land, 380, of Constance, 309, world, 565, in Italy, 590
Pearl of Philosophy, 147
Peasants, ancient, 15, 51, 85, 88, Slav, 92, 230, Byzantine, 105, Bavarian, 108, Frankish, 208, Frisian, 274, feudal, 252–254, 260, other medieval, 238, 244, 260, 304, 332, 522–525, 537, 599, emancipation of, 240–242, rise of individual, 289, 462, 537, 559, fighting, 549, ideal, 548, outside walls, 376, 586, in Low Countries, 617, in later middle ages, 606–607, 648–650, Bohemian, 573–574; French, 622, 647; German, 647–648, Spanish, 631
Pecia, 463
Peckham, John, 448–449
Pecock, Reginald, 577
Pegolotti, 637
Peking, 414, 416–418
Peloponnesus, 611
Penance, 47, 126, 210, 277, 340, 347–348, 401, 531, by ruler, 291–292, 298–299; opposed, 565
Pendentive, 99, 101
Penitentials, 124, 135, 347
People, common, 17–18, 27, 114, 194, 313, 327, 375, 470, 478, 563, 570, 585, 605, 645, 678, and heresy, 348, 351; movements of, 573, piety of, 541, 577, revolts and riots of, 84, 93–94, 509, 556–557, 588, 613, 640, 642, sovereignty of, 565, writing for, 567–568
Pepin I, of Landen, 198
Pepin II, of Heristal, 198
Pepin III, 135, 162, 198–201, 213, donation of, 198, 200
Pepin V, 215
Pepin VI, 215
"Perfected," the, 350
Pericles, 27
Périgord, 276, 411, 550, 627
Périon, Joachim, 684
Pero de Covilhão, 633
Péronne, 247, 625
Perpendicular style, 503, 664
Perpignan, 459, 571
Perscrutator, 459
Persecution, of Christians, 56, 59–60, 72, 75, 140, 324; of Jews, 115, 159, 161; by Christians, 58, 60, 72, 75, 94, 351, 574, by Moslems, 159, 166–167, of science, 449
Persia, ancient, 10, 32, 35, 37, 47–48, 52, 62, 67, 93, 98, 174; war with, 84, 91, 104–106, 124, Christianity in, 119, 121, 418; Moslem, 160, 163, 170, 172, 239; art of, 181, 194, 263; Turkish, 328, Mongol, 415, 612, 631
Persian Gulf, 175, 416, 631
Persian language, 91, 144, 476
Perspective, 506, 673, aerial, 666
Perugia, 506, 542, 570, fountain at, 497, 532, university of, 461
Perugino, 672–673
Pesaro, 654
Pest tract, 547
Petcheneg, 195–196, 328
Peter the Apostle, 117–118, 200, 211, 229, 289
Peter II, of Aragon, 359, 394
Peter III, 458
Peter IV, 589
Peter, king of Bulgaria, 195
Peter of Abano, 449–452, 684
Peter Gaetano, 407
Peter the Hermit, 332–333
Peter Lombard, 346, 430, 438, 652; commentary on the *Sentences* of, 652, 680
Peter de la Mare, 555
Peter Waldo, 350
Peterborough cathedral, 491
Petrarch, 141, 462–463, 541–543, 563, 656–657, 660, 662
Petrus Hispanus, 176, 684
Petrus de Vineis, 467
Philanthropy, ancient, 16–17, 56, papal, 124–125; Moslem, 158, 172, monastic, 285, Franciscan, 356, lay, 531–535, 537, 637, other medieval, 642, 645, 687; decline of, 678–679
Philip, king of Macedon, 12
Philip of Swabia, emperor, 363–364, 368
Philip I, of France, 271, 273, 332
Philip II, Augustus, 338, 344, 351, 360, 362–363, 365, 398–399, 411
Philip III, 403
Philip IV, the Fair, 403–411, 543
Philip V, 406
Philip VI, 543–545, 552, 554
Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy, 557, 664
Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, 558, 618, 623, 645
Philip of Dreux, 344
Philip of Tripoli, 451
Philobiblon, 465
Philology, 657, 680
Philopoemen, 11
Philosophia pauperum, 687
Philosophy, Greek, 11, 20, 27, 46, 48, 55–56, 63, 98, 143–144, Arabic, 171, 174, Byzantine, 192, scholastic, 427–430, natural, 435, 441, 443, humanist, 657, 660
Phocas, 105, 126
Phoenicia, 45
Phoenix, 681
Photius, 191
Phrygia, 47
Physical training, 15, 17, 438

Physics, 447, 456–458
Physicians, fees of, 96, municipal, 461, 529; papal, 462
Physiognomy, 451
Physiology, 443, 682
Piacenza, 307, 511
Picard, 435
Pico della Mirandola, 660
Pict, 3, 32, 73, 132
Pietro da Fermo, 461
Pietro Orseolo II, 243
Pilaster, 488
Pilatus, 658
Pilgrims, 115, 128, 148, to Mecca, 157, 159, 246, Christian, 167, 202, 274, 298, 322, 330–331, 337–338, 348, 408, 471, 475, 508, 535, 563, 569, criticized, 567, royal, 398
Pilgrim of Passau, 201
Pineal gland, 681
Pinturicchio, 604
Piracy, 18, 30, 168, 219, 228, 243, 508
Pirenne, cited, 302, quoted, 638
Pisa, 243, 303, 310, 331, 334, 336, 366, 371, 508, 511, 517, 542, defeated, 582, 586, business at, 637–638, cathedral, 488–490, 497, Council of, 570–571; university, 461, 660
Pisanello, 675
Pisano, Niccola, 497, 532
Piscina, 151
Pitti Palace, 667
Pius II, 578
Place names, as historical evidence, 188, 611
Placidia. *See* Galla Placidia
Plague, 30, 50, 105, 124–125, 186, 307, 334, 372, 573, 678. *See also* Black Death
Plantagenet, 277, 281, 360, 363
Platearius, 424
Plato, 11, 53, 98, 428, 655, 659–660; *Meno* and *Phaedo*, 432, *Timaeus*, 431
Plato of Tivoli, 178, 431
Platonism, 611. *See also* Neo-Platonism
Plessis, 623
Pliny, 25, 30, 145–146, 223, *Natural History*, 30, 654, *Medicine*, 146
Plock, 416
Plotinus, 48, 140
Plough, 26, 33, 71, 235, 237, 326
Plough-penny, 394
Plutarch, 30, 55, 659, 679
Plutocracy, 319, 640
Po river, 4, 73, 189
Podesta, 307, 310–311, 313, 375–376, 454
Podiebrad, George of, 573–574, 603, 615
Poema del Cid, 479
Poet laureate, 656
Poetry, Arabic, 155, 163, 168, 171–172, 174, 176, 179, of Boethius, 76, 144, Byzantine, 192, Italian, 479–483, 656, liturgic, 191, medieval Latin, 422, 427, 439, 537, vernacular, 470–477, 637, 645, alliterative, 470, assonanced, 471, burlesque, 474, epic, 470–473, 656, lyric, 473–475, rhymed, 473–474, romantic epic, 475–477, 662
Poggio, 660
Poison, 443, suspicion of, 272, 376, 478, 570, 591, 626, works on, 451, 461, 655
Poitiers, 130, 162, 247, 491, battle of, 549, 552–554
Poitou, 227, 241, 276, 281, 360, 388, 399, 402, 411, 549
Poland, 3, 230, 268, 320, 327, 357, 368, 374, 416–417, 435, 449, 571, 574, 593, 601–603, 606–610, 612–613, 649, and papacy, 564, 570
Police, 167, 399, 436, 600, 642
Polis, 14
Politian, 657
Political insecurity, 541–542
Political thought, 427, 450, 454, 461, 480, 565–567, 578, 656, 660–661, 680
Politics, 480, etymology, 14 *and see* Government
Polo brothers, 507 *See also* Marco Polo
Polydore Vergil, 551
Polygamy, 38, 156–158
Polyhistor, 192
Polyptychon of Saint Germain-des-Prés, 209
Pomerania, 327, 374, 606
Pomerelia, 603, 606
Pont du Gard, 22
Pontifex maximus, 63
Pontus Steppe, 91, 195
Poor Catholics, 357
Poor Clares, 356, 576
"Poor priests," 567
Pope *See* Papacy
Pope, Alexander, quoted, 14
Popolo, 245, 303, 376, 379
Population, ancient, 27, 29, 87, decline, 45, 50–51, 81–82, shift of, 188, increasing Slavic, 92, 230, of northwestern Europe, 219, 235, 240, 242–243, 245, 318, 322, 331, 487, 537, 617, 640, 647, of towns, 513, 521–522, 641–642, depopulation, 195, 415, 511, 545–547, 561, 615, 641, 678
Porchetus Salvaticensis, 453
Porphyrogennetos, 195
Porphyry, 148, 192, 427–428
Porta, 687
Portal, 491, 495, 504, 518, 524
Portcullis, 257
Porter, A K, quoted, 152, 194, 484, 504
Portolani, 419–420
Portrait, 666, 673
Portugal, 248, 323–325, 339, 360, 418–419, 479, 511, 570, 577–578, 616–617, 631–635

Post, imperial, 70, 96, interurban, 510, Mongol, 416
Post-Glossator, 461
Postillae, 453
Pottery, 25, 114, 151, 181, 248
Poverty, ideal of Apostolic, 56, 350, 354–356, 565, 567, 572, 577, national, 534, relief of, 207, 401, 531–534, 566, vows of, 358 *See also* Philanthropy
Power, ancient lack of, 25, medieval development of, 235, 239, water, 26, 239
Power, Eileen, quoted, 240
Poznan, 416
Praemunire, 551–552
Praesides, 54
Praetorian guard, 18, 52, prefect, 54, 87
Pragmatic Sanction, 576, 623, 653
Prague, 656, archbishop of, 573, cathedral, 664, university, 571, 578, 609, 651
Prato, 637, 669
Preaching, 332, 346, by friars, 355–358, heretical, 351, against heresy, 351–352, 357, Hussite, 571–572, in the vernacular, 567–568, 577, of Savonarola, 591 *See also* Sermons
Prebend, 345
Precarium, 208, 251
Predestination, 140, 567
Prefect, city, 94, 124, 191, papal, 310. *See also* Praetorian
Pregadi, 377–378
Premonstratensians, 282, 299, 328
Presbyterian, 57
Pressburg, Treaty of, 603–605
Prester John, 418
Prévôt, 272, 317, 397, 399, 523
Prices, Edict of, 53, fixing of, 639, high, 114, 241, 507, 548, 598, 632, 638, just, 191, 516, low, 167, 519, regulated, 319, 436, of animals, 241, of works of art, 506, 669, of land, 240, of masses, 649, of paper, 642, of slaves, 190, in late middle ages, 647–648
Priests, 10, Egyptian, 47, Jewish, 55, Roman, 63, early German, 39–40, Christian, 57–58, 128, 135, 141, 147, 213, 299, 350, 370, 523, chantry, 347, parish, 286, 345, 358, 514, 566, 572, 649, not spared, 645, number of, 641, "universal priesthood," of believers, 567
Primogeniture, 251, 594
Primum mobile, 447, 482
Prince of Wales *See* Wales, prince of
Printing, invention of, 551, 662–663, first, 550, 654–655, frequent, 424, 450, 455, 462, 680, late, 453, 456, 667
Prior, quoted, 496
Priors, 285, 647, six, of Florence, 379, 480
Priscian, grammarian, 147
Priscian of Lydia, 98
Proclus, 145
Procopius, 86, 92–93, 96, 100–101, 105
Proof, legal, methods of, 41–42, 112
Prophecy, 55–57, 156–157, 450, 459, 568, 588, 591–592
Proportion, 458
Prose, first vernacular, 469–471, 478–479
Prosperity, 235, 240, 521, 527, 581, decline of, 541–542, 549, 574, 645
Prostitutes, public, 82
Protestants, 1, 350, 567–568, 576, 578, 601, 661, 679–680, 682, 687
Prouille, 356
Provençal, 469, 474, 478–480, 510
Provence, 79, 88, 215, 275, 313, 324, 348, 351, 357, 388, 402, 409, 514, 533, 566, 588, 620, 626–627, 639, 647
Provinces, Roman, 18, 45, 51, 53, under barbarian rule, 70, 72, Byzantine, 89, 187, of Friar Orders, 356–357
Provins, 248, 314, 319, 511
Provisions, papal, 374, 551–552, 564
Provisions of Oxford, 388
Prussia, 327, 340, 380, 597, 601–603, 606, 647, East, 601–603, 607, West, 603
Psalter, 213, 536–537
Psellus, 192
Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, 284
Psychology, 11, 442–443, 455–456, 474
Ptolemaic system, 13, 145, 447
Ptolemy, 463, 482, *Almagest*, 145, 431, 655, *Geography*, 36, 175, 465, 659, *Optics*, 178
Public opinion, 42, 130, 187, 260, 268, 292, 296, 298, 367, 375, 391, 516, 554, 575, 593, 623
Pulci, 662
Pulpit, 173, 497
Pulse, 174
Punishment, 21, 40, 59, 210, 280, 401, 572, 644, by blinding, 189, 195–196, 366, by beheading, 552, by burning, 113, 351, 410, 480, 561, 572, 592, corporal, 132, 158, 191, cruel, 110, 187, 353, by death, 80, 95, 113, 161, 203, 417, 581, 594–595, by hanging, 646, by imprisonment, 172, 258, 344, 363, 459, 472, 474, 623, 633, 646, no arbitrary, 387, 394, by mutilation, 113, for adultery, 38, in towns, 319
Purgatory, 347–348, 482, 567
Puteoli, 25
Puy-Guilhem, 550
Pyrenees, 35, 68, 108, 162, 203, 241, 271, 275–276, 281, 324–325, 390
Pythagoras, 11

Quadi, 43
Quadrivium, 145
Qualities, 459, configuration of, 460, degree of, 462
Quarantine, 547
Quarry, 80–81
Quattrocento, 666

Querci, 411

Race, Altaian, 65, antipathy, 573, Asiatic, 3, European, 2–3, Mediterranean, 2, 43, 275; monstrous, 140, 442, new, 635, northern, 34–35, 43, 74 *See also* Alpine racial type
Rainbow, 456, 681
Ramon Berengar. *See* Raymond Berengar
Ramsay, Mary P., cited, 682
Ramsay, W. M., quoted, 329
Ramus, 551, 658, 683
Ransom, 252, 260, 338, 339, 344, 549
Ranulf Glanville, 383
Raoul Glaber, 423
Raphael, 151
Rashdall, cited, 658; quoted, 679–680
Rasis, 173, 176
Raspe, Heinrich, 373
Ravenna, 69, 189, archbishop of, 126, 293, buildings at, 71, 76, 85, 101–104, 151, 214, capitulates, 88, court at, 71, Exarchate of, 88, 111, 125–126, 190, 199, 364, funeral monument at, 583, siege of, 75; taken by Lombards, 125
Raymond Berengar, 261, 324, 401
Raymond IV, of Toulouse, 333, 336
Raymond VI, 351–352
Raymond VII, 352, 402
Raymond Lull, 418
Raymond of Peñaforte, 439
Raymond de Sebonde, 577
Realism, 428, 653–654
Rebellion, 165, 264, 268, 281, 291, 293, 367, 372, 472, 564
Recognitions of Clement, 27
Red Sea, 175, 336, 416, 418, 631 633
Reese, quoted, 475
Reeve, 385, 566
Reform programs, 553, 555, 625; of universities, 651
Reformation of King Sigismund, 598
Refraction explained, 448
Regale, 344, 365
Regalia, 306, 309
Regency, 627. *See also* Minorities
Regensburg, 243
Reggio (north Italy), 581
Reggio (south Italy), 69
Regimen Salernitanum, 424
Reginald, sub-prior, 361
Regiomontanus, 655, 683
Reichenau, 423, 484
Reichstag. *See* Diet
Relics, cult of, 128, 149, 187, 277, 334, 348, 385, 567
Relief, feudal, 251
Religion, ancient, 15–16, 19, criticized, 141, its decline, 45–47, 52–53; early German, 36–37, 39, 108; Herulian, 92, oriental, 47–48, Persian, 91; pre-Islamic, 156, medieval, 521, 656, and art, 47, 49, 100, 103, 673 *See also* Christianity, Islam
Renaissance, Byzantine, 194, Carolingian, 213, Christian, 661, Italian, 492, 505, decried, 643, 682–683 *See also* Art, Humanism
Renan, cited, 444
René of Anjou, 589–590, 626, 646
Representation, 16, 136, 265, 318, 380, 385–387, 389, 394, 396, 399, 405–406, 552–553, 596, 607, 609–610, 622, 630, 687, in Church Councils, 571, 574, 578, 653; of gilds, 640, trades, 642, peasants, 622, 649
Resin, 635
Retainer, 627
Rethel, 557
Reuchlin, Johann, 661
Revelation, 47–48, 57, 455, 482, 652
Revelation, Book of, 59
Revolution, agricultural, 520, astrological, 179, democratic, 314, French, 643, 678; Industrial, 529, political, 264, urban, 304, 306, 553, 556, 586–587 *See also* Rebellion
Reynard the Fox, 476–477
Rhaetia, 43, 73, 79, 88
Rheims, 214, 274, 344, 556; cathedral, 496, 501, 504, 559–560; school, 422–423
Rhetoric, 82, 422, 426, 429, 485, 660, Gallic, 148, 430, schools of, 139–140
Rhine, 3–4, 14, 32–35, 44, 114, 215, 240, 256, 270, 620, 648, frontier broken, 68, 76–77; east of, 108, 135, 198, 502, cities, 318, 491, 501, 515, 621, 664, count palatine of, 381, knights' league of, 597, mouth of, 468
Rhodes, 160, 615, 639
Rhone river, 4, 75, 79, 162, 215, 217, 267, 275, 380, 409, 411, 469, 484, 526, 642
Rhubarb, 146
Rialto, 189, 311
Richard I, of England, 338, 344, 360, 364, 383
Richard II, 555–556, 568
Richard III, 624, 628
Richard, brother of Innocent III, 365
Richard of Bury, 465
Richard of Cornwall, 379–380, 401
Richard de Fournival, 463
Richard Suiseth, 457, 683
Richard of Wallingford, 458
Richmond, Earl of, 629
Rienzo, Cola di, 588
Riga, 601
Rigord, 398
Rigsdag, 394
Rimini, 308, 590
Ripoll, 463
Ripuarians *See* Franks
Ristoro d'Arezzo, 654, 681
Ritual, 47, 57. *See also* Liturgy

Rivers, of Europe, 3–4, and trade, 226, 511 *See also* names of rivers
Roads, Roman, 21–23, 581; Byzantine, 104, Moslem, 168, Frankish, 206, later, 238–239, 416, 522, 534, 598, 637
"Robber Council," 118
Robber knight, 259–260, 322
Robbia, Andrea della, 358
Robbia, Luca della, 669
Robert I, of France, 274
Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, 542, 588, 656
Robert, count of Artois, 402
Robert de Courcy, 504
Robert the Devil, 277–278
Robert of Flanders, 273–274
Robert of Geneva, 569
Robert Grosseteste, 439
Robert Guiscard, 292–293, 322, 329, 331, 424
Robert of Normandy, 386
Robert the Strong, 220
Robert Valturius, 550
Robert of York, 459
Robertus Anglicus, 453, 466
Roderick, 161
Roger Bacon *See* Bacon, Roger
Roger Guiscard, 331
Roger II, of Sicily, 175, 433
Roland, 662 *See also* Song of Roland
Rollo, 220, 277
Romagna, 363–364, 366
Roman de Renart, 467, 476–477
Roman de Rou, 220
Roman Catholic, 683, 686–687 *See also* Church, Papacy
Roman Empire, 9–31, decline, 45–54, 80–82, Christianity and, 56, 58–60, eastern, 615, eastern and western, 53–54, 68, 84, effort to restore, 87–89, unrealized, 168, enduring ideal of, 214; survivals from, 63, 318
Roman law *See* Law, Roman
Roman Republic, 17–18, 142
Romance, Arabic, 171, medieval, 144, 201, 214, 261, 467, 475–477, 662, 687 *See also* Language
Romance of the Rose, 427, 476–477
Romanesque *See* Art, Romanesque
Romantic movement, 492
Rome, city of, ancient, 16–17, 24, 27, 29, 52, 54, walled, 44, pagan, 63, date of founding of, 143, Church of, 58, 114, 117–119, 200, churches of, 488, 505, 524, sacks of, 68–70, 72, 74, 123, 141–142, 293, 645; under the Goths, 75, 88, Byzantine, 95, 104, 124–125, 151, 189; Frankish, 215, medieval, 541; and papacy, 117–118, 288–290, 563, 565, 569–570; emperor in, 186, 268, 270, 306–307, 514, coronation at, 202, 359, 365, 598; commune of, 306, 308, 365, 588, populace of, 210–211, 270, siege of, 199, 237–238, 293, born at, 657, called to, 655–656, columns from, 214, "matter of," 476, nobles of, 407, trade, 511, 639, visited, 339, 356, 463, 542, 658, 667, 669
Roncaglia, 306
Roncesvalles, 471–472
Roof, thatch, 514, 531, tile, 514, 531, stone, *see* Vault, wooden, 488, 491, 503
Roosebek, 556
Rōs, 226
Rosenthal, quoted, 174
Rosetta, 632
Rostock, 640
Rotation of crops, 520
Rothenburg, 529, 648
Rouen, 220, 245, 319, 537, 556, 561, churches, 496, 502, 503, 504, old, 528–529, trade of, 511
Rouergue, 411
Roumania *See* Rumania
Round Table, 476
Rousseau, 141
Roussillon, 276, 590
Royal Chronicle of Cologne, 261
Roye, 247
Rudder, 419, 453, 508
Rudelsburg, 255
Rudolf of Burgundy, 270
Rudolf of Hapsburg, 380–381, 599–600
Rufinus, botanist, 443–444, 655
Rufinus, church father, 69
Rug, 66, 181
Rugen, 326
Ruins, at Rome, 25, 27, 667, at Ani, 194, in Asia Minor, 329, at Mérida, 173, in North Africa, 87
Rumania, 92, 188, 195, 609–610, 612
Runes, 36
Ruodlieb, 467
Rupert, emperor, 597
Rupert, missionary, 134
Rural commune, 241, 316, 599
Rural dean, 345
Rurik, 226
Russia, 32, 67, 92–93, 171, 175, 191, 196, 226–227, 414–417, 523, 571, 601, 607–609, 611; geography of, 3–4, principality of, 228, south, 44, 195
Ruysbroeck, John, 568
Rye, 33

Saale, 468
Sabbath, 56, 127
Sacrament, 47–48, Christian, 57–58, 185, 295, 346–348, 563, 649; attacked, 567
Sacrifice, human, 37, 92, 218. Mithraic, 61; pagan, 63
Sacrobosco, John of, 453, 466, 686; quoted, 446–447
Sacrosancta, 574

Saddler, 312
Safe-conduct, 572
Saga, 34, 218, 471
Sahara desert, 32, 418
Sailor, 244, 508, 617
Saint Angelo in Formis, 505
Saint Bavon, 246
Saint Bertin, 244
Saint Faron, 472
Saint Flour, 546
Saint Gall, 134, 244, 469, 599
Saint Gangolf, 463
Saint George, of Donatello, 671–673
Saint Gotthard Pass, 599
Saint James, *see* Compostella
Saint-Julien-le-Pauvre, 425
Saint Mark's, 151, 189, 194, 585, 654
Saint Martin's, 130, 131
Saint Omer, 244
Saint Ouen, 503
Saint Pantaléon, 374
Saint Peter's, 186, 202, 211, 229, 359
Saint-Pol, 625–626
Saint Quentin, 314
Saint Sebaldus, 597
Saint Sophia, 95, 98–101, 185, 613
Saint Urban, 374
Saint Vaast, 246
Sainte Cecilia in Trastavere, 505
Sainte Chapelle, 236, 400
Saintonge, 399, 411
Saints, female, 568–569, intervention of, 73, Legends or Lives of, 61, 120, 149, 191, 213, 360, 478, 566, 680, patron, 301, 518, 521, statues of, 526; visions and voices of, 559
Saintsbury, quoted, 478
Saladin, 338
Salamanca, 435, 454, 686
Salary, 392
Salerno, 202, 293, 424, 443
Salian See Franks
Salic law, 112, 115
Saloniki, 103, 185, 195, 332, 367, 613, 639
Salt, 461, 507 metallic, 146
Salutati, 657, 659
Salvation, 47, 120, 208, 408, 567
Salvian, 81–82
Salzburg, 134–135, 201
Samaria, 56
Samarkand, 172, 416, 612–613
Samnites, 43
Samo, 115
Sanchez, François (Francisco Sanches), 684
San Croce, 400
San Gimignano, 529
San Lorenzo, 667
San Patronio, 664
San Salvador, 634
San Spirito, 667
San Vitale, 28, 102, 104, 214
Sanctuary, right of, 646
Sanitation, 258, 529–531, 643, 678
Sanskrit, 2
Sant'Ambrogio, 152
Sant'Angelo, 293
Sant'Apollinare in Classe, 101
Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, 101
Sâone, 642
Saphea, 178
Sappho, 10
Saracens, 27, 155, 168, 196, 217, 228–229, 243, 270, 322–323, 471–472
Sarcophagus, 71, 497
Sardika, Council of, 118
Sardinia, 71, 87–88, 125, 290, 366, 373, 588
Sarmatia, 27, 32, 43, 67
Sarton, George, cited, 180, quoted, 178
Satire, 477–478
Saumur, 277
Savonarola, 591–592
Savoy, 275, 388, 469, 580, 620, 623, 626
Saxons, in England, 74, 134, *and see* Anglo-Saxons, on the continent, 108, 112, 198, 201, 203, 339, 423
Saxony, 229, 267, 291, 305, 326, 381, 519, 597, 605, 609, 648
Scadingi, 338
Scala, Mastino della, 581
Scaliger, Joseph, 679
Scaliger family, 580
Scanderbeg, 615
Scandinavia, 3–4, 32–34, 219, 227–228, 322, 354, 368, 468, 545, 564, 570, 606–607, 651–652
Schacht, J , 178
Schaffhausen, 529, 622
Scheldt, 77
Schiltberger, Hans, 613
Schism, 95–96, 119, Great, 563, 569–571, 651
Schmoller, quoted, 240
Scholasticism, Arabic, 177–178, Latin, 429–430, 449, 462, 466, 541, 567, 652–654, 683–686
Schools *See* Education, Grammar schools, Universities
Schoolmistress, 536–537
Schwyz, 599
Science, Greek, 11–14, 430–431, of Pliny, 30, of fourth century, 44–45, Augustine and, 140, Bede and, 150, applied, 145–146, lack of Byzantine, 192, Arabic, 174, 178–181, Anglo-Saxon, 223, medieval Latin, 422, 430–431, 439, 441–460, 541, late, 654–655, 657, and religion, 486
Scipio Africanus, 656
Scot, 32, 73, 132
Scotism, 455, 576, 686
Scotland, 4, Celtic, 111, 132, 134; Norse, 221, 227, 278, and England, 281, 391, 393, 404, 408, 543, 545, 570–571, 637;

and France, 623, and learning, 651, 684, Highlands of, 468
Scotus *See* Duns Scotus
Script *See* Writing
Scriptorium, 129–131, 463
Sculpture, Greek, 10, 12, 15; Roman, 21, 27–28, 49–50, Merovingian, 151, Byzantine, 187, 194, Sassanian, 263, Romanesque, 490–491, Norman, 491–492, Gothic, 496–497, 500, 525, 643, 664–666, Quattrocento, 667, 669–673
Scutari, 615
Scythe, 240
Scythia, 27, 32
Sea power, 616 *See also* Navy
Secret tribunal, 594–595
Secreta Alberti, 451
Secretary of state, 657, 659
Secretum secretorum, 451, 454, 460
Secularism, 301, 315, 366, 375, 563, 578, 680
Sedan, 683
Segre river, 203
Seine river, 4, 220, 271, 277, 317, 511, 544, 557
Self-help, 41–42, 207, 595
Seljuks *See* Turks
Semitic population in Syria, 160
Sempach, 599
Senate, Roman, 17–18, 51–52, 63, 69, 74–76, 115, revival of Roman, 306, 310, Venetian, 377–378
Seneca, 14, 49, 422
Senegal, 633
Seneschal, 411
Senlac, 279
Senlis, 271, 411
Sens, 411, 576
Senses, external and internal, 443
Sentences *See* Peter Lombard
Septimania, 79, 108, 110, 162, 201, 215, 275
Sequence, 475
Serapion, 176
Serbs, 115, 188, 194–196, 359, 368, 414, 609–615
Serena, 474
Serfdom, 39, 110, 125, 161, 166, 188, 190, 241–242, 255, 280, 314–315, 318, 326, 392, 522–523, 548, 555–556, 574, 598, 606, increase of, 647–650
Sermons, 479, of Basil, 144, of Caesarius of Arles, 144; of Gregory the Great, 127, 148, of Saint Francis, 349, other medieval, 263, 442
Seven, 111, 145, 328, 338, 346, 381, 442, 445, 459, 482
Severi, dynasty of, 51
Severinus, Saint, 121
Seville, 168, 173, 325
Sewer, 21, 531
Sforza, Francesco, 590
Sforza, Lodovico, 590–592
Shares, 25, 237, 508
Sheep, Shepherds, 236, 519, 629
Sherburn, 535
Sheriff, 222, 280, 384, 387, 627, French, 646
Shetland Islands, 4, 132, 221, 278
Shipbuilding, 173
Shipping, 508, 622 *See also* Navy
Shire, 221–222, 385–386
Shrine, 517, 526
Siam, 417
Sib, 38
Siberia, 65, 613
Sibyl, 140, 450–451
Sicilian Vespers, 374, 404
Sicily, 9–10, ancient, 16, 45, 69, invaded, 71, 217, Gothic, 87–88, Byzantine, 88, 95, 124, 126, 186, 190, 202, 211, Arabic, 179, 426, Norman, 228, 322–323, 338, 363–364, 431, under Frederick II, 371–372, 375, 432, poetry in, 479, late medieval, 388, 402–403, 588–589, 609–610, 626, 630, 639
Sidon, 25
Sidonius Apollinaris, 148
Siebenburgen, 328
Siege, 334, 398, 550, 558–559, 613, of Rome, 199, 237–238, 293
Siegfried, 470
Siena, 289, 310, 319, 451, 505, 511, 542, 574, 586–587, 604, 669, 673
Sierra de Guadarrama, 323
Sierra Leone, 632
Sierra Nevada, 323
Siger of Brabant, 449
Sigibert, 148
Sigismund, emperor, 571–573, 578, 597–598, 609–610, 669
Sigismund of Hapsburg, 621
Signorelli, 673
Silesia, 327, 416–417, 536, 615, 648
Silk industry and trade, 84, 104, 114, 173, 175, 622, 647, at Florence, 639
Silver, 206, 327, 509, 566, 631
Silverius, pope, 95
Simon Magus, 287
Simon de Montfort, father, 352, 356
Simon de Montfort, son, 389
Simon de Quingay, 646–647
Simony, 287–288, 374, 566
Simple, medicinal, 176–177
Sin, 47, 55, 57, mortal, 401, 482, of Sloth, 566
Sinai, Mount, 189
Singers, papal, 114
Sion, 599
Sirén, cited, 505
Siricius, pope, 118
Sirmium, 105
Sistine Chapel, 675
Sixtus IV, 440, 675

Skepticism, 46, 161
Skull, shape of, 2, as trophy, 612–613
Slavery, ancient, 16, 21, 29, 50, 81, 208, early German, 38, 42, 108, Moslem, 156–159, 161, 166, Byzantine, 190; in West, 110, 113–114, 123, 131, 318, 645; Negro, 314, 632, under Mongols, 417, 613
Slaves, fugitive, 69; trade in, 168, 227, 230, 339, 507, 632. *See also* Slavery
Slavonians, 333
Slavonic, 194
Slavs, 2, 32, 75, 91–93, 106, 108, 188, 194, 203, 217, 226–227, 230, 268, 611, Baltic, 339; checked, 267, Germans and, 325–327, 468, "Slav," 168
Sloth, sin of, 147
Slovenes, 2, 74, 92, 115, 135, 203
Sluys, 544
Smith, 238, 517
Smoke nuisance, 531
Soap, 33, 114
Social classes, 36, 40–42, 56, 108, 113, 115, 219, 240, 275, 470, 555–556, 561–562, 572–573, 586–587, 631, 648, 650, in towns, 301–304, 310, 312, 314, 317, 319–320, 376; in country, 392, 522–523, 548
Social conditions, in Roman Empire, 27, 29–30; early German, 35, Arabian, 156, 172–173; feudal, 261, 263, 491, and progress, 240–242, 248
Social service, 356–358, 533–535
Societies, learned, 657; literary, 660
Society, 140, 263, 290, 467, 485, 493, effect of Black Death on, 546, effect of crusades on, 341, urban, 320, 642
Socrates, 11, 53, 430
Soest, 318
Sofia, 612
Soil, exhaustion of, 45
Soissons, 77, 109, charter of, 316
Soleure, 621
Somerset, 74, 628
Somme river, 76–77, 544, 558, 620
Song of Roland, 203, 471–473, 523
Sonnet, 479, 656
Soranus, 177
Sorb, 205, 326–327
Sorbonne, 463, 683
Source material, for Roman Empire, 30, for decline of Roman Empire, 45, 51–53, 80–82; for early Germans, 33–34; for Byzantine Empire, 86, 98, 195, for Franks, 110, 112–114, 200–202; for papacy, 117–118, 127, 135–136, 284, 342; for Mohammed, 150, for iconoclasm, 187; for feudalism, 282, for year 1075, 292; for crusades, 329–330, for Cathari, 350, for Saint Francis and Saint Dominic, 354; for Black Death, 546; for Venice, 585; for Swiss, 599. *See also* Coinage; Historiography
South America, 634
Southampton, 513
South Seas, 168
Spain, 3, 9, 32, 379, Roman, 14, 141, invaded, 44, 68, 70–71, Gothic, 79, 105, 108, 110, 115, 127, 149, 152, Byzantine, 89, Moslem, 161, 166–167, 179, 181–183, 190, 201, 324, ecclesiastical, 123–124, 356–357, 563–564, 571, 576, era of, 143, feudal, 273, 290; towns of, 172–173, 320; Christian north, 161, 167–168, 201, 203, 276, 311, 469, 471, expansion, 323–325, use of Arabic in, 170–171, art of, 484, 491, 501, 664, circumnavigated, 511; trade of, 511–513, 519, 637, writers of, 416, 419, 431, 452, 458, 479, 683, after 1453, 554, 578, 616–617, 630–631, 633–635; and Italy, 591–592, 661
Spanish March, 203, 215, 276
Spanish Peninsula, 570, 580, 630
Sparta, 15, 68, 93, 611
Speaker of House of Commons, 555
Speyer, 318, 648, cathedral, 491–492
Spice Islands, 634
Spices, consumption of, 514, trade in, 114, 243, 477–478, 511, 654
Spinning, 516, 518
Spinning wheel, 240
Spinola, Oberto, 378
Spirits, animal, natural and vital, 13, 443, 680–681
Spiritual Franciscans, 459, 565
Spoil, right of, 344
Spoleto, 111, 125, 199, 364
Squire, 261
Stadt, 318
Stadtrat, 319
Stamford Bridge, 279
Standonc, Jean, 654
Stannaries, 519
Stanz, Convention of, 621
Staple, 551
Star Chamber, 628–629
State, Augustine on, 140 *See also* Administration; Church and, Government; Kingship
Statute, 391, 551, 568
Steelyard, 600
Steinbach, Erwin von, 432
Stendal, 515
Stephen II, pope, 199
Stephen, king of England, 281, 295
Stephen, king of Hungary, 230, 322, 360
Stephen, king of Serbia, 610
Stephen Langton, 361–362
Stephen of Pisa, 176
Stephen Tempier, 449
Steppe, grass, 4, 65–66; Pontus, 91; salt, 65–66
Stevin, 682
Stilicho, 61, 68–70
Stirrup, 66

Stoics, 11, 20, 46, 55
Stone, disease, 461
Stourbridge, 514
Stove, movable, 535
Stralsund, Peace of, 600
Strasburg, 318, 380, cathedral, 433, 501, 503, population of, 641
Strasburg Oaths, 214, 469
Streets, ancient, 29, of Bagdad, 172, medieval, 313, 374, 524, 526, 642, 654, paved, 399, 513, 531, 642, reserved for a gild or group, 510, cleaning and lighting, 531
Stubbs, cited, 645, quoted, 541–542, 603
Studium generale, 436
Stupor mundi, 370
Styria, 327, 380, 615
Suabia. *See* Swabia
Subinfeudation, 253–254
Subsidy, 91, 93
Substance, 428
Suburb, 229, 243, 358, 546, 641
Succession, disputed, 359, 543–544, 554, 630
Suetonius, 58
Suevi, 32, 68, 70, 110
Suez, 532
Suffolk, 74
Sugar, 173, 175, 633
Suger, 272, 282, 514
Suidas, 191, 465
Sulla, 53
Sulpicius Severus, 120
Sultan, 328, 372, 415, 507, 611–612, 638
Sumatra, 417
Summa, 455
Sun worship, 53
Sunday, sports on, 94
Superstition, ancient, 27, 30, 48, 55, 58, Bavarian, 109, in botany, 147; in medicine, 146, 452; of Louis XI, 623
Surgeon, Surgery, 144, 146, 462–463, 655, 679–680
Susa, 566
Sussex, 74, 221
Sutherland, 221
Swabia, 108, 267, 597, 599
Swede, Sweden, 219, 226–227, 357, 569, 593, 600, 606–607, 648
Swein, king of Denmark, 227, 279
Swiss, Switzerland, 32, 108, 134, 318, 380, 571, 590, 593, 599, 617, 620–622, 626
Sworn inquest, 208, 384, 595
Syagrius, 77, 109
Sylvester I, pope, 200
Sylvester II, 422
Symbolism, 288, in art, 59, 61, 103, 186, 485, 505
Symeon of Bulgaria, 195
Symeon Stylites, 121, 123
Syndics, 646–647
Synod. *See* Council, church
Syracuse, 16, 160, 228
Syria, 9–10, ancient, 12, 47, 68, Byzantine, 88, 98, 105–106, 114, 156, 187–189, 196, monastic, 121; Moslem, 160, 163–166, 169–172, 328, crusades and, 334–341, 367–368, 638, Mongols in, 319, 612–613, ports of, 510, 610
Syriac, 144, 147, 174, 201, 476, 611

Taboo, 158
Taborite, 572–574, 650, 652
Tabriz, 416
Tacitus, 33–40, 43, 49, 58
Taddeo Alderotti, 437
Tafur, 531, 645
Tagus, 323
Taille, 622–623, 628
Talmud, 453
Tamerlane, 612–613, 631
Tannenberg, 607
Tape-worm, 146
Tapestry, 643, 666
Tariff. *See* Customs duties
Tarik, 161
Tarragona, 182
Tarsus, 105
Tartar, 67, 414–415
Tartas, 684
Tasso, 662
Tauler, John, 568
Tavern keepers, 246, 548 *See also* Innkeepers
Taxation, 40, clergy exempt from, 60, workers exempt from, 80, professors exempt from, 653, barbarian, 72, 109, Moslem, 166, Frankish, 206, tax farming, 25, 638, tax collectors, 114, 537, 564, 646; oppressive, 50, 54, 81–82, 87, 96, 106, 161, 315, 319, 403–404, 417, 556, 586, 618, leagues against, 597, revolts against, 187, 618, 646, 649, feudal, 260, ecclesiastical, 575, royal, 372, 399, 402–405, 439, 551–554, 606, 615, 649, papal, 374, 570, in Holy Roman Empire, 380, 594, 598, in towns, 508, 517–519, 546, 585, on income, 166, 404, poll, 555–556, not without consent, 387–388, 391, 394, 551–552, 607, 609, without consent, 628
Tegernsee, 467
Tell, William, 599
Temperament, 177, 443
Tempier, Stephen, 449
Templars, 324, 337, 399, 405, 409–410
Temple, Greek, 15, 21, 24, 61, 667; Anglo-Saxon, 127, Scandinavian, 37
Tenant. *See* Land system
Terence, 14, 422
Terminology, 652
Terra cotta, 669
Testament, 363 *See also* Law
Testry, 198
Teutones, 35

Teutonic, defined, 35
Teutonic Knights, 328, 339, 380, 593, 601–603, 607
Teutonic languages, 467–469
Textbooks, 147, 213, 437, 442, 446–447, 469, 686–687
Textiles, 104, 246–247
Thales, 11
Thames, 74
Theaters, 72, 82, 93, 98, 141
Thebes, 476, 610
Thebit ben Corat, 180
Thegn, 251, 280, 335
Theme, 186
Themistocles, 11
Theocritus, 10
Theodo, 134
Theodora, empress, 28, 85–86, 94–95, 104
Theodora, regent, 187
Theodore of Tarsus, 123, 134
Theodoric, East Goth, 75, 79, 115, 119, 148, 189
Theodoric, West Goth, 73
Theodosian Code, 60, 71, 80–81, 97
Theodosian dynasty, 68–71, 74, 118, 146
Theodosius the Great, 68
Theodosius II, 71, 80, 115, 117
Theology, 63, 85, 95, 98, 163, 171, 192, 213, doctor of, 374, 438, of Friars, 358, 435, natural, 577, scholastic, 429–430, 435, 439, 441, 449, 455, 541, 568, 591, 652, 686
Theon, 145, 163
Theophilus, emperor, 101
Theophilus, monk, 499
Theophrastus, 443
Thermopylae, 73
Thérouanne, 244
Thessalonica *See* Saloniki
Thessaly, 329, 610, 612
Theudebert, 113
Thève, 271
Thibaut the Trickster, 274
Thietmar, 243, 423
Thomas Aquinas *See* Aquinas
Thomas of Cantimpré, 338, 345, 442, 523, 537
Thomas à Kempis, 577
Thomas de Marle, 282
Thomism, 455, 576, 686
Thor, 37, 470
Thorney Abbey, 577
Thouars, 411
Thrace, 67, 160, 188, 195, 329, 367
Thule, 92
Thuringia, 77, 93, 108, 112, 135, 148, 229
Thurout, 247
Tiber, 43, 69, 88, 365
Tiberius II, 105
Tibet, 417, 476
Tide, 9
Tigris, 160, 171
Tigris-Euphrates Valley, 10, 183. *See also* Mesopotamia
Tiles, bronze, 24, 186; colored, 181 *See also* Roof
Tilley, quoted, 529
Tilting, 263
Timber, 601
Timbuktu, 418
Time, reckoning of, 34 *See also* Calendar, Chronology, Year
Timur, 612–613, 631
Tin, 519
Tirlemont, 641
Tithe, 210, 254, 345, 350, 565, 649
Tiu, 37, 39
Toledo, 161, 167–168, 180, 323, 331, Tables of, 178
Toleration, Edict of, 60, 62, Moslem, 160–161, 163
Tolfa, 638
Toll, 245, 264, 268, 327, 511, 598
Tombs, 81, 152 *See also* Funeral monuments
Tome, of Pope Leo the Great, 118–119
Tommaso of Florence, 606
Toothache, 452
Torricelli, 682
Tortona, 306
Tortosa, 173
Torture, 21, 30, 59, 76, 112, 140, 344, 353, 410, 629
Toscanelli, 633–634, 655
Tostig, 279
Totila, 88
Toulouse, 70, 148, 266, 275, 351–352, 356, 398, 402, 411, 462, 511, 549–550, university, 653
Touraine, 227, 360, 399, 402, 411, 627
Tournai, 76, 244, 247, 319, 403, 491
Tournament, 263, 340
Tours, 162, 247, 274, 411, 509, 541, 627, 646–647
Tower, Roman, 173, 622 church, 71, 101–103, 491, 499–500, 502–503, feudal, 250, 255–258, 281, leaning, 488, Moslem, 173, 193, of knowledge, 147, of nobles, 303, 365, 529, of skulls, 612, of town houses, 527, siege, 237–238, watch, 228
Town halls, 309, 313, 529–530, 664
Towns, early German, 36, Byzantine, 188, Moslem, 171–173, walled, 71, 78, 80, 114, 242, 318, 549, growth of, 238, 240, 242–247, 301–321, 467–468, 537, French, 244, 275, 405, 552–554, privileged, 313–314, Flemish, 557, English, 317–318, 389, 392–393, 514, 629, German, 318–319, 380, 514–515, 593, 600, 603, 606, 638, 641, imperial, 593–594, 596, 605, Italian and Lombard, 363, 366, 371–373, 375–379, 485, 580–590; of Lorraine, 521; in Low Countries, 513, 618, 639; new, 244–247, 327, 526, 609, Span-

ish, 311–312, 630–631, other, 606–607, 609, charter, 245, crusades and, 331, 645, leagues of, 556, life in, 478, 517–518, 523–531, planning of, 526, revolts of, 646, 648, sack of, 82, 114, 315, 612, 618, late medieval, 639–648, early modern, 678, 687
Trade, carrying, 600–601 *See also* Commerce
Trademarks, 320
Trade routes, 104, 246–248, 336, 348, 416, 511–512, 545, 616, 631–635, 643
Tradition, medieval, 679, Moslem, 156, 181, Slavic, 327
Traffic, 526, 532
Trajan, 23, 25, 50, 59
Transept, 487, 490, 495, 500, 503, 504
Translations, Arabic, 174, from Arabic, 201, of Bible, 62, 139, Latin, 98, 437, from Arabic, 145, 176–179, 424, 430–431, 433, 439, 451, from Greek, 69, 140, 145–148, 192, 213, 431–432, 441, 659–660, from vernacular, 569, from Latin, 147, Spanish, from Arabic, 447, 479, vernacular, from Latin, 223, 451, 455, 462, 469, 476, 479, 565, 680
Transportation, 206, 238, 371, 678, in war, 189, of money, 510
Transubstantiation, 346–347, 428–429, rejected, 567–568
Transylvania, 328, 414
Trave river, 600
Travel, 114–115, 175, 189, 218, 340, 415–417, 424, 611, 613, 654, 656
Treason, 551, 585, 594
Treasure, Treasury, 85, 96, 167, 173, 264, 399, 470, 612, 618, 629 *See also* Exchequer
Treaties, 212, 215, 217, 227, 276, 362, 402–403, 543, 545, 549, 558, 561, 600, 603, 615, broken, 613, commercial, 191, 507
Trebizond, 416, 507, 615
Treves, 76, 82, 214, 381, 620
Trevisan Mark, 582
Treviso, 240, 307
Tribonian, 85–86, 94, 97
Tribute, paid to Bulgarians and Magyars, 195, paid to invaders, 68, 91, 105–106, 199, 220, 226, 229, 278, paid to Moslems, 159–161, 168, paid to papacy, 324, 359–360, 362, 552, paid to Tartars, 415, paid to Turks, 612, paid by Slavs, 325
Trier. *See* Treves
Triforium, 488, 502–503
Trigonometry, 178, 458, 683
Trinity, 142–143, 482, 499
Tripoli, in Africa, 160
Tripoli, in Syria, 336
Tristan, 476
Triumph, Roman, 33, Byzantine, 94
Trivium, 145
Trondjhem, 606
Troubadours, 276, 351, 356, 454, 469, 473–475, 479, 482
Trouvère, 475
Troy, 141, 476
Troyes, 73, 248, 274, 317, 374, 477, 511, Treaty of, 558
Truce, 360, 543–545, 549
Truce of God, 260
Tub, 33, 312
Tudor dynasty, 628–629
Tunis, 163, 339
Turin, 308
Turkestan, 65, 415, 611
Turkey, 613
Turks, 3, 67, 93, 176, 195, Seljuk, 328–329, 332–336, 415, 474, Ottoman, 457, 547, 550, 577, 591, 610–615, 622, 631, 638, 649
Turpin, 472
Tuscan League, 363–364, 366
Tuscan school of painting, 666, 673, 675
Tuscany, 270, 289, 310, 357, 363, 373, 378, 488, 510, 586
Twelve Tables, 20
Typos, 185
Tyrannicide, 557, 661
Tyrol, 93, 259, 380, 596, 621, 638

Uffizi Gallery, 672
Ulfilas, 62, 468
Ulm, 648, 654
Ulpian, 20, 52, 97
Ultramontane, 569
Umbria, 363, 366, 673, 675
Unam sanctam, 408
Union of Kalmar, 607
Unity of the Intellect, 175
Universals, problem of, 428, 456
Universe, 11, 654
Universitas, 436
Universities, 203, 266, 342, 358, 370, 434–439, 454, 462, 542, 571, 575, 578, 606–607, 609, 646, 651–653, 662, 679–680, 683–687, German, 605, humanism and, 657–658, 660–661
Unterwalden, 599
Unwin, G, cited, 514
Upsala, 606
Ural-Altaian, 414
Ural Mountains, 4
Urban II, pope, 285, 330, 332, 340
Urban IV, 373–374, 447
Urban V, 581
Urban VI, 569–570
Urgel, 203
Uri, 599
Usher, archbishop, 143
Usury *See* Interest
Utraquist, 572–574
Utrecht, 134, 513, 515, 600
Uzzano, Niccolò da, 671

Vacancy, ecclesiastical, 288, 344, papal, 373, 414
Vacuum, 681–682
Vaeringjar, 226
Valais, 599
Valencia, 167–168, 248, 325, 475, 637
Valenciennes, 246
Valens, 67–68
Valentinian III, 71, 74
Valet, 516
Valla, Lorenzo, 657–658, 661
Valladolid, 435
Valois, House of, 543
Valvassores, 303
Valves for bellows, 145
Vandals, 68, 70–72, 141, 468, kingdom of, 71–72, 75, reconquered by Justinian, 87, 108
Van der Vyver, 148
Van Eyck, 673
Varangians, 226
Varna, 613
Vasari, 669, 671–673, 675
Vascones, 110
Vassal. *See* Feudalism
Vatican, 229, 569, 675
Vault, barrel, 23, 488; fan, 502, stone, 489, 491, 493–496, 501–503
Vehm, Courts of the, 594–595, 597
Vellum, 151
Velocity. *See* Motion
Venaissin, 409
Venantius Fortunatus, 148
Venasque, 152, 484
Veneti, 2
Venice, early, 3, 88, 189-191, 202, 212, 228–229, 243, 302, 304, 307–308, 373, 417, 461, 538, and crusades, 336, 366–367, decline of, 542, government of, 311, 377–378, 583–586, trade of, 507–509, 513, 515, in later middle ages, 580–583, 590–592, 603, 609–611, 613, 615–616, 635, 639, 654, 656, 659, 669, 671, 680
Vercelli, 436, 547
Verdun, 521, 646; bishop of, 374, slave trade of, 190, Treaty of, 215
Vergil, 14, 140, 481–482, 656, 660
Vermandois, 405, 411
Verona, 307, 378, 480, 542, 550, 580–581
Verrochio, 582
Vesalius, 682
Vespucci, Amerigo, 634
Veto, Polish, 607
Vézelay, 315
Via antiqua, 653
Via moderna, 653
Vicar, political, 376, 582, 588, 598
Vicarii, 54, 96
Vicenza, 307
Victor II, pope, 289
Victor III, 307
Vienna, 615, 649, pest in, 546; university, 651–652, 655
Vienne, 21–22, 313, 410, 454
Vieta, 682
Vigilius, pope, 95
Vikings, 215–216, 227. *See also* Northmen
Vill, 386
Villa, 208–209, 240, 254, 322, 522
Village, 639, free Byzantine, 188, 190; Polish, 649
Villani, cited, 510
Villard de Honnecourt, 504, 506
Villehardouin, 478
Villein, 208, 387, 392, 556, 649–650
Villicus, 208
Villon, 662
Vilna, 607
Vincent of Beauvais, 442
Vinci, *see* Leonardo da
Vine, distribution of, 4
Vineyards, 236, 246
Vinland, 226, 419
Vintners, 517
Virgate, 241
Virgilius, 135
Viri hereditarii, 246
Virtues and Vices, 477, 497
Visconti, House of, 580
Visconti, Bernabò, 581
Visconti, Filippo Maria, 581, 589–590
Visconti, Gian Galeazzo, 581, 587, 657
Visconti, Giovanni, 581
Visconti, Matteo, 377
Visconti, Otto, 377
Visconti, Valentina, 581, 590, 592
Viscount, 271, 273
Visigoths. *See* Goths, West
Vision of Piers the Ploughman, 147, 177, 514, 525, 548, 566, 662
Vistula, 34, 92, 328, 603
Vitalian, pope, 186
Viterbo, 366, 449
Vitré, 524
Vitriol, 146
Vitruvius, 504, 667
Vladimir of Kiev, 226
Volcano, 514
Volga river, 67, 91, 218, 226–227, 414, 416, 608, 612
Volksammlung, 319
Volterra, 645
Volumen, 426
Vosges, 4, 77, 132, 519
Voyages of discovery, 223–226, 418–419, 616, 632–635
Vulgate, 139

Wager of battle, 34, 41–42, 207, 372, 402, 615
Wages, 319, 392, 403, 519, 548, 551, 555, 639, 647

Wagon, 66
Waiblingen, 305
Waldemar IV, 600
Waldensians, 350, 354, 357
Waldo, Peter, 350
Wales, 4, 74, 131, 134, 223, 391, 468, 476, 545, 629; prince of, 393, 552
Walid, caliph, 163
Wall, Roman, 33, against nomads, 67, Great, of China, 414, of Ani, 192, castle, 257, church, 493, town, 44, 229, 525, 529, 642, town, enlarged, 243, 246, 318 399, 513, 641
Wallace, William, 393
Wallachia, 92, 368, 609–615
Walloon, 273
Walsingham, 514
Walter of Brienne, 368
Walter of Odington, 459
Walter the Penniless, 333
Waltharius, 470
Walther von der Vogelweide, 464, 471
Wapentake, 221, 385
War, 34–35, 38, 40, 176, 202, civil, 160, 168, 226, 277, 281, 291, 295, 364, 391, 611; feudal, 259–260; interurban, 304, 375, Moslem, 167–168, 329, naval, 580, 582, private, 268, 380, 402, 594, forbidden, 553, 630, right to make, 309; justified, 588; altered character of, 549, 573
Wardship and marriage, 252, 264, 281
Waringians, 226
Wars of the Roses, 628–629
Warwick, Earl of, 628
Water supply, 239, 531–532, 643 *See also* Aqueduct; Fountain
Waterford, 454
Wax, 601
Weather, prediction of, 459, records of, 459, 654
Weaver, 302, 312, 514, 545, 639–640
Weights, and measures, 319, 511, 515, 637; treatises on, 447, 637, 654
Welf, House of, 305
Wells cathedral, 496
Welsh *See* Wales
Wenceslaus of Bohemia, 267
Wend, 2, 217, 601
Wenzel, emperor, 573, 581, 596–597, 610
Wergeld, 34, 38, 42, 115, 615
Wessex, 221–222
West Indies, 634
Westminster, 244, 384, abbey, 278, 501, 664
Westphalia, 594, 597
Wettin, House of, 597
Whaling, 519
Whitby, synod of, 134
White Sea, 3, 223
"White Shirt," 223
Widow, 156, 546, re-marriage of, 38, 81, suicide of, 38, 92, imperial, 70, 72, feudal, 252, 274, royal, 397
Widukind, 423
William I, the Conqueror, 250, 273, 277–279, 294, 331, 362, 382, 384, 423
William II, Rufus, 294, 332, 386, 429
William V, of Aquitaine, 276
William VIII, 275
William IX, 474
William, count of Holland, 373
William, count of Toulouse, 473
William of Auvergne, 439
William of Conches, 427, 431, 433
William of Hentisbery, 457–458
William of Lorris, 477
William of Ockham, 455, 457, 547, 565, 652–653
William of Roches, 411
William of Rubruk, 358, 417
Willibald, 128
Willibrord, 134
Wills, 363 *See also* Law, testamentary
Wiltshire, 74
Winchester, 302, 491, 514
Windesheim, 576
Windmills, 239
Windows, arrangement of, 527, 643, 667–668, glass, 453, 514, 527; lancet, 503, rose, 500–501, 504, splayed, 489. *See also* Clearstory, Glass
Wine, 61, 511, 648–649, sale of, 517 *See also* Drinking
Wine-press, 522, 524
Winedi, 2
Winfrith, 135
Wisby, 515, 600
Wismar, 640
Wissendi, 595
Witan, 222, 279, 280
Witchcraft, 559, 594
Witelo, 449
Witness, ceremonial, 41
Wittelsbach, House of, 596
Woden, 37, 108, 470
Wolf, Johannes, cited, 475
Wolsey, 561, 576
Women, position of, 21, 35, 37–38, 42, 66, 94, 124, 148, 158, 174–175, 187, 559–561, feudal, 252, 263, 332; in literature, 471–475, 477–478; of Salerno, 424, adornment of, 27–28, 33, 263
Wood-carving, 666
Wool, 246–247, 403, 510, 513–514, 545, 637, 639; carders of, 586–587
Woolens, 639
World, end of, 127, 158; history of, 423, 467, 481 *See also* Universe
Worms, 292–293, 302, 318, 370, 491, 514, 648
Writ, royal, 383, 643
Writing, Greek, 10, 62; early German, 36–37, 62; early medieval, 151, 213 *See also* Manuscripts

Wulf, de, cited, 652
Wurzburg, 134, 514–515
Wyclif, John, 567–572, 652, 662

Xenodocheion, 534

Year, beginning of, 5, 71, length of, 5, Mohammedan, 157
York, 514, archbishop of, 131, 344, duke of, 628
Yorkists, 628
Yorkshire, 514
Young, Arthur, cited, 520
Ypres, 247, 319, 403, 536, 639
Ysengrimus, 467
Yuhanna ibn Musawaih, 176

Zacharius, 128
Zahringen, 318
Zalaca, 323, 331
Zanzibar, 175
Zara, 366–367
Zaragoza, 168, 193, 664
Zeeland, 601, 617
Zeno, emperor, 119
Zero, 171
Zeus, 46, 52
Ziska, John, 573
Zollern, 597
Zoology, Greek interest in, 11–12
Zoroastrianism, 91
Zug, 599
Zurich, 380, 599
Zwolle, 577

BBJ49